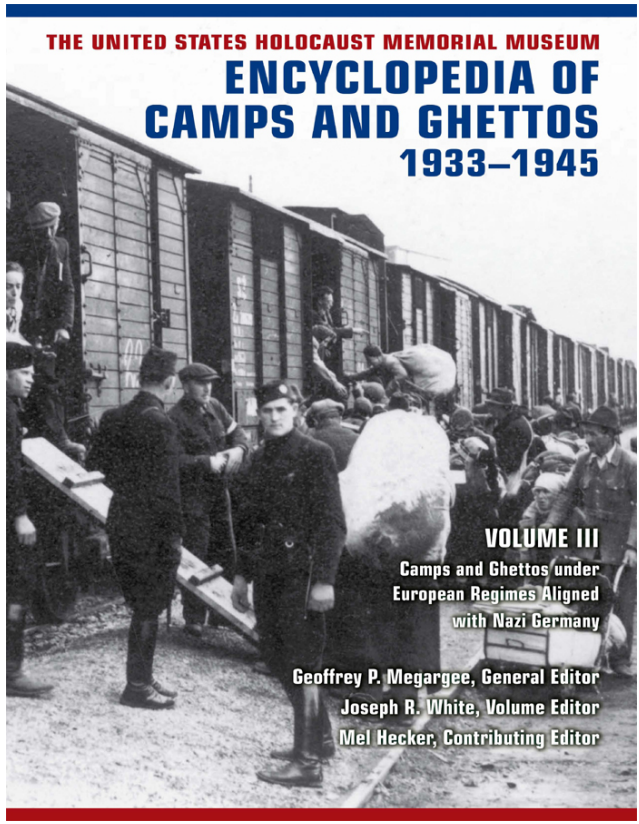
THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS
1933–1945
VOLUME III
Camps and Ghettos under European Regimes Aligned with Nazi Germany
Geoffrey P. Megargee, General Editor
Joseph R. White, Volume Editor
Mel Hecker, Contributing Editor

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

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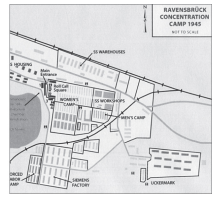

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THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM

Encyclopedia of CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

VOLUME III

Camps and Ghettos under European Regimes Aligned with Nazi Germany

Volume Editor Joseph R. White

Contributing Editor Mel Hecker

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Joseph Robert White
1964–2016

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DIANE AND HOWARD WOHL

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*Maps produced by Alyson DeGraff Ollivierre of Tombolo Maps and Design.

PREFACE

In the first two volumes of *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, scholars and nonacademics alike found a source of information like no other—a single reference with information about the most notorious and the thousands of little-known camps and ghettos that covered the map of Nazi-dominated Europe and North Africa during World War II. Indeed the appearance of Volume I on the SS-run camps and subcamps garnered mass media attention. The *New York Times* headlined the research, "The Holocaust Just Got More Shocking," because of the astoundingly high number of camps—more than 40,000—and their varied functions as sites of murder, torture, forced labor, detention, and sexual abuse. The public reacted very positively to the release of this important publication, and Volume I received both the 2009 National Jewish Book Award and then the 2010 Judaica Reference Award (from the Association of Jewish Libraries).

In Volume II on ghettos in German-occupied Eastern Europe, Holocaust survivors almost invariably looked for, and found, the towns where they had lived, and even people from that time in their lives. They welcomed the volumes as evidence of their experiences of suffering and as a testament to those who were murdered in the camps. Those entries are now fundamental sources of information for teaching and research around the globe, used in classrooms to educate and in the courtroom to prosecute former perpetrators and settle compensation claims of former forced laborers and Holocaust victims. The impact of this published research has been monumental.

Once again, this volume, which describes the hundreds of camps and ghettos that were not established by the German government, breaks new ground in the understanding of the wider European role in the Holocaust. For decades scholars have researched and discussed the fact that Germans could not have

carried out the near destruction of European Jewry without the active participation of collaborators. The public, however, is generally not aware of the extent of civilian and military participation in programs of mass persecution, property theft, deportation, and murder. German allies, satellite states, and collaborationist regimes established their own systems of camps and ghettos, pursued their own racist and authoritarian goals, and often lent direct support to the Germans' efforts as well. On their own initiative or at the Germans' behest, countries from Norway to Italy and France to Hungary imprisoned political opponents, Jews, Roma, prisoners of war, suspected partisans, and foreign nationals. The treatment that these prisoners received at the hands of their captors sometimes rivaled, for sheer barbarity, that which the Germans meted out in their camps. In other instances, regimes simply transferred prisoners from their camps to the Germans.

This third volume will be followed by four more, which are being managed and edited by a team of historians at the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies. Volume IV will cover sites under the control of the German military—the Wehrmacht—including hundreds of prisoner of war camps of various types, army brothels, internment camps, punishment camps, and prisons for Wehrmacht personnel. Subsequent volumes will cover categories such as extermination camps, forced labor camps (for Jews and non-Jews), resettlement camps for Poles, work education camps, so-called euthanasia centers, and sites for forced abortion and infanticide. The goal remains to produce the most comprehensive examination possible of Nazi sites of detention, persecution, and murder in Europe and North Africa. When the project is finished, it will have required the labor of hundreds of scholars over a span of more than two decades.

The Museum is in a unique position to undertake this major project because of its extensive archival holdings of documents, photographs, and other collections available to researchers. With the support of generous donors, the Museum has amassed more than 102 million documents, which are mostly from European countries but span the globe. This major archive of the Holocaust continues to grow each year as more countries, international organizations, and private individuals make available their

material. The recent opening of the International Tracing Service archive brought an additional 200 million digitized documents to the Museum. Decades ago, no one—not even the founders of the Museum, who included a library and archive in their original plans—could have imagined the volume of material that would be accessible to scholars and the general public, and the discoveries that would come to light from this vast documentation.

Research of the scale and depth of the *Encyclopedia* could not be undertaken and completed by a single author. It is for this reason that the Mandel Center, the nation's leading generator of Holocaust scholarship, is committed to its completion. For this volume, we marshalled the research of more than 40 contributors who wrote over 700 entries, covering sites under the control of 10 different countries that established persecution sites serving varying purposes and prisoner populations. The contributors mined sources in 13 different languages, from French and Italian to Serbo-Croatian, Finnish, and Arabic. Often the entries were submitted in one of those languages. Nearly half the entries were the work of members of the Mandel Center's own *Encyclopedia* team, because it was difficult to find outside scholars with the required knowledge on particular sites. Our in-house scholars applied their linguistic expertise and research skills to write about places that no one had ever described before.

As essential as the *Encyclopedia* is, it is only a part of the scholarly work that is being accomplished by the Mandel Center. The Mandel Center's mission is to strengthen and help shape the field of Holocaust studies through activities and programs that stimulate new research and teaching on Holocaust-related topics; to encourage networking and cooperative endeavors among scholars around the globe; and to ensure the training of future scholars of the Holocaust. The Mandel Center's programs include (1) the largest international fellowship residency program for Holocaust-related research, as well as competitive graduate student research assistantships; (2) annual seminars for college/university faculty teaching about the Holocaust; (3) academic symposia, seminars, research workshops, panels, and special lectures both in North America and abroad; (4) specialized research projects, including the publication of the *Encyclopedia* and the Jewish Source Study Initiative's series, *Documenting Life and*

Destruction: Holocaust Sources in Context, as well as the digital teaching platform, *Experiencing History: Jewish Perspectives on the Holocaust*; (5) an academic publications program, including the journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*; and (6) international archival collection projects in more than 40 countries. The Mandel Center develops and sponsors research and teaching that tap into the Museum's resources and collections of archival documentation, rare books, memoirs, oral history, film, photographs, art, and artifacts, as well as the Holocaust survivors and victims database. These programs and other efforts provide invaluable opportunities to established and emerging scholars, helping the Mandel Center achieve its goal of a secure and thriving field of Holocaust studies, one that will honor the memory of the victims and deepen understanding of the history.

These activities could not succeed without the dedicated, trained staff of the Museum and the Mandel Center. As work on this latest volume was nearing completion, its editor, Dr. Joseph White, died suddenly. With heavy hearts, but inspired by Dr. White's thorough scholarship, staff in the Mandel Center—particularly his colleagues Geoffrey Megargee, Mel Hecker, and Jürgen Matthäus—brought the manuscript to completion. Joe left an indelible mark on every project he worked on as well as on the people he worked with, and he will be sorely missed.

WENDY LOWER, ACTING DIRECTOR
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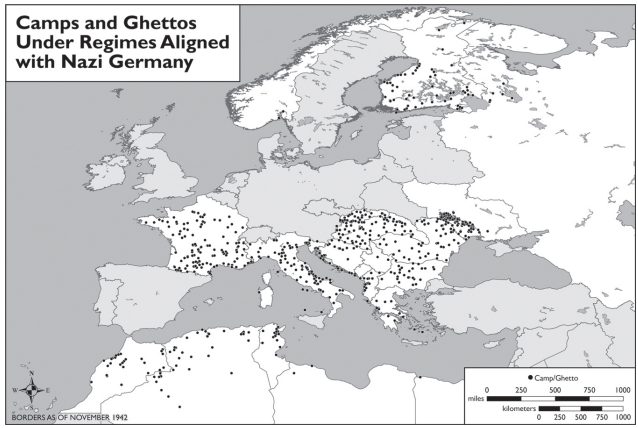
To anyone whom we left out, we beg your forbearance. With Joe's passing, we also lost a great deal of institutional memory.

GEOFFREY P. MEGARGEE
MEL HECKER


Camps and Ghettos
Under Regimes Aligned
with Nazi Germany
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EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

To many people, the story of World War II in Europe is a mostly two-sided affair: Nazi Germany versus the free world. Likewise, when we think of the Holocaust and other crimes of that era, we also tend to think of Germany: of its concentration camps, its ghettos, and its extermination centers. That is not entirely inappropriate: Germany started the war, after all, and was the driving force behind the Holocaust and many other vicious crimes. To stop there, however, is to ignore the roles that many other nations played. Germany did not act alone. Its allies, satellite states, and collaborationist regimes across Europe assisted in carrying out the "Final Solution," as well as implementing their own programs of racial and political persecution. This volume of the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos* documents the role of those regimes by describing the camps, ghettos, and other detention sites that they ran.

Perhaps more so than any other volume in the series, this book covers sites whose variety is their outstanding characteristic. First, one has only to consider the range of states involved: Italy, Finland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Croatia, Slovakia, Serbia, Vichy France, and Norway. Each had a different historical background; a different governmental system and ruling ideology; different policies toward various minorities, internal opponents, and foreigners; and a different relationship with Germany. Some regimes changed as the war went on. Some occupied parts of other states or held colonies. Their detention sites, the prisoners in those sites, and the conditions there all reflected those varying influences. The sites' designations run the gamut—labor camps, mobile labor units, transit camps, concentration camps, internment camps, ghettos, and prisons—without really telling us much. So much depended on the controlling regime and its attitude toward the prisoners, who came from all over Europe and North Africa. Finns held Soviets; Italians held Greeks, Macedonians, Albanians, and Arabs; French held Arabs and Spaniards; Croats held Serbs. Many countries held Roma, most held political prisoners and

resistance fighters from within their own populations, and almost all held Jews, whom they often killed themselves or handed over to the Germans. Geographically, there were sites from northern Scandinavia to Timbuktu, and from the Atlantic coast to western Ukraine. Conditions in them ranged from moderate to murderous.

If the volume were to have any coherence at all, we had to find a central theme or governing principle, according to which we would select the sites for inclusion. Because this is a volume about states that aligned themselves with Nazi Germany—out of whatever combination of enthusiasm and coercion—we set out to describe those sites that bore some relation to Nazi or fascist ideology or to the war aims that such ideology engendered. In other words, we looked for sites that mirrored the kinds of places that the Germans themselves set up; that displayed the same tendency to label, isolate, persecute, and sometimes murder people based on racial, ideological, or national criteria. That means that we did not include some categories of sites. Italian prisoner of war camps, for example, did not meet our criteria, nor did most countries' ordinary prisons. Still, there was no shortage of sites to cover.

We tried to keep the volume's internal organization as simple as possible, while also reflecting important distinctions among sites. The first set of divisions is, logically enough, by country: each country that had its own detention sites gets its own section (plus one for Tunisia, which is a special case). Within those sections, most of the entries appear in alphabetical order, although there are some instances in which there is a further division, according to the country or area in which some sites were located. So, for example, the section for France includes a subsection on French North Africa. Each section has an introductory essay that provides broader background information on that particular country. The Reader's Guide has more to say on this subject.

The topic's complexity goes far toward explaining this volume's long gestation period. There are few experts on the history, and the politics within some present-day countries sometimes interfered with the work of the scholars who are qualified to tackle the subject. The sources are even more scattered than for the other volumes, are usually far from complete, and exist in a bewildering variety of languages. Checking the accuracy of translations and

even the use of diacritics has been difficult. To all of that, one can add the confusing nature of the history itself. Sites emerged (some of them well before the war or the appearance of the Third Reich) for various reasons, under the auspices of a huge array of bureaucracies, and for different purposes. Those purposes and the controlling agencies sometimes changed as time went on. There were camps within camps, camps that moved, camps that dis appeared and then reappeared, and camps whose names changed. The very borders of states changed. Many of the sites had never been the object of serious research. Finding all the information, and turning it into a coherent whole, was a huge challenge. In the end, though, we believe we have put together a unique volume of enduring value.

This project offers perhaps the broadest single base available for the comparative study of detention systems across Axis-controlled Europe. Considering the wealth of material on which it draws and the vast spectrum of sites it covers, the volume underscores how the idea of the camp (writ large) dominated the continent. It affords scholars an unparalleled opportunity to compare different persecution regimes. It will contribute to the growing literature on so-called generic fascism.[1] In a field in which theory too often takes precedence over fact, in which there exists a quixotic search for the "fascist minimum"—the minimum criteria denoting a fascist regime or political movement—this volume will shed light on one criterion that Germany's allies, collaborationist states, and satellites shared: the willingness to imprison their political, racial, and/or ideological enemies. At the same time, on a more personal level, this work will provide survivors, their descendants, and general readers an essential reference for little-remembered sites of persecution, torment, and destruction.

Note that non-inclusion of a particular site is this volume should not be construed as proof that there was no camp or ghetto there. Naturally, the team that put this volume together did its best to ensure comprehensiveness and accuracy. That said, any work of such scope is bound to contain some errors, and for those we accept full responsibility.

Joseph Robert White
Geoffrey P. Megargee

Editor's Note: The editors have worked to provide clear and accurate information about the provenance of each illustration in this volume. In some instances, we have been unable to verify the existence or identity of any present copyright holders. If notified of any incorrect or incomplete identification, we will include updated information in reprints of this work.

NOTE

1. See, for example, Roger Griffin, "The Palingenetic Core of Generic Fascist Ideology," in Alessandro Campi (ed.), *Che cos'è il fascismo? Interpretazioni e prospettive di ricerche* (Rome: Ideazione editrice, 2003), pp. 97–122.

READER'S GUIDE TO USING THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

The purpose of this section is to give the reader tips on how best to use this volume and to offer information on its more technical aspects.

The organization of this volume is straightforward. There is a section for each country that aligned itself with Nazi Germany, in alphabetical order, plus a section for Tunisia, which was a special case. Within each section, the site entries appear in alphabetical order, regardless of type. For example, in the section for France, Drancy, a transit camp, is followed by Eaux-Bonnes, an internment camp (*centre de residence assignée*), and then by Écrouves, a "confinement center" (*centre de séjour surveillé*, CSS). In the cases of France and Italy, the regimes controlled parts of other countries—both occupied territory and colonies—and those areas are covered in subsections, such as "Italian-Occupied Greece."

The *Encyclopedia*'s first purpose is to provide as much basic information as possible on each individual site. To achieve that end and also to provide for as much consistency as possible among the entries, we asked our many contributors to try to answer the following, as best they could, in what is admittedly a small amount of space:

- When was the site established, under what authority, and for what purpose? What agencies were involved in its construction?
- What kinds of prisoners did the site hold, and how many?
- What type of labor did the prisoners perform, and what companies or organizations employed them?
- How did the demographics of the prisoner population change over time (i.e., changes in composition; decreases/increases in overall numbers and death rates; changes in causes of death)?

- If inmates were killed, what were the methods, motives, and circumstances involved?
- Who were the commanders and key officers at the site, and what were their career patterns and length of service there?
- Which units guarded the site? Did these units and their composition change, and if so, why?
- What elements of the prisoner culture were unique to the site, if any? Was there some particular aspect of the prisoners' coping mechanism that enabled greater resilience?
- Were there any key events in the history of the site, such as resistance and/or escapes, either organized or spontaneous?
- When and under what circumstances was the site dissolved or evacuated? What happened to the prisoners afterward?
- Were site personnel tried after the war, and if so, what were the results of those proceedings?

The contributors did an excellent job in answering these questions, given the limitations of space and, at times, of the amount of source material available. We did not insist that they address the questions in any particular order, but they nonetheless put their essays together in such a way that particular items of information are usually easy to find, assuming that the information was available in the sources.

The *Encyclopedia*'s second purpose is to encourage additional research on the sites in question, and so we also asked each author to include citations to key documents, when available, and a narrative description of both primary and secondary sources, published and archival, at the end of each entry. In that way, readers can see what sources an author already consulted and where to seek additional information.

In practical terms, this volume can be used for either of two related purposes. If your goal is to learn about a particular site or sites, you may, of course, go to the relevant essays and just read them. However, if you also want to understand a site's place within the larger universe of a particular country's detention system and how that system developed and functioned, you should begin with the introductory essay for that country and then move

to the site entry or entries of interest. This is also a useful approach if you are interested in sources, because those listed for a particular site may not include broader works that might contain valuable information; for those you must go to the country essay.

Finding a particular essay is easy. If you are looking for a particular site and you know which regime administered it, just look in the appropriate section of the table of contents or leaf through the body of the volume. If you are less sure of the details about a site, the index might be a better place to look, especially because it includes a variety of alternative site names.

For the entry titles, we used the names that the governing regimes used for the sites, but we have tried to include the most important variants within the entries.

Readers should also be aware of two space-saving measures. The names of archives have been abbreviated in the source sections and citations; please refer to the List of Abbreviations for the full names. Also, there are only a few cross-references within the text, for the simple reason that most such references would be to other camps, for which there are entries in any case. We have made exceptions to this policy only where there seemed a special need to do so.

Jews at forced labor in a Bulgarian labor camp near the former Yugoslav border, 1942. USHMM WS #09056, COURTESY OF COMFORTY MEDIA CONCEPTS.

BULGARIA

In November 1935 a pro-monarchical regime bestowed near-dictatorial authority on Bulgaria's reigning Tsar Boris III. Boris and his prime minister Bogdan Filov were fervent admirers of Adolf Hitler. Berlin became Sofia's dominant trade partner by the late 1930s, effectively renewing the Central powers alignment of World War I. By 1940 the royal government, reflecting its support for German predominance on the continent, aligned with Germany as a nonbelligerent vassal in the war. The recognition of Nazi hegemony entailed ideological tutelage and the adoption of an antisemitic state policy. German inducements included weaponry and territorial transfers, starting with southern Dobrudzha during the 1940 partition of Romania. In turn, Sofia enacted the Law for the Defense of the Nation in January 1941, removing Jews from social, professional, and economic life and conscripting adult Jewish males for forced labor. In the wake of the Wehrmacht's

1941 Balkan triumph and with German approval, Bulgaria seized long-coveted irredenta from Greece and Yugoslavia. The annexations boosted the number of Bulgaria's Jews from 48,000 to approximately 60,000, all of whom became subject to escalating mistreatment.

Historically, antisemitism was not absent from Bulgaria, and in step with continental trends, anti-Jewish propaganda increased in volume and stridency during the 1930s. Although they comprised less than 1 percent of the population and many had served loyally in Bulgaria's wars, Jews came to be depicted in state-approved media as an alien threat. They enjoyed legal status as full citizens and most were fluent in Bulgarian, but cultural factors placed them in a separate niche. They did not worship in the official Bulgarian Orthodox Church, and unlike ethnic Bulgarians, their unbaptized children did not bear saints' names. Instead, Jewish surnames and given names conveyed a vibrant Sephardic heritage. Jews often spoke Judeo-Spanish, which again promoted difference and fostered suspicion. They maintained ties to co-religionists in Salonika and other cities across the Greek, Turkish, and Yugoslav borders, and Zionist ideals attracted many with the dream of a British-sponsored homeland in Palestine. Yet their political sentiments spanned a wide spectrum. The political Left appealed to significant numbers of young Jews, but the membership of the Bulgarian Communist Party was not primarily Jewish.

Adolf Hitler greets King Boris III of Bulgaria, April 1941. USHMM

WS #75985, COURTESY OF PERQUIMANS COUNTY LIBRARY.

Bulgaria's Jews were virtually all urban, with approximately 25,000 residing in Sofia. Some had attained middle-class status as businessmen, teachers, doctors, pharmacists, and lawyers. Talented Jews participated in the nation's arts, music, and literature. Before the discriminatory statute of early 1941, modest affluence enabled a few to move outside traditionally Jewish neighborhoods.

Boris's affiliation with the Third Reich brought ruin to the Jewish community. The extirpation of Jews from the national body politic was accomplished largely through an indigenous camp and ghetto system. The camp system was first initiated as an instrument of dictatorial control, with left-leaning political dissidents the main targets. But a constellation of camps and ghettos was soon vastly extended as the tsar's government followed the German lead in targeting Jews. Four distinct administrative entities eventually became involved in running camps and/or ghettos: the State Security section of the Police Directorate (*Direktsia na politsiata, otdel dŭrzhavna sigurnost*, DPODS) under the Interior Ministry; the army; the Bureau of Temporary Labor (*Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost*, OVTP), which was part of the Public Works Ministry (*Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto*, OSPB); and the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV), a semi-autonomous body formally within the Interior Ministry.

DPODS CAMPS

Beginning in the late 1930s, people deemed politically dangerous to the regime were subject to temporary internment (*vŭdvoren*) without trial in rural villages or small towns. They were placed under movement restrictions and obliged to report daily to the local police as ordered by DPODS. Within this framework the euphemistically dubbed "state security settlements" (*selishta na dŭrzhavna sigurnost*) developed as antecedents to some of the full-fledged Bulgarian concentration camps during World War II.

Political internments began at the end of January 1938 with a roundup of approximately 40 anti-regime subversives in and around the cities of Plovdiv, Asenovgrad, and Karlovo. Until mid-1940, detention sites were selected on an ad hoc basis, when sites such as monastic compounds or resort camps during off-season lulls became available. With the routine internment of potential opponents arose the need for a suitable, DPODS-run camp. The camp was ideally an installation guarded around the clock in which prisoners were cut off from local inhabitants. The first such concentration camp was Ribaritsa in the Teteven district. After an inmate strike, the prisoners were dispatched to the Beklemeto Pass (or Troyanski Pass), a camp which operated for only a short time. The opening of the Gonda Voda concentration camp on January 21, 1941, coincided with the government's decision to join the Tripartite Pact (the Axis) and the parliamentary enactment of the antisemitic Law for the Defense of the Nation. Although Gonda Voda was intended primarily to hold leftist political opponents, not Jews per se, a small fraction of those incarcerated there were Jews whose resistance to persecution was manifested via communist-affiliated groups such as the Workers Youth League (*rabotnicheskia mladezhki sŭioz*). Ethnic Bulgarian adherents of the radical Agrarian Party were also detained at Gonda Voda and related camps.

The mass arrests that followed the German invasion of the Soviet Union prompted Gonda Voda's great expansion, as well as the creation of a women's camp, Sveti Nikola, in Gonda Voda's vicinity. As of November 27, 1941, Sveti Nikola held 45 women considered state security risks.[1] To handle the increased volume of detainees, two new concentration camps for men were set up on the Black Sea coast. One was called Galata, an island just off the port of Burgas. Formerly a monastery, Sveta Anastasia was a prison island in the early 1920s until its closure in the wake of a mass escape.

During the winter of 1941 both Galata and Sveta Anastasia ceased operation. Gonda Voda also closed in December 1941 for winter, but reopened in the spring of 1942 with 50 inmates. The need for an incarceration center to hold security internees was met by the larger, newly constructed Krŭstopole (Enikioi) camp located in Bulgarian-occupied northern Greece.[2] Krŭstopole and

Sveti Nikola kept inmates confined through the winter, the only internment camps to do so in 1941. In the spring of 1942 Krŭstopole held 1,494 internees, whereas Sveti Nikola retained 54. In the spring Sveti Nikola again received prisoners, which boosted its inmate total to 81 women. At that time DPODS held 1,625 state security prisoners.

On January 12, 1942, the Council of Ministers decided that six months was the standard period of detention without trial. If deemed necessary, family members of the principal detainees were to be held as well.[3] Under these guidelines, on March 4 the police arrested 480 people for six months' confinement. Despite the program's shaky start, the Bulgarian authorities considered internment a useful tool and continued to expand and develop the practice during 1943 in response to increased anti-regime activity. On February 18, 1943, the commandant of Krŭstopole, Milcho Milchev, was ordered to expand the camp's capacity by another 900 prisoners.[4] The next day the Council of Ministers authorized the detention of 941 suspected communists and other regime opponents. Krŭstopole, Gonda Voda, and Sveti Nikola remained the principal holding pens. As of July 1, 1943, Krŭstopole's inmate population totaled 1,481. In addition to young radicals and confirmed communists, a fair number of educated professionals were interned there, including writers, artists, doctors, and lawyers. A two-tier class-based incarceration system thereby emerged.

The following month yet another two camps were established to hold some of the detainees transferred from Krŭstopole. One facility was Sveti Kirik, a monastery in the village of Todorovtsi. Some 125 individuals identified as intellectuals began arriving at Sveti Kirik in the middle of August 1943. About 300 other prisoners made do with rougher accommodations nearby at what was called the Todorovtsi concentration camp. They were set to work building a road. There was also a short-lived concentration camp for artists and intellectuals at Sveti Vrach (today: Sandanski), which operated in the autumn of 1943. During the autumn of 1943 and the following winter the authorities freed the inmates from Sveti Nikola, Sveti Kirik, Todorovtsi, and Gonda Voda. Of the 1,652 held at Krŭstopole, all but 35 were released as well.

Krŭstopole began receiving prisoners again in the spring of 1944, the total reaching some 200. In March 1944 Sveti Kirik was reopened, although this time to receive female inmates because a communist-led partisan unit was menacing the area around Sveti Nikola. Sveti Kirik held up to 92 internees in June, but the number dropped when DPODS allowed the women to go free by the end of July. In August 1944 the Sveti Kirik site was used to intern 129 Soviet citizens living in Bulgaria, as well as a few Soviet prisoners of war (POWs; from 1943 on, Allied POWs, all fliers, were held in an army-run camp in Shumen). The Soviets were freed when Bulgaria switched to the Allied side in early September 1944, and the communist-dominated Fatherland Front (*Otechestven Front*, OF) government took power.

DPODS also held regime opponents at the following smaller concentration camps in 1944: Gigen, Belene, Demir-Hisar, Levunovo, Divdyadovo, and Atia. Gigen, also known as the Gigintsi monastery, was uninhabited and available to house dissidents. Belene is an island on the Danube. Demir-Hisar (Valovishta, Sidirokastro) was used as a hard labor camp for prisoners who committed infractions or were identified as disciplinary cases at other facilities. They were assigned to work crews called "black companies" (*cherni roti*). Levunovo is located on a railroad line paralleling the Struma River. Divdyadovo was a village on the southern outskirts of the city of Shumen; it has since been subsumed into Shumen municipality. Atia is on the Black Sea coast, midway between the ports of Burgas and Sozopol.

Detention in DPODS camps disrupted people's lives, exposed them to hardship, and imposed major burdens on their families. However, the conditions were relatively benign compared to the Nazi camps. The Bulgarian guards lacked the arbitrary power of life or death over inmates.[5] Because the camps' main purpose in Bulgaria was to remove regime opponents temporarily from political action in the cities, work details were an afterthought. Arbitrary brutality in DPODS camps did not generally approach the levels inflicted on Jews at forced labor assignments in Bulgaria under a separate camp administration. Jewish survivors recalled that conditions in DPODS camps were better than in the Jewish forced labor battalions.[6] Viewed in the broader context, however,

the DPODS camps set an emboldening precedent for the forcible dislocation and imprisonment of Jews.

These camps also incurred some negative costs for the regime. The periods of confinement fostered camaraderie among dissidents and thus catalyzed the opposition. Krŭstopole and the smaller camps brought together communists, agrarians, and a range of other people labeled suspect by the regime. The shared experience of persecution facilitated communication among different groups, thus inadvertently laying the groundwork for their wartime alliance against Boris's government and the postwar OF regime. Moderates, aggrieved by their internment, became radicalized. And it was under conditions of close quarters, privation, and forced labor that prisoners got to know each other well, with friendships, enmities, informal hierarchies, and cliques emerging during the course of the ordeal.

JEWISH FORCED LABOR IN 1941

The first Bulgarian camps established under the antisemitic laws exclusively for Jews were compulsory labor bivouacs set up during the spring of 1941. On May 1 the conscripts reported for five months' duty after which most of the men mustered out on or about October 1.[7] A few were retained into November.[8]

Conditions during that period were easier compared to the following three years, with several factors accounting for the relatively benign start. One was the already well-established Bulgarian practice of labor service as patriotic obligation, for the purpose of infrastructural modernization. Male citizens had been subject to such call-ups since reforms were enacted in the early 1920s under the populist prime minister Aleksandŭr Stamboliiski. Another historical factor was the Bulgarian Army's well-established arrangement for using the labor of several minorities, namely ethnic Turks, Roma, and Slavic-speaking Muslim Pomaks. Although not entrusted to bear arms, these men wore uniforms and served in segregated units as engineering auxiliaries. They were de facto second-class citizens, but their draft obligation did not equate to penal servitude. It was instead a normal requirement for Muslim (Turks and Roma in Bulgaria were also Muslim) young men who held military status. This policy provided a precedent for how to

deal with the Jews when they were legislatively demoted to a pariah caste.

Yet Jews were subjected to more disadvantages than other minorities, including a much expanded age liability for compulsory labor. In 1941 Jewish conscripts, many of whom were called up in their mid-forties, were considerably older than their Muslim counter parts because it was the express intent of the law to impose a punitive burden. Furthermore, a term limit was not stated for the Jews' obligation; that is, the men served annually during the warmer months until becoming overage or disabled. Jewry as a collective was explicitly identified by law in January 1941 as a suspect subversive element. As of January 27 under an order signed by the chief of the general staff, all Jewish officers and troops were formally dismissed from the army. Yet during 1941, the army retained lower level Jewish officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) under "reserve" status, a fiction to get around the legislative prohibition.

Paradoxically, however, it was the army that undertook the tasks of organizing Jewish men into regimented work units and resolving all the attendant practical problems. Because the country was not actively at war, these men were employed in infrastructural improvement projects, much as Stamboliiski's work brigades had been. Toward that end the army's tested procedures with regard to Muslim personnel offered a ready paradigm for accommodating the newly imposed special onus on Jews.

So despite their formal dismissal from the military, Jewish labor conscripts in 1941 were organized and treated as labor troops (*trudovi voiski*) of the Bulgarian Army. In effect the army ignored the national legislature on that point during the first year of official persecution. Many of the Jewish draftees were veterans in good standing. As of 1941 the lower level personnel were issued army boots and fatigues, but not insignia. Rank and military courtesy were nevertheless observed even if Jewish officers lacked de jure commissions. Jewish junior officers and NCOs wore the uniforms appropriate to those grades and exercised direct charge over the rank and file, which at least temporarily buffered the latter from petty abuse by bigots among the Bulgarian overseers. Men sick or injured on deployment were treated in army medical facilities. And in 1941 all the Jews in service received nominal pay, albeit at a

lower rate than their Bulgarian counter parts.[9]

The basic administrative unit for construction troops was the battalion (*druzhina*). A battalion comprised a flexible number of smaller operational field units, each known by the standard army term as a construction company (*stroitelna rota*). The nature of the assigned task dictated how many companies a battalion controlled. Jews served as heavy labor in construction companies, but usually not in the attached service bodies. Thus cooks, orderlies, and medics, as well as clerical and signal personnel, were in theory all ethnic Bulgarians; Jewish names only rarely appear on these unit rolls.

Jewish conscripts during 1941 were deployed for road building at Lakatnik, Gara Bov, Rebrovo, Tserovo, Gara Chepino, Nedelino, Ardino, and Byal Izvor.

The 1st Labor Battalion operated at Lakatnik, Gara Bov, Tserovo, and Rebrovo to improve motorway access from Sofia to the economically productive plain between the Danube and the Balkan range. In this region the Iskŭr River cuts a narrow gorge through hilly terrain, which posed engineering challenges for road building. The lower level officers and NCOs were Jewish. Gara Bov served as field headquarters. (Wherever possible in the entries that follow, the name of the known field headquarters, not the battalion number, serves as the title.)

The 5th Labor Battalion was based in Veliko Tŭrnovo in the north central part of the country. But in 1941 the unit set up a field headquarters in Gara Chepino, where it fielded four ad hoc construction companies made up of Jewish officers and rank and file engaged in road building.[10]

Bulgarian Jews dig a road in a forced labor brigade, 1941. USHMM WS #42245, COURTESY OF ALBERT FARHI.

On October 28, 1941, a memorandum from the labor troop command in Sofia forbade conscripts to take photographs of a "military character."[11] This directive indicated suspicion among those at high levels regarding the loyalty of the Jewish conscripts; the initially benign period of forced labor had thus ended. Official measures were already underway to downgrade drastically the Jews' status. The shift followed a visit to Bulgaria in the summer of 1941 by the chief of the Reich Labor Service (*Reichsarbeitsdienst*, RAD), Konstantin Hierl. Yet the treatment of Jewish conscripts in 1942 developed in such brutal contrast to the preceding year that these changes cannot be dismissed as mere gestures to placate a foreign critic. One factor motivating those changes was the ineffectiveness, in 1941, of the Jewish officers and NCOs in deterring desertions, at least from units operating in proximity to cities. Domestic antisemitism grew more robust and attracted a wider constituency, legitimized by radio and print propaganda and amplified by stunning Wehrmacht victories. It appeared likely that Germany would win the war. The fascist-style "Defenders" (*Brannitsi*) and the "Insurgents" (*Chetnitsi*) youth groups, which was patterned after the Hitler Youth, perpetrated random street violence against Jews. A steady stream of invective identified Jewry as a malignant body to be quarantined, expelled from Bulgaria, or murdered en masse. The forced laborers at bivouac sites bore the brunt of ill treatment at first, to be followed

later in 1942 by new measures against their families at home.

JEWISH FORCED LABOR IN 1942

Paramount among the changes was a decisive abrogation of military status for the Jewish conscripts. They were deleted from the army's table of organization, with the "reserve" Jewish officer and NCO slots eliminated. Instead, all the draftees including former officers came under an agency within the civilian OSPB, appropriately named the Bureau of Temporary Labor (OVTP). Other groups were also attached to the OVTP's battalions including units of ethnic Turks, Serbs, and "unemployed" (Roma). But the "temporary" status for Jews ironically portended plans to deport them to German custody. Their very life-spans were deemed short term as rumors circulated of Nazi genocide. In the meantime the Jews' labor was more frankly construed as collective punishment. The twin goals of somehow motivating the Jews to achieve results on construction projects, while simultaneously humiliating, robbing, beating, and undernourishing them, constituted a dilemma. A purely civilian entity lacked the means for resolving it.

Thus the reemphasized civilian and punitive status did not end the army's active role in managing the labor battalions. Involuntary service necessitated security measures, and it was the army alone that possessed the experience, assets, and personnel to exercise such functions on short notice. Thus the army continued to administer the Jewish units on behalf of the OVTP, albeit with some changes. Construction companies were henceforth known by the less overtly military term "work groups" (*trudovi grupi*). They were smaller than the previous year's companies, with up to about 300 instead of 400 men, but the battalions fielded more groups and more men overall than before. Each group in turn consisted of 30-to 40-man sections (*yadro*, plural *yadrovi*) about the size of a platoon. The term for battalion (*druzhina*) was generally retained, but sometimes in official paperwork the word "detachment" (*otryad*) appeared instead.

Still, the Jews faced harsh treatment. Uniforms were no longer issued to conscripts, who toiled in their civilian clothes marked with the yellow star. This was a hardship because rough field

conditions exacted wear and tear on clothing at a time when the antisemitic economic measures were already reducing many Jewish families to poverty. The withdrawal of sturdy, waterproofed work boots moreover deprived most conscripts of footwear adequate for terrain ranging from stony hillsides to muddy swamps. Obtaining adequate footwear then became an issue.

Also withdrawn from service was the Jews' effective protector in 1941, General-Major Anton Stefanov Ganev, who was replaced by Polkovnik Nikola Halachev as head of the OVTP. Halachev proved more amenable to enforcing the tandem yet contradictory government policies of making Jewish conscripts suffer while still trying to derive practical benefits from their toil. The OVTP's inspectorate adjusted its priorities to achieving measurable results. Under Halachev two army officers served as inspectors, Polkovnik Ivan Ivanov and Podpolkovnik Todor Boichev Atanasov.[12] The latter did not disguise his antisemitic zeal.

Halachev was hardly less zealous regarding the Jews. Overall, the conscripts' work fell below standard and lagged behind schedule as field units continued to be plagued by high absenteeism. Many of the men carried on the rolls were not present or, if present, were not working. On July 14, 1942, Halachev addressed a memorandum to all battalion commanders and constituent group commanders, in which he noted that many men ignored their draft orders, never showing up at all. Others, he alleged, faked illness or disability to avoid service. The commander requested lists of those who had not reported for duty, and to rectify matters he proposed a set of harsh correctives.

One step was the creation of a special disciplinary unit that had to continue working despite winter conditions to upgrade the railway from southwestern Bulgaria to Demir-Hisar in Bulgarian-annexed northern Greece. This project had particular priority for the government because it would tie the "New Territories" economically and militarily to metropolitan Bulgaria. Thus the form of punishment was tailored in a way to enable fulfillment of the construction tasks entrusted to the OVTP. Halachev's job hung in the balance. During 1943 the rail line to Demir-Hisar was used to carry Greek Jews across Bulgaria to their deaths at Nazi hands.

Halachev also decreed a sliding scale of lesser penalties to be administered by individual units. For various infractions conscripts could be deprived of letters and packages, visitation, and leave for up to three months; denied warm meals for up to 10 days; deprived of bedding for an unspecified duration; forced to sleep on a hard surface for up to 20 days; and/ or fed only bread and water for up to 10 days. Up to three of the recommended punishments could be administered simultaneously. Whereas brig confinement diminished the labor force, the intent here was to inflict deprivation while still keeping recalcitrants at work. Halachev claimed that a 1936 precedent governing citizens' labor service authorized these disciplinary measures. In addition, the Jews were specially targeted by Paragraph No. 30 of the Law for the Defense of the Nation and in decisions by OSPB and the Council of Ministers, respectively on March 27 and April 12, 1942. Keen on enforcement, Halachev required that unit commanders sign a receipt of the memorandum and duly warn the Jewish laborers of the crackdown.

On July 22, 1942, another Halachev memorandum described various forms of lax discipline in the Jewish units. He alleged that the Jews stole from each other, which necessitated appointing watchmen to remain at the bivouacs while the crews worked. Malingering was said to be rampant at sick call: conscripts excused for illness or infirmity allegedly hung about camps reading, playing cards, or napping. Some who were authorized to seek medical care at military clinics used the opportunity to desert. Halachev also expressly forbade Jews from straying off the work sites into nearby villages, where he feared they might use local post offices to send mail or receive packages. He instructed unit commanders to draw up lists of violators.

Still, the infractions continued. On September 15, Halachev followed with more guidelines. There was little attempt to conceal the personal animosity prompting this memorandum. Jewish conscripts were not to be permitted to have conjugal visits on bivouac premises or to meet visitors at hotels in the camp's vicinity. Food parcels they received had to be shared. Halachev dispatched his field inspectors to enforce compliance. Threats and intimidation were used to boost productivity.

Between the top men at the OVTP and the exploited draftees

was an intermediate level of Bulgarian personnel, many of whom saw opportunities to profit from the Jews' plight. The dismissal of Jewish junior officers and NCOs only further worsened the conscripts' low morale. Those Jews who formerly served as supervisors resented their demotion, whereas the rank and file now came directly under Bulgarian overseers without a buffer.

Cultural clash was inevitable. A marked social gap was apparent from the battalion personnel rosters that listed the hometowns of conscripts and foremen. The Jews were overwhelmingly urban, fully half living in the capital and nearly all the rest in cities of substantial size. The Bulgarian personnel, by contrast, came mostly from villages or small provincial towns. Between captives and wardens such disparities only spelled mutual loathing. Even poor Jews were on the whole better educated than their overseers, with more years spent in schools staffed by more learned teachers, in an environment with more varied stimuli. The Jews had read more books, had seen more films and plays, and were more exposed to international trends. Language distanced them still further. Speaking Judeo-Spanish, the Jews communicated secretly with each other in the very presence of non-Jewish officers and NCOs. That too was a form of resistance, as well as an implicit taunt to authority. Reviled as enemies of the nation they had little left to lose and little hope of any future in Bulgaria. In turn the Bulgarian oppressors withheld privileges; stole rations; and insulted, beat, and extorted the Jews while upholding themselves as patriots.

The pattern of deployments in 1942 indicates that work groups were likely stationed at some distance from battalion headquarters and far from the other work groups in the same battalion. The battalion thus functioned mainly as an administrative body. The 1st Labor Battalion, headquartered in Sofia, deployed groups as far as Trŭnska Klisura on the Bulgarian frontier with Serbia. One element was posted somewhere in Surdulica, a district of southeastern Serbia occupied by the Bulgarian Army.[13] From its administrative headquarters in Veliko Turnovo, the 5th Labor Battalion administered 12 far-flung groups at field deployments in north central Bulgaria.[14]

The torment inflicted on Jewish labor conscripts by Halachev and his subordinates fit into a general context of harsh official

antisemitism. A special tax confiscating most of the Jews' liquid assets and the wearing of an identifying badge were both imposed during the summer of 1942. The KEV also came into being in August. Headed by Aleksandŭr Belev, it emerged as the principal governmental body mandated to confiscate what remained of the victims' wealth and to prepare for their deportation to German hands.

In October Belev ordered all Jews in Sofia to relocate to an area of the city centered on the mostly Jewish working-class neighborhood, Iuch Bunar. Windfall real estate bargains resulted as upper middle class Jews were forced to vacate their addresses in more fashionable districts and crowd into Iuch Bunar. The KEV also proceeded to register all Jews in the country, including those in lands acquired and annexed from Romania, Yugoslavia, and Greece. The Jewish census provided the basis for concentrating the victims pursuant to expulsion into German hands. To reach that ultimate goal, the KEV required assistance from security organs including the police and elements of the army.

Meanwhile, the OVTP maintained entirely separate plans for exploiting the Jews under its control. Several ambitious projects were mapped out in the expectation that a conscript workforce, including the Jews, would remain available. To control the Jews in 1943, the OVTP tried an alternative to Halachev's approach followed in the previous year. It is evident from these plans that, as of late 1942, the KEV had not yet advised the OVTP of its near-term intention of ridding the country completely of Jews, including those in the forced labor units. The two agencies' efforts were thus not only uncoordinated but were also working at cross-purposes.

JEWISH FORCED LABOR IN 1943

In 1943 almost all of Bulgaria's Jewish population was involuntarily confined to labor camps, transit camps, prisons, or ghettos. The order for conscripts to report to service came earlier in 1943 than in previous years, on January 29 for some men.[15] It was a trying year for them, although a shakeup at the OVTP did work somewhat in their favor. Replacing Halachev as commander was Polkovnik Tsvetan Mumdzhiev, who had earned professional respect when he led labor troops during the Bulgarian acquisition

of southern Dobrudzha in 1940. Mumdzhiev's two OVTP inspectors were Podpolkovnik Cholakov and the recently promoted Podpolkovnik Rogozarov. The latter had treated Jewish conscripts humanely while commanding the 1st Jewish Labor Battalion in 1941.[16]

Mumdzhiev's memoranda revealed his understanding of how dignity and morale affected unit performance. As a commander he pursued a strict but relatively fair policy calculated to complete the assigned engineering tasks. He expected maximum effort from all. That necessarily entailed the difficult problem of trying to regain the Jews' confidence. Notwithstanding their formal severance from the army, Mumdzhiev proceeded to treat them to the extent possible as if they were still members of the military establishment.

He began the work season with an attempt to crack down on extortion and the bullying of Jewish conscripts by junior officers. As early as February 16, 1943, Mumdzhiev singled out one particularly egregious offender, Poruchik Paraskev Iordanov, for having linked leave approval to bribe payments. Iordanov incurred a 45-day suspension from duty.[17] Although this punitive measure did not completely deter other officers from committing the same abuse, it did reflect Mumdzhiev's intention to achieve an equitable furlough policy free from corruption.

As in 1942, battalions continued as administrative bodies over numerous work groups. It appeared evident that whereas Mumdzhiev commanded the labor units overall, it was not he who decided on the projects on which they worked. Project planning took place at a higher level, with the details of implementation left to mid-level officers. The largest deployment, involving most of the work groups from two battalions, was on a road connecting Sofia and Plovdiv. Jews constituted most of the conscripted labor force in both the 1st and 2nd Labor Battalions.

The 1st Jewish Labor Battalion maintained its Sofia home office, but operated a field headquarters at Ihtiman on the Sofia-Plovdiv highway project, where engineer Ivan Gasharov exercised de facto command.[18] The battalion also fielded a small detachment in Zlatusha village (27 kilometers or 15 miles northwest of Sofia).[19]

The 2nd Jewish Labor Battalion worked on a section of the

Sofia-Plovdiv highway project farther east from the 1st Battalion.[20] Viktor Baruh, a leader of the communist youth wing in the Iuch Bunar ghetto of Sofia, was part of a group deployed at Kurtovo Konare with the 2nd Jewish Labor Battalion. As a leading writer in Bulgaria he later published a novel on the Holocaust years titled *Otrecheni ot zakona* (*Beyond the Law*). He recalled demeaning treatment of Jews by the officer in charge, but also an act of kindness by a local Bulgarian resident. The man filled the hood of Viktor's jacket with tomatoes to take with him and refused payment when Viktor absconded from the unit.[21]

In southwestern Bulgaria a Jewish unit called Detachment Sveti Vrach (a city almost 126 kilometers or more than 78 miles south of Sofia) was subsequently designated the 12th Labor Battalion.[22] Its deployments along the railway line to the Bulgarian-occupied part of Greece were at Gara Pirin, Gara Belitsa, Sveti Vrach, Marikostino, Poruchik Minkov, General Todorov, Chuchulgovo, Kulata, and Gara Rupel.[23] In addition to 1,523 Jews, approximately 5,000 ethnic Turks also worked on this rail line between Krupnik (almost 96 kilometers or almost 60 miles southwest of Sofia) and Valovishte (Demir-Hisar) in Greece. They were scheduled to continue until December 15. However, on October 8 a memorandum by Mumdzhiev observed that the ill-clad Jews were exhausted and urged their release as of November 15.[24]

The 6th Labor Battalion maintained its home base in Pleven, but established a field command office in Lovech from which Poruchik Kolevski directed nine Jewish work groups. Personnel rosters show that a medical commission inspected the units from time to time and recommended release for certain Jewish conscripts. The battalion mustered out at the end of the first week of December 1943. In addition to the Jews, the 6th Battalion fielded other groups ordered to work on a Sofia-Varna road segment between Kilometer 140 and Kilometer 190 of the projected thoroughfare; deployments of an indeterminate size included Serbian men, called *Moravtsi* by the Bulgarian government and drawn from the Bulgarian-occupied portion of Yugoslav Macedonia; Roma; and ethnic Turks.[25]

From battalion roster documents, it appears that Jewish

conscripts deserted far more often than their Turkish or other non-Jewish counterparts. Some punishments on returning to the unit were recorded in the roster as 10 days' confinement to the brig or 3 days' deprivation of warm rations. The reason for desertion was stated as visits to families evicted from their homes and sent to provincial towns, where they were confined in ad hoc ghettos while awaiting deportation from Bulgaria. Often on these visits the escaped conscripts obtained sums of cash from their families who feared they would soon be expelled into German hands.

Among smaller deployments, a March 12, 1943, memorandum of the Council of Ministers ordered 150 Jews to level the grounds for a sanatorium in Trŭvna. The high-level interest suggested that this was a pet project of a highly placed official. Another memorandum, this one from the army general staff dated March 30, 1943, requested the allocation of Jewish personnel to the 12 army divisional districts. Some of the Jews in this category were qualified pharmacists and medical doctors whose services the army did not want to lose.[26]

As in the two preceding years these deployments were mostly for infrastructural projects having an economic or military rationale. By no means did they constitute make-work. Labor, engineering, supervisory, and material inputs were allocated in the anticipation of a tangible return. Moreover, the OVTP predicated the year's planning on the assumption that the Jewish workforce would not abruptly disappear, leaving the assigned tasks only partially done. The OVTP also implicitly assumed that Jewish conscripts would retain enough incentive to work despite their drastically disadvantaged position in Bulgarian society. Jewish business enterprises had not yet been confiscated, and the men still had families to whom they expected to return at the end of the work season. But the expulsion of their families to destinations unknown only demoralized thousands of press-ganged Jews in the OVTP's labor units.

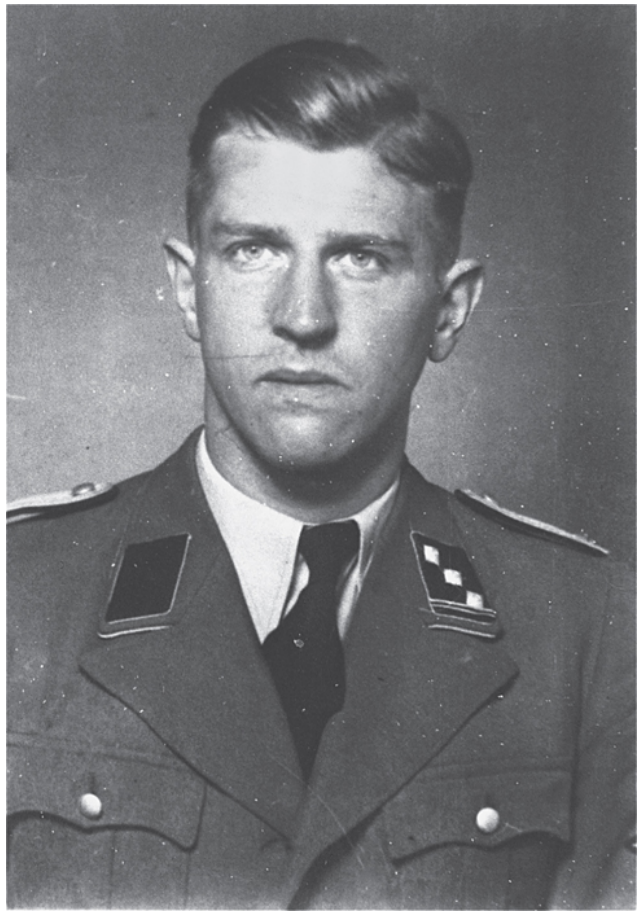
The KEV nevertheless ignored the construction project particulars and the civil engineering timetable of the OVTP. Driving its agenda instead was the Nazi-inspired goal of ridding the country of Jews during 1943, as well as the lure of profit from the victims' property. The KEV agenda did not exempt Jewish forced laborers from deportation. On the contrary, in a

memorandum to the Council of Ministers, February 4, 1943, Belev recommended, "In the first place, it is necessary to take swift measures in the labor groups to place men between the ages of 18 and 48 under strict control so as to prevent their escape."[27]

It is unclear when or even whether this request was relayed to the OVTP, but such security precautions would have conflicted with normal work procedures, and there are no indications that the suggested measures were ever implemented by labor units in the field. On the other hand, the eligible Jewish labor conscripts in Macedonia were not called to duty in time to keep them out of the KEV's hands. Those men remained at home even as other Jews from Greece and the cities of Bulgaria proper had already reported to the OVTP's units.

KEV TRANSIT CAMPS, MARCH 1943

Belev also advised the cabinet that it was necessary to deport the Jews living within the old (1940) frontiers of the country, along with those from the Bulgarian-annexed portions of Greece and Yugoslavia. Otherwise, he cautioned, the remaining Jews would likely cause trouble. Not long afterward in February Belev signed a secret interim agreement with SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker, a Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, RSHA) official detailed to Sofia as a liaison on details of the "Final Solution" in Bulgaria. Under this accord the first 20,000 victims were to consist of the approximately 12,000 Jews from the Bulgarian-occupied parts of Greece and Yugoslavia, in addition to another 8,000 mainly from Sofia.[28] To complete the operation Belev envisioned a large transit camp with a capacity of some 20,000 inmates, to continue operating until all Jews in Bulgaria were deported. He planned on that basis despite hints that the government might consent to expelling only those Jews from the Greek and Yugoslav lands acquired in 1941.[29]



Theodor Dannecker. USHMM WS #79543, COURTESY OF BUNDESARCHIV.

Roundups in the Bulgarian-annexed portion of Yugoslav Macedonia commenced on March 11, before the eligible Jewish labor conscripts there had reported to battalion units for duty. Most of the men were thus caught along with their families as security forces cordoned off the towns. Before being deported, almost the entire Macedonian Jewish community spent two weeks confined to a makeshift transit camp set up on short notice in the Monopol tobacco warehouse in Skopie.

In arranging the transit camps in Macedonia, Greece, and Bulgaria proper, Belev endeavored to keep control in KEV hands

while keeping the rest of the Interior Ministry at bay. As noted, by 1943 DPODS had amassed considerable knowhow in the management of concentration camps. Through trial and error, much had been learned about geographic placement, supply logistics, and camp security, albeit on a smaller scale than the KEV required. Nevertheless Belev eschewed that source of practical experience. He may have wished to minimize the circle of officials knowing what was in store for the Jews or to monopolize the loot expected to derive from the seizure of Jewish property. Thus DPODS did not directly participate in the establishment and functioning of the KEV camps for Jews. Belev delegated these responsibilities instead to amateurs inexperienced in managing incarceration, who were expected to enlist the cooperation of municipal governments and to employ local police and army units for security.

The logistics of removing the Jews from Bulgarian-annexed northern Greece were more complex. Belev appointed Yaroslav Kalitsin, head of the KEV administrative section, to devise a scheme for the deportation of what Bulgaria dubbed the "Aegean" (*Belomorie*) Jewish population. Along with the Macedonian action Belev regarded this as a pilot project for expelling all Jews in Bulgarian lands. Kalitsin undertook active planning on February 16, suggesting the sites of Radomir and Gorna Dzhumaya for transit camps to be set up in existing municipal structures or, as at Radomir, in the still-empty barracks of a labor battalion. Two additional sites, Simitli and Demir-Hisar, were to have tent camps. Except for Demir-Hisar, these places were located on a railway line in western Bulgaria within the 1940 frontiers.[30]

But as the date for the action approached in early March, Kalitsin had to simplify the plan, following an inspection trip of potential sites with Belev. They looked at tobacco warehouses in Dupnitsa, although at first the commissar deemed them to be either too small, insufficiently isolated, or too crammed with machinery to accommodate large numbers of deportees. Relative isolation from commercial districts or residential neighborhoods was desirable because KEV sought to maintain a low profile until the action was completed. Belev finally decided to set up transit camps only in the cities of Dupnitsa (51 kilometers or almost 32 miles southwest of Sofia) and Gorna Dzhumaya (today: Blagoevgrad; 78

kilometers or more than 48 miles southwest of Sofia), where he felt assured of local cooperation.[31]

The plan to deport 8,000 Jews from Sofia and other cities of "Old Bulgaria" was meanwhile suspended following a sit-in by some prominent citizens from Kiostendil in the office of the Interior Minister, Petŭr Gabrovski. But the government treated this opposition as only a temporary setback, quickly suppressing a National Assembly protest against deportation led by its vice chairman Dimitŭr Peshev.

Undeterred by Peshev's abortive gesture, Belev drew up a new blueprint to deport all Jews from Bulgaria by the end of September 1943. This plan exerted the KEV's mandate over the country's railways, police, and civil administration to accomplish the task. Belev recognized that Sofia, with half the country's remaining Jews, represented the biggest challenge: the means were lacking to round up and ship out its Jews all at once. For logistical reasons, the plan stipulated the establishment of short-lived ghettos in provincial towns, to house the Jews between the initial stage of eviction and the final step of deportation. Accommodations consisted of vacant schoolrooms and Jewish residences, into which deportees were imposed as uninvited guests. The plan partly relieved the KEV from setting up mass feeding, housing, and sanitary arrangements. In addition to these ghettos there would be a camp in Somovit on the Danube. Belev emphasized the transient nature of this in-country phase. Family groups were to be expelled together, except for men on forced labor service who would be handed over later to the Nazis after the extermination of their kin. Belev did not seem to have anticipated the effect that uprooting the families would have on their sons, brothers, and fathers in forced labor.

Implementation of the KEV plan immediately followed a Jewish protest march in Sofia on May 24. The police dispatched hundreds of arrested demonstrators to Somovit. Expulsions from Sofia and from the city of Kazanlŭk ensued within days. Six chartered river steamships rested at anchor on the Danube, ready to receive their unwilling passengers.[32] But although the deportations were suspended yet again in early June, massive evictions continued through the next two months in Sofia and other towns. KEV operatives seized and inventoried the belongings of the Jewish

families forced from their homes and then sold the goods at auction. Belev continued to operate on the premise that the deportations would be resumed after their June suspension and continued implementing measures to force that outcome. Removal of the victims from their residences, livelihoods, and assets proceeded apace so as to make it difficult if not impossible to reabsorb the Jews into the populace at large.

It was during this uncertain phase in late May and early June 1943 that the policy disparity between the KEV and the OVTP widened to affect the outcome of events. Since February the OVTP's military chief, Mumdzhiev, had sought to stamp out the rampant practice of bribery for leave privileges, and thus to regularize the granting of family visitation furloughs. Then in early June leave permits became a pressing issue as soon as news of the KEV evictions and of looming deportations reached the labor battalions. Regardless of permission, the conscripts generally wished to be with their families at this crucial juncture. This situation presented a challenge for Mumdzhiev, whose response stood in contrast to that of his predecessor Halachev. As an experienced career officer Mumdzhiev opted to implement the standard military personnel policy. The army and its engineering auxiliary force had long followed the humane procedure of granting compassionate leave to troops during family emergencies. The imminent departure of Jewish families to an unknown destination, with their murder a now widely suspected outcome, constituted such an emergency. Faced with the prospect of mass desertions or mutiny if furloughs were not approved, Mumdzhiev responded to the crisis with a liberal leave policy. He appeared to have acted on his own initiative, although the decision bore consequences beyond the labor battalions. Hundreds of Jewish conscripts then departed their units with or without formal authorization papers. Yet even the deserters remained under the OVTP's legal authority, which granted them at least temporary immunity from deportation. This added a potentially serious security problem to the already vexing issues surrounding the expulsion plan. Had the Jewish families been deported, little incentive would have remained for their men to return to the labor units, and joining the communist-led partisan units operating in countryside districts represented an alternative option. But if deportations were suspended and the men did return to their units,

the conscripts and their families would in effect remain hostages for each other's good behavior. And this is what occurred, albeit seemingly not by design. It was more a result by default: Mumdzhiev's motives were apparently those of a commander protective of his rank and file in an OVTP bureaucratic contest with an upstart rival agency hostile to his men's interests. There is no explicit indication that Mumdzhiev pursued the wider aim of thwarting the deportation schedule at this stage, although in subsequent actions he exercised his authority more overtly to safeguard Jewish conscripts from the KEV.

TEMPORARY GHETTOS OF THE KEV, 1943–1944

In June 1943 Belev's superiors refrained from approving the ultimate step. Instead of boarding the Danube barges for deportation, a steady influx of homeless, destitute Jews was funneled into the Somovit camp and to provincial towns with significant Jewish populations. There they stayed. The resulting temporary ghettos took on an extended life unintended by the KEV, as Belev's plan resulted only in the half-measure of internal displacement under severe hardship. This short-circuited implementation of the KEV's plan stemmed from the hesitancy of Tsar Boris III to send the Jews to their deaths amid the swiftly changing calculus of war. The strategic picture had shifted. By mid-1943 it became clear that, despite occasional Wehrmacht tactical successes, an Axis victory was beyond grasp. Allied warnings against complicity in Nazi genocide sharpened, and Germany's other affiliated states were already backing away from deporting what remained of their Jews to the Nazis. It remains uncertain whether the Bulgarian monarch ever intended to deport the Jews of "Old Bulgaria" and, if so, whether he considered removal to the provinces as a lesser option to allay Nazi pressure. But by entrusting the management of that removal to the KEV, Boris very nearly created an irreversible fait accompli whereby they had to be deported anyway. When the process was halted, the Jews remained in limbo—demoted to an untouchable subcaste status, penniless, uprooted, and removed from the body politic, yet not expelled beyond the country's borders. Although the customary Nazi euphemism "resettlement" still appeared in KEV

documents, the actual outcome by no means constituted a viable program of provincial resettlement because the KEV prohibited the displaced Jews from remunerative work. In the KEV view, their forcible departure was merely put on hold. Significantly, the words for "internees" (*internirani* or *vŭdvoreni*) were not used in KEV documents, which continued referring to the victims as outward-bound "resettlers" (*izselnitsi*) in keeping with the Nazi vocabulary. Semantics aside, the situation nonetheless amounted to default internment with Jews accommodated in quarters that Belev had conceived as transitory, but that turned into semi-permanent ghettos.

By far the largest uprooted Jewish community was that of Sofia. Most of the city's approximately 24,000 Jews were dispersed by families to provincial cities during the weeks following May 24. The KEV had earlier undertaken a survey of available space in Jewish-occupied apartments around the country. Those residences were requisitioned regardless of spatial adequacy, compelling the occupants to accept incoming guests for the relatively short time expected before wholesale deportation. Although a few Sofia expellees were permitted to double up in the homes of provincial relatives, most wound up staying with strangers. Curfews and movement restrictions kept the Jews confined to these homes much of the time. The resulting situation resembled open (not fenced) ghetto arrangements that arose elsewhere in occupied Europe when certain structures were designated as Jewish residences. Such ghettos were not necessarily contiguous, but could consist of buildings housing Jewish occupants situated among structures reserved for non-Jews.

In Bulgarian cities, the traditional clustering of Jewish residences on streets adjacent to the local synagogue often produced neighborhoods that were largely Jewish, a pattern that traced back to Ottoman times. Then in mid-1943 with the forced influx of Jews under Belev's deportation plan, these neighborhoods took on more of a ghetto-like character, at least for Jews. Local authorities acquiesced in the imposition and cooperated with the KEV, given the perceived possibility of gain. Although many Jews lacked wealth they often occupied desirable locations. Their expected imminent disappearance thus represented a potential real estate windfall for KEV officials and their

collaborators in municipal administrations, as well as in society at large. In some cities, members of the Brannik youth group assisted with the surveillance and petty harassment of Jews, adding insult and injury to the difficulties already faced by this fleeced, disenfranchised, and outcast segment of the population even after the possibility of deportation receded.

Under Belev's plan, Jews expelled from Sofia and other cities arrived at their new places of residence in house hold groups usually via regular passenger rail service, traveling on one-way, second-class tickets. Only in rare cases were goods wagons used.[33] But by and large sympathy-arousing scenes of brutality as seen during the deportations from Yugoslav Macedonia and Aegean Greece did not take place. In this way the public profile of displacement was minimized.

The following cities received Jews evicted from their homes in Sofia and certain other places during the late spring and summer months of 1943: Berkovitsa, Burgas, Byala Slatina, Dupnitsa, Ferdinand (today: Montana), Gorna Dzhumaya, Haskovo, Karnobat, Kyustendil, Lukovit, Pleven, Razgrad, Ruse, Samokov, Shumen, Stara Zagora, Troyan, Varna, Vidin, and Vratsa. Jews sent to Stara Zagora were forced to leave again after only one month, by order of the army, which maintained a headquarters in that city.[34] They were then dispersed to other cities. Otherwise the KEV managed to obtain overall compliance from local authorities, with the significant exception of the important city of Plovdiv. Most Jews there were not evicted from their residences, and Plovdiv did not receive forcibly displaced Jews from elsewhere. But some Jews, seeking to evade deportation, sought refuge in Plovdiv. Although certain ghetto restrictions went into effect there, the protests of the city's leading Bulgarian Orthodox Church cleric, Archbishop Kiril, may account for the partially obstructed KEV agenda.

The KEV held theoretical control over the country's Jews with the exceptions of those mobilized in units of the OVTP, those in prisons under the Interior Ministry, and those actively resisting in armed partisan bands or in hiding. The ghetto restrictions affected not only Jews evicted from their homes but also those remaining on site. Details varied, but in general these restrictions included the following: limiting daily movement outside a dwelling to a few

daylight hours; wearing the yellow badge; circumscribing movement within town limits when a curfew allowed the Jews outside their dwellings; placing most public facilities off-limits to Jews; forbidding all commercial activity; marking residences with the sign "Jewish residence" (*Evreisko zhilishte*); and forbidding Jews and non-Jews to live in the same domicile. The mobility of Jews had already been seriously curtailed by the confiscation of their automobiles, motorcycles, and bicycles.

The KEV aimed to keep the Jews firmly in place, so they could be assembled quickly at such time when the deportations would resume. For each municipality the KEV kept lists of the dislocated Jews, noting those present and also their family members on forced labor deployment. Because Belev had intended the eviction of Jews and their removal to other cities to be a short-term interim step, the KEV did not enunciate an encompassing protocol for governing permanent provincial ghettos apart from the restrictions already noted. Procedural details were necessarily left to the discretion of local authorities. These personnel consisted of the KEV "delegate" for each city, the municipal apparatus, and the police. Some control systems also made Jews responsible for each other's compliance with the rules. In Shumen, for example, accountable headmen were appointed over groups of several households domiciled together.[35]

Maintaining social segregation presented a problem because the KEV as an interloping agency lacked the authority to vacate non-Jews from largely Jewish zones or to erect physical barriers demarcating those spaces within a city. No doubt such disruptive moves would have been stoutly opposed by ordinary residents and their elected political representatives. The Jewish-occupied residences in which the KEV housed incoming Jews were typically clustered in the ethnically mixed older parts of towns. With the non-Jewish neighbors remaining on site, some interaction was inevitable. This geographic pattern is evident in every KEV deportation list that shows the Jewish-occupied addresses where uprooted Jews were accommodated, such as in the Danube port city of Lom.[36] Such neighborhoods normally consisted of shabby tenements. In Haskovo, the police defined a restricted area beyond which Jews were forbidden to go. Elsewhere as in Vratsa the newcomers received temporary lodgings in school buildings that

were vacant for the summer recess.[37] In Pleven, the influx of Jews was so great that tent camps were improvised on the city outskirts. In all these places the warmer months brought Jews out of their overcrowded quarters onto the streets when permitted. Some mingling with non-Jews was therefore unavoidable. In response the KEV insisted on the mandatory display of the yellow star to promote social shunning of Jews by the majority population.

In July 1943 the antisemitic ideologue Belev was replaced as head of the KEV. This move amounted to a substantive step by which deportation was indefinitely but tacitly shelved. However, a clearly articulated plan was lacking. Boris III died of a heart attack on August 28, but the succeeding regency government left policy toward the Jews in an unresolved state. Tension remained high, with informal threats to deport used by lower level officials as a means to intimidate. Under these conditions the regent continued to emphasize the decrees that restricted Jews to ghetto conditions. Local authorities made efforts to enforce the rules, although the need to reiterate segregation ordinances implied that noncompliance and back-sliding had occurred.

The experiences of Jews varied widely in different places and according to individual circumstances. On innumerable occasions Bulgarians defied KEV rules to assist Jews by providing food, shelter, or surreptitious employment. Bulgarian friends and neighbors sometimes protected Jewish property, returning it after the antisemitic laws were nullified. Help of this sort attenuated the harsh ghetto conditions. Such acts have endured brightly in the collective memory to boost Bulgaria's reputation as a nation that rescued Jews; however, counterbalancing these acts of decency were routine instances of theft, harassment, and physical assault.

The harsh conditions persisted until September 1944, although news of the Red Army's steady approach through Romania toward the Danube softened antisemitic attitudes among some Bulgarians. After the country abandoned the Axis and nullified the Law for the Defense of the Nation, many Jews remained homeless. Not all were able to regain their confiscated assets and former apartments in Sofia and other cities. With Bulgaria then on the Allied side, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC) operated soup kitchens among other forms of assistance for displaced Jews in the former KEV ghettos.[38]

FORCED LABOR DEPLOYMENTS IN 1944

On their discharge from forced labor at the end of the 1943 work season, Jewish conscripts returned in many cases not to their homes but to their displaced families in the KEV-imposed ghettos. Some had no place to go at all. That was the plight of the Greek Jews who survived the labor battalions when their families were deported in March. Mumdzhiev took action on their behalf. He was approached by Jews from his home town of Plovdiv, asking him to provide protection to those Greek Jews. The commander's response was to issue these men papers granting indefinite furloughs instead of seasonal discharge. Several dozen Greek Jews were safeguarded in this manner. Legally they remained under the OVTP's aegis, beyond the KEV's control in case deportations were resumed.[39]

As a practical matter, although the deportation danger had passed, that circumstance was not yet widely understood, and Mumdzhiev's action indicated an intent to rescue. On the professional side he still had a job to do as commander of labor troops when the 1944 construction season began. At some sites his efforts to ameliorate harsh conditions and discourage mistreatment of the Jews were partially successful, but abuses still continued in other places. Much depended on the disposition of the battalion or work group leaders. Overt antisemites still commanded several units. Increased partisan activity also heightened tensions. Then, toward the end of August and in early September, the Red Army's approach encouraged many Jews to flee the work sites.

The deployments during this final year of Jewish forced labor were as follows. Again the 1st Battalion maintained a home base in Sofia, although its field deployments as in 1943 remained on the highway-building project near Ihtiman.[40] Along with the sites occupied in 1943, Vakarel (36 kilometers or 22 miles southeast of Sofia) and Verinsko (42 kilometers or 26 miles southeast of Sofia) were later recalled by veterans as bivouacs on the Ihtiman project in 1944.[41]

As in the previous year, the 6th Battalion maintained its main office in Pleven with a field headquarters at Lovech, but under a different commander, Ivan Iotov Simitchiev. In addition to the Jews who worked building roads in the Lovech area, units of

ethnic Bulgarian, Turkish, Serb (*Moravtsi*), and Greek conscripts served in the battalion.[42]

A small unit called the 14th group of the 2nd Detachment worked at Kurtovo Konare (117 kilometers or 73 miles southeast of Sofia). It was overseen by a mere sergeant (*feldfebel*) named Simeonov who coped with rampant desertion as political developments rapidly unfolded. On September 5, 1944, Simeonov plaintively requested that the Plovdiv police arrest 28 members of the work group, residents of Plovdiv who had absconded and presumably returned to that city. His importunings failed. Four days later only 25 men were still present, 129 having left of their own volition.[43]

The Holocaust in Bulgaria had ended. Jews gradually drifted back to Sofia from the labor battalions and makeshift ghettos. In March 1945, Sofia People's Court Panel VII tried 64 Bulgarian defendants accused of antisemitic persecution. Among those in the dock was Mumdzhiev. But his actions on behalf of Jewish conscripts were favorably recalled in a series of petitions to the court signed by labor battalion veterans.[44] Mumdzhiev was acquitted. By the end of the 1940s a full-scale exodus of Jews brought most of the community to the newly created state of Israel.

SOURCES Secondary sources examining Bulgaria's royal dictatorship, the Holocaust in Bulgaria, and Bulgaria's camps and ghettos include Frederick B. Chary, *The Bulgarian Jews and the Final Solution* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972); Tsvetan Todorov, *La fragilité du bien: Le sauvetage des juifs bulgares* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1999); Lea Cohen, *You Believe: Eight Views on the Holocaust in the Balkans* (Sofia: Holocaust Fund of the Jews from Macedonia, 2013); Vŭrban Todorov and Nikolai Poppetrov, *VII Sŭstav na narodniya sŭd* (Sofia: Iztok Zapad, 2013); Holy Synod, Bulgarian Orthodox Church, *The Power of Civil Society in a Time of Genocide: Proceedings of the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church on the Rescue of the Jews in Bulgaria, 1940–1944* (Sofia: Sofia University Press, 2005); and David Koen, *Evreite v Bŭlgariya, 1878–1949* (Sofia: Izd-vo "Fakel-Leonidovi" SD, 2008). Since 1966, the Organization of Jews in Bulgaria "Shalom"

has published an annual, *Godishnik*, which concerns the history of the Bulgarian Jewish community and its wartime persecution. Two articles that document the DPODS camps are Angel Krŭstev, "Kontslagerite v Bŭlgariya," *Vekove* 6 (1986): 22–31 and Ivan Grigorov, "Kontslagerite v Bŭlgariya: Pŭrva chast: Predi 9 Septemvri 1944 g.," *Pro-Anti* 15: 12 (March 2006): 24–30. Useful geographical information for Bulgarian sites can be found in Elko Hazan et al., *Evreiskite obshtnosti v Bŭlgariya i tehnite sinagogi* (Sofia: Kameya, 2012).

Primary sources documenting the camps and ghettos of Bulgaria can be found in various collections of TsDA. At USHMMA, some of this documentation is available in micro-form as RG-46.058M (HC VII), RG-46.049M (KEV), and RG-46.058M (GVA). Additional documentation can be found in the archival collections of TsVA, TDia, and Tva. Some information on Stambuliiski's model of labor service can be found in the report by Kenneth Holland, *Youth in European Labor Camps: A Report to the American Youth Commission* (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1939). A collection of published documents and testimonies is David Koen, ed., *Otselyavaneto: Sbornik ot dokumenti, 1940–1944* (Sofia: Izdatelski tsentŭr "Shalom," 1995). Some interviews by survivors of Bulgaria's temporary ghettos can be found in partial English translation at www.centropa.org. Published testimonies of the Bulgarian camps and labor battalions include Eli Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo* (Tel Aviv: N.P., 1960); Daniel Tsion, *Pet godini pod fashistki gnet* (Sofia: N.P., 1945); and Anzhel Wagenstein, *Predi kraia na sveta* (Sofia: Colibri, 2011). A published testimony in novel form is Viktor Baruh, *Beyond the Law*, trans. Elena Mladenova (Sofia: Foreign Languages Press, 1965).

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NOTES

1. Krŭstev, "Kontslagerite v Bŭlgariya," p. 28.

2. Aron Mois Koen and Nastya Isakova testimonies,

RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

3. TDia, fond 284, opis 1, a.e. 7887, p. 31.

4. TDia, fond 370, opis 1, a.e 1352, pp. 2–12.

5. Only one inmate death is reported in DPODS facilities, that of a man who succumbed to peritonitis following an appendectomy.

6. Author's interview with Viktor Baruh in Sofia, March 12, 2013.

7. Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, p. 116.

8. Records for the 5th Labor Battalion in 1941, TsVA, fond 2006, opis 1, a.e. 53.

9. Order No. 71 of the 3rd Labor Battalion (August 27, 1941) is a paymaster's list of disbursements to unit personnel, whose ethnic identity may be inferred from their names; TsVA, fond 2004, opis 1, a.e. 42.

10. Records of the 5th Labor Battalion for 1941, TsVA, fond 2006, opis 1, a.e. 53.

11. USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 7.

12. Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, p. 124.

13. TsVA, fond 2058, opis 1, a.e. 29, is a mustering-out roster of the battalion, Order No. 105, December 14, 1942, but the document does not identify the precise deployments of each work group.

14. According to Battalion Order No. 16, July 11, 1942, the following groups operated under the 5th Battalion. The 1st Group had not yet been formed. The 2nd Group, consisting of Jews, was deployed at Trevna (Trŭvna; Tryavna; almost 179 kilometers or 111 miles northeast of Sofia). The 3rd Group, made up of "unemployed" (Roma), was deployed at Stokit village (Stokite; more than 144 kilometers or just over 89 miles northeast of Sofia) in the Sevlievsko district. The 4th Group, also "unemployed," was deployed at Dve-Mogili

(more than 229 kilometers or approximately 143 miles northeast of Sofia). The 5th Group, also "unemployed," was deployed at Drag-omirovo village (181 kilometers or more than 112 miles northeast of Sofia), in the Svishtovsko district. The 6th Group, also "unemployed," was close to the 5th group in Oresh village (almost 184 kilometers or 114 miles northeast of Sofia) in the Svishtovsko district. The 7th Group, consisting of 307 Jews, was deployed at Dolna and Gorna Oryahovovitsa (more than 199 kilometers or 124 miles northeast of Sofia). The 8th Group with "unemployed" was deployed at Teteven (approximately 81 kilometers or just over 50 miles northeast of Sofia). The 9th Group with "unemployed" (Roma) was deployed at Vidima village in the Troyansko district (approximately 150 kilometers or 93 miles northeast of Sofia). The 10th Group had not yet formed as of the order's date. The 11th Group enrolling Jews was deployed at Zhelezartsi (almost 229 kilometers or 142 miles northeast of Sofia) along the Zhelŭzartsi-Kesarev road, near Gorna Oryahovitsa. The 12th Group enrolling Jews was deployed at Mikre village (104 kilometers or approximately 65 miles northeast of Sofia). Apart from these battalion deployments, in 1942 a Jewish detachment served in Rudnik (just over 340 kilometers or more than 211 miles east of Sofia, near Burgas on the Black Sea coast). Other deployments of Jews were in Kostinbrod (16 kilometers or 10 miles northwest of Sofia) and Voluyak (approximately 10 kilometers or 6 miles northwest of Sofia). Sources on 5th Labor Battalion deployments: 5th Battalion Order No. 22, August 23 1942, TsVA, fond 2062, opis 1, a.e. 15; on the Rudnik deployment, see the deposition by Sami Haim Alsheh, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, p. 61.

15. Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, p. 138.

16. Ibid., p. 137.

17. Ibid., p. 137.

18. TsVA, fond 2058, opis 1, a.e. 39.

19. TsVA, fond 2063, opis 1, a.e. 14.

20. TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 4. Constituent groups of the 2nd

Battalion were deployed as follows: the 1st Jewish Group at Zvŭnichevo (95 kilometers or 59 miles southeast from Sofia and 7 kilometers or almost 4.5 miles west of the city of Pazardzhik); the 2nd Jewish Group at Sestrimo (over 72 kilometers or 45 miles southeast of Sofia); the 3rd Jewish Group at Malko Bŭlovo (Malko Belovo; over 80 kilometers or 50 miles southeast of Sofia) with a presence of Jewish forced laborers at nearby Saran'ovo (today: Septemvri; more than 83 kilometers or nearly 52 miles southeast of Sofia); and the 4th Jewish Group at Kula, Vŭtren village (more than 76 kilometers or almost 48 miles southeast of Sofia and about halfway between Pazardzhik and Ihtiman). A separate group worked at Kurtovo Konare, more than 117 kilometers or nearly 73 miles southeast of Sofia, between Pazardzhik and Plovdiv.

21. Reminiscence read by Viktor Baruh in Sofia on the occasion of Holocaust Commemoration Day, January 27, 2013; also interview with Baruh, March 12, 2013.

22. Tva, fond 2069, opis 1, a.e. 3.

23. Poruchik Minkov and General Todorov were the proper names of railway stations along this route.

24. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.

25. 6th Battalion Order no. 20, May 28, 1943, TsVA, fond 2063, opis 1, a.e. 14.

26. Both memoranda are on USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.

27. TsDA, fond 2123, opis 1, t II, a.e. 4096, pp. 188–192.

28. TsDA, fond 190K, opis 1, a.e. 8518, pp. 1–3.

29. Kalitsin deposition, HC VII, TsDA, fond 1568, opis 1, a.e. 138.

30. TsDA, fond 1568K, opis 1, a.e. 137, pp. 53–55; and "General Instructions for Implementing the Action of Deporting the Jews," TsDA, fond 2123, opis 1, m. II, a.e. 4096, pp. 167–172.

31. Yaroslav Kalitsin testimony and deposition, USHMMA,

RG-46.058M, reel 1; also TsDA, fond 656K, opis 1, a.e. 3, pp. 1–4.

32. Report by SS-Sturmbannführer Adolf Hoffmann, police attache in Sofia, reproduced in Koen, ed., *Otselyavaneto*, Doc. No. 122, pp. 256–257.

33. Rosa Anzhel interview at www.centropa.org.

34. Eshua Almalech interview at www.centropa.org.

35. USHMMA, RG-46.049M (KEV), reel 305.

36. Typical is the list of Jewish homes in Lom, with street addresses, in TsDA, fond 1568K, opis 1, a.e. 103.

37. Roza Anzhel interview at www.centropa.org.

38. Bulgarian National Archive, fond 190, opis 3, a.e. 272, p. 48.

39. Mumdzhiev testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1; and Mumdzhiev dossier, in the same collection, reel 7.

40. TsVA, fond 2058, opis 1, a.e. 29.

41. Jewish Claims Conference survivors' compensation data forms.

42. Other deployments in 1944 were at Smedovo and Veselinovo, Svishtov, and Gorno and Dolno Oryahovo. Veterans of the labor battalions also recalled being posted in 1944 in Saran'ovo (Septemvri; 19 kilometers or 12 miles west of Pazardzhik); Katunitsa (143 kilometers or almost 89 miles southeast of Sofia), and Kaspichan (321 kilometers or more than 199 miles northeast of Sofia); information extrapolated from Jewish Claims Conference survivors' compensation data forms.

43. Dossier of defendant Hristo Dimitrov Iovchev, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.

44. Verdicts, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.

Camps and Ghettos in Bulgaria
Romania
Serbia
CALAFAT
Ferdinand
MONTANA
Somovit
Svishtov
RAZGRAD
Vratsa
LOVECH
Dolna Oryahovitsa
SHUMEN
Gara Bov
Gorna Oryahovitsa
Zhelŭzartsi
VARNA
Trŭnska
Kliusura
SOFIA
Ribaritsa
Smedovo
Albania
Gara Chepino
Bulgaria
Black Sea
Ihtiman
BURGAS
Dupnitsa
Zvunichevo
PLOVDIV
Pazardzhik
SKOPIE
Gorna Dzhumaya
KARDZHALI
Gonda Voda
Haskovo
Struma Valley
Nedelino
Krŭstopole
Turkey
Greece
Greece
Aegean Sea
Turkey
CITY
CITY & CAMP/GHETTO
Camp/Ghetto
0 25 50 75 100
miles
0 25 50 75 100
kilometers
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942
N
W
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S

DUPNITSA

The Bulgarian Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV) established a transit camp and a temporary ghetto in Dupnitsa (Dupnitza), Sofiya oblast, some 51 kilometers (almost 32 miles) southwest of Sofia. Both sites were closely associated with the Bulgarian regime's preparation for the deportation of Jews in 1943.

KEV official Ivan Paitashev ran the transit camp, a small tobacco ware house of limited capacity hastily adapted to incarcerate inmates. The inmates were "Aegean" Jews dispatched from Bulgarian-occupied portions of Greece. The roundups began on March 4, 1943. Jews from the northern Greek towns of Komotini (Giumiurdzhina) and Xanthi were sent to the camp.

Adequate provisions intended for the Jews at Dupnitsa were waylaid by the Bulgarian guard staff, according to a Jewish doctor who was confined there but was later released.[1] The inmates' duration at this camp lasted from 11 to 12 days, after which a series of trains took the deportees to the Danube barge port of Lom. From there they boarded riverboats bound for Vienna and then trains to the final destination of Treblinka. All were murdered on arrival.

In early June 1943, as part of the KEV's plans for deporting Bulgaria's Jews, Dupnitsa was the site of a temporary ghetto for Jews from Sofia. According to a list prepared by the KEV and arranged by head of house hold, there were 1,624 Jews assigned to the Dupnitsa ghetto. This list included Jewish men then on deployment in forced labor camps. The KEV began assigning Jews to Sofia as early as May 30, 1943, and continued until at least June 7, with 113 people assigned on the first day, and then a progression from 223 to 255 Jews per day between June 3 and June 6, 1943.[2] The ghetto continued to exist until September 1944.

Victoria Behar, who stayed in her grandparents' house in Dupnitsa after her family's expulsion from Sofia, recalled

experiencing torment at the hands of Bulgarian youths belonging to the fascist Brannik group and of police:

> We were forbidden to pass along the main street in Dupnitza after 4 P.M. and we were absolutely banned to go out on the street after 8 P.M. But one day I had to send a letter to my father, who was in Sofia that week. I only had to cross the main street; this was all that we were allowed to do. It was around 5 or 6 P.M. and on my return, in the Jewish neighborhood, a Jewish boy, who was a friend of ours, took me quickly to their place, because the Branniks, along with the police, were organizing a manhunt against the Jews. I spent some time at their place, but I was afraid that my family would be worried about me. In the end, the Jewish family let me go, so that I wouldn't be out after 8 P.M., and the situation outside also seemed calmer.
>
> But, suddenly, as I was walking, two Branniks jumped out on the street next to the river where we lived and where we had the right to walk. Policemen came and took me to the police station; there were also other Jews there who had been taken from the streets without them violating the curfew and with no other reason whatsoever. They left us there the whole night, and we had no idea what would happen to us. We waited and we asked, but they only told us, "You'll stay here!" At around 3 or 4 A.M. they told us to leave our ID cards and they let us go. An uncle of mine was also among the arrested and we went home together. Later the police told my mother that she had to pay 200 levs to get my ID card back. This was unimaginable terror.[3]

SOURCES A published source that includes testimony from the Dupnitsa transit camp is Natan Grinberg, *Dokumenti* (Sofia, 1945).

Primary sources documenting the Dupnitsa ghetto can be found in TsDA, KEV documentation, available at USHMMA as RG-46.049M. Testimonies by Victoria Behar (under Viktoriia Bekhar) can be found at VHA, June 3, 1998 (#46835), and an English summary is at www.centropa.org.

NOTES

1. Dr. Marko Avram Perets testimony, Grinberg, *Dokumenti*, pp. 106–107.
2. The list is in USHMMA, RG-46.049M (TsDA, KEV), reel 309.
3. Behar interview, September 2002, available at www.centropa.org/biography/victoria-behar.

FERDINAND

Ferdinand (today: Montana), then in the Vrachan oblast, is a city approximately 80 kilometers (50 miles) north of Sofia. In the spring and summer of 1943, Ferdinand was the site of a temporary ghetto, set up as part of the KEV's anti-Jewish policy of deportation. A description of the situation in this ghetto comes from survivor Mazal (née Eshkenazi) Asael, who as a young woman hid in Ferdinand after the deportations from Sofia. Her parents were dispatched to the Dupnitsa ghetto, but she was subsequently re united with them when they were sent to Ferdinand. According to Asael,

> I tried to work while I was in Ferdinand to help my family. I sewed for the neighbors so that we could buy some food. I was not a professional dressmaker but I mended clothes. In Ferdinand I also looked after children, made bricks, dug in the vineyards. All that was illegal and I did it without the knowledge of the police as we had the right to go out of our homes for only three hours a day. I worked as an assistant in the shop of some friends of my parents. I used to hide my badge while I was at work, and when the police found out that I was a stranger in town, and that I was working illegally, they didn't know about my Jewish origins. So I managed to leave town before they discovered my identity. I used to hide my badge all the time and the police didn't know that I was a Jew.[1]

SOURCES Survivor's accounts by Mazal Asael documenting the Ferdinand ghetto can be found at VHA, February 23, 1998 (#41214), and an English summary is online at www.centropa.org.

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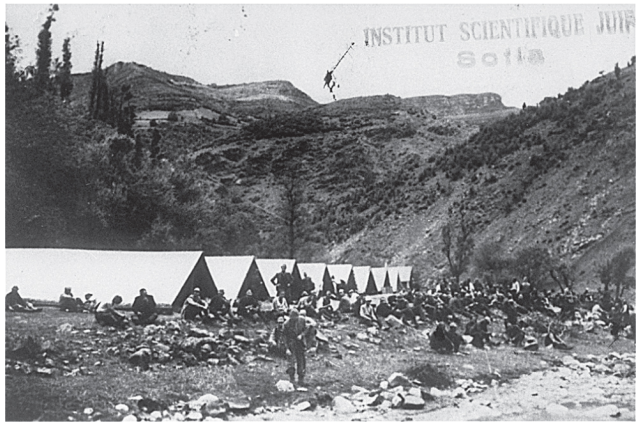
NOTE

1. Asael interview, June 2002, available at www.centropa.org/biography/mazal-asael.

GARA BOV

In 1941, as the Bulgarian authorities imposed antisemitic regulations regarding the forced labor of Jews, the objective of the 1st Labor Battalion was to improve motorway access from Sofia to the economically productive plain between the Danube and the Balkan range. It operated in four locations—Lakatnik, Gara Bov, Tserovo, and Rebrovo—that lay along the course of the Iskŭr River. In this region the Iskŭr cuts a narrow gorge through hilly terrain, which posed engineering challenges for road building. Gara Bov, then in the Sofiya oblast, is located 36 kilometers (22 miles) north of Sofia.

Located approximately in the middle of the battalion's four bivouacs, Gara Bov was the headquarters site from which a Major Rogozarov commanded the battalion. Unit records list four large Jewish labor companies, each enrolling some 400 workers.[1] Most of the battalion's Jewish personnel were residents of Sofia, so for them these postings were not too far from home. The battalion's first year is well documented in privately taken photographs, because cameras belonging to Jews had not yet been confiscated.[2] Some photographs appear to have been taken by family members on a visit to the bivouac. The posed snapshots typically show the men smiling as they practice their new construction tasks or relax on breaks. But the unit rosters also reveal substantial numbers on sick call as the weeks progressed and the temperature soared. Work proceeded under strong sunlight with scant shade.[3] In addition to those who fell ill, many simply deserted.



Jews at a forced labor camp near the village of Bov, 1941. USHMM WS #90948, COURTESY OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

Part of the work at Rebrovo entailed the installation of a reinforced concrete bridge. Ordinarily such an assignment would be entrusted to a seasoned crew, rather than to the Jews at this site, who were novices hurriedly learning an unsought trade on the job. Neither here nor at other projects did the results garner technical praise from on high. There were inspections. A photograph taken in August 1941 shows General-Major Anton Stefanov Ganev at Rebrovo reviewing the forced laborers who stand at attention wearing army work boots, baggy regulation shorts, and uniform summer fatigue hats. It is a disciplined, military style stand-to for the commander's visit, but not a dress parade. On a hot day, the rank-and-file laborers are shirtless, revealing torsos that show no overt signs of inadequate nutrition. An officer or NCO of the unit in full uniform is saluting the general as he strides past.[4] In another photograph taken about a month later at Rebrovo, Rabbi Asher Hananel and a cantor from Sofia's main synagogue are shown conducting religious services for the High Holidays.[5] Ganev's permission would certainly have been required for these observances to have taken place.

A veteran of the bivouac at Tserovo, Leon Lazarov described the work there as extremely difficult despite what he called the "humane" attitude of Major Rogozarov. Lazarov, a musician, was one of the lucky battalion members whom Rogozarov excused

from road construction to form a unit band. They rehearsed at the school gym in Tserovo village. The band performed at the battalion work sites and also gave concerts in towns around western Bulgaria. Such arrangements for Jewish forced laborers were possible only during 1941.[6]

Yet, occasional musical accompaniment at work was unable to boost either efficiency or morale. By background and physique many of the Jewish conscripts proved unsuited to the demands of satisfactorily completing a roadbed while bivouacking in rough conditions away from their urban home environment. The 1st Battalion records indicate that, by midsummer, unauthorized leave became a significant problem. From Rebrovo, Tserovo, Gara Bov, and Lakatnik the capital was not too distant and was reachable along a well-traveled route, making it relatively easy for conscripts to decamp and spend some time with their families. Disciplinary measures on return to the unit included short-term confinement to a brig, as well as deprivation of pay and privileges.[7]

As the persecution of Jewish forced laborers from 1942 to 1944 demonstrates, the conditions in the Gara Bov camp—namely the existence of low-ranking Jewish officers and the protection of private property—were short-lived.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the 1st Labor Battalion, headquartered in Gara Bov, can be found in TsVA. A published memoir is Eli Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo* (Tel Aviv: N.P., 1960). A survivor's interview is available at www.centropa.org/biography/leon-lazarov.

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NOTES

1. The 4th Group at Lakatnik carried 416 men on its roster. 1st Battalion Order No. 110, October 16, 1941, TsVA fond 2002, opis 1, a.e. 46, does not specify the deployment as Lakatnik, but it includes the names of the 4th Group's Jewish officers. These same men are then all identified in a photograph of Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo,* p. 121; its caption states that the 4th Group worked at Lakatnik.

2. See, for example, "Group portrait of Bulgarian Jews in a forced labor brigade in Bov," USHMMPA, WS #55602 (USHMM, Courtesy of Jon Varsano).

3. TsVA, fond 2002, opis 1, a.e. 46.

4. Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo,* pp. 118, 120.

5. Ibid., p. 181.

6. Interview with Leon Lazarov at www.centropa.org/biography/leon-lazarov.

7. TsVA, fond 2002, opis 1, a.e. 45.

GARA CHEPINO

In 1941 the 5th Labor Battalion, based in Veliko Turnovo, set up a field headquarters in Gara Chepino, Sofiya oblast (45 kilometers or 28 miles west of Sofia), where it deployed four ad hoc construction companies made up of Jewish officers and rank and file.[1] Although a railway already served this area the conscripts had to build an entirely new road to the site. Their task required intense labor to clear vegetation and rocks in dense forest and to level the ground for the roadbed.[2]

Ten to 12 Jewish officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) led each of the battalion's four construction companies. The attached engineering and technical units initially comprised ethnic Bulgarians, except for the bridge-building unit, which included men with Muslim names. However, a small Jewish-staffed technical company also appeared on the books as the season progressed, indicating some flexibility in the use of human resources at lower unit levels.[3] After October 1 the battalion's 1st Construction Company changed over to Bulgarian personnel, but the other three companies remained Jewish. These men were mustered out by mid-November when the battalion core cadre returned to its Veliko Turnovo base.[4]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the 5th Labor Battalion, headquartered in 1941 in Gara Chepino, can be found in TsVA, fond 2006, opis 1, a.e. 53. A published memoir is Eli Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo* (Tel Aviv: N.P., 1960).

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NOTES

1. Records of the 5th Labor Battalion for 1941, TsVA, fond 2006, opis 1, a.e. 53.

2. Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, p. 119.

3. Records of the 5th Labor Battalion for 1941, TsVA, fond 2006, opis 1, a.e. 53.

4. 5th Labor Battalion Orders No. 54, 61, 62, 63, 68, 71, 72, 80, and 82 for 1941, TsVA, fond 2006, opis 1, a.e. 53.

GONDA VODA

On January 21, 1941, the Bulgarian security police established one of its "state security settlements" (*selishta na dŭrzhavna sigurnost*) in Gonda Voda, Plovdiv oblast, 153 kilometers (95 miles) southeast of Sofia. The director of the Plovdiv police, Hristo Dragolov; the Plovdiv district director, B. Mihailov; and the Asenovgrad police chief Ivan Dimitrov agreed to locate the security camp on the grounds of what had been a summer camp for children. Construction proceeded during the autumn of 1940 under the direction of the Asenovgrad city architect Matei Mateev, with funds channeled through the Asenovgrad municipal government.

The first five Gonda Voda inmates arrived on February 23, 1941, followed in the next few days by another four dozen; by the end of March the number grew to 54. A pause then ensued. Some persons classed as "anglophiles" were released during the following three months until by early June the camp population was down to 25 inmates. For a short interlude, there seemed to be a decline in the Bulgarian authorities' use of internment as a means of intimidation and control.

The inmate population abruptly jumped to 162 in the weeks after June 22, 1941, the date of Nazi Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union. From that time on, in response to calls from Moscow, Bulgarian communist resistance to the pro-Axis regime in Sofia stepped up to include sabotage of economic and military installations. The Bulgarian security organs reacted to this activity by imposing preventive detention on communist party activists and the communist youth auxiliary. Also taken into custody were presumed pro-communist veterans of the International Brigade (Interbrigade) in the Spanish Civil War, collectively deemed at this point to pose a potential security threat.[1]

Two waves of mass arrests marked this phase of what would gradually expand into a low-intensity civil war. The first wave came on July 3, followed by a second on September 2, 1941.

Gonda Voda inmates were deployed in building a road to the camp and at tasks in the surrounding hilly terrain. But such labor details created security vulnerabilities. On August 15 and again on August 31, 1941, armed resistance fighters attacked Gonda Voda and succeeded in freeing several dozen prisoners. The liberated internees joined the partisans. More escapes followed in September. Undaunted, the authorities continued to send internees to Gonda Voda, including those transferred from the Galata security camp in Varna some 379 kilometers (236 miles) east of Sofia.

Gonda Voda closed in December 1941 for the winter season, but reopened in the spring of 1942 with 50 inmates. It continued to operate, with seasonal closures, into 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Gonda Voda camp are Angel Krŭstev, "Kontslagerite v Bŭlgariya," *Vekove* 6 (1986): 28 and Ivan Grigorov, "Kontslagerite v Bŭlgariya. Pŭrva chast: Predi 9 Septemvri 1944 g.," *Pro-Anti*, 15: 12 (March 24–30, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Gonda Voda camp can be found in TDia.

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NOTE

1. TDia, fond 370, opis 1, a.e 788, pp. 20–22.

GORNA DZHUMAYA

Gorna Dzhumaya (today: Blagoevgrad), then in the Sofiya oblast, some 78 kilometers (more than 48 miles) southwest of Sofia, was the site of a transit camp for Jews established by the Bulgarian Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV) in March 1943. Under the direction of KEV official Ivan Tepavski, the improvised camp consisted of a large tobacco warehouse and two school buildings. The KEV used the transit camp and a smaller one in Dupnitsa to incarcerate the deported "Aegean" Jews from Bulgarian-occupied Greece. Jews from Pirot in the Bulgarian-annexed part of Serbia were also quartered there. Tepavski fed the inmates a skimpy ration of bread and a bean soup once a day.[1] The inmates stayed at these camps from 11 to 12 days, after which a series of trains took them to the Danube barge port of Lom. From there they boarded riverboats bound for Vienna and then trains to the final destination of Treblinka. All were murdered on arrival.

As part of its plans for deporting Bulgaria's Jews, KEV subsequently established a temporary ghetto for Jews in Gorna Dzhumaya.

SOURCES A published source that reproduces documentation from the Gorna Dzhumaya transit camp is Natan Grinberg, *Dokumenti* (Sofia: N.P., 1945).

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NOTE

1. Tepavski in Grinberg, *Dokumenti*, pp. 108–109.

GORNA ORYAHOVITSA AND DOLNA ORYAHOVITSA

Dolna ("Lower") and Gorna ("Upper") Oryahovitsa were related camps in north central Bulgaria, in the Pleven oblast, located on the north and south banks of the Yantra River, respectively. Unpaid Jewish conscripts performed forced labor there during the warmer months of 1942 and 1943. The work in 1942 entailed digging to rechannel the local course of the Yantra.[1] That year the 7th Group of the 5th (Jewish) Labor Battalion was deployed both at Dolna Oryahovitsa, which is 203 kilometers (125 miles) east of Sofia, and at Gorna Oryahovitsa, which is 200 kilometers (124 miles) east of Sofia. A unit roster dated August 23, 1942, lists 307 Jews in the 7th Group. The group commander was a kapitan Sirmayov.[2] Poruchik Nikofor Mladenov Pavlov subsequently joined the unit after the work season had been underway for some time.[3] The 5th Battalion's 11th Group enrolled another 285 men, who bivouacked at the nearby village of Zhelŭzartsi. Both groups included Jews drafted from metropolitan Bulgaria; the Bulgarian-annexed Greek towns of Xanthi, Seres, and Kavala; and German-occupied Thessaloniki.[4] The battalion also had groups working elsewhere in the region; however, there is more detailed information about Gorna Oryahovitsa and Dolna Oryahovitsa because Poruchik Pavlov, who was the superintendent for the labor groups at these facilities, stood trial in March 1945 charged with persecuting the Jews.

During 1942 the 5th Battalion was commanded by a podpolkovnik Atanasov, headquartered in the city of Veliko Tŭrnovo. He inspected the Yantra River work sites toward the end of August 1942,[5] decreeing an impossible work quota for each man: to dig 12 cubic meters (424 cubic feet) of earth daily, three times higher than the previous norm.[6] Atanasov made an insulting speech to intimidate the Jews toward attaining that goal. Ten thousand men were dying each day on the (Russian) front, he said, but the 40,000 Jews in Bulgaria could all be killed in one night.

However, the effective work norm under Pavlov remained 4 cubic meters (141 cubic feet) despite Atanasov's order.

Yet, additional pressure on the Jews at Gorna Oryahovitsa came from Poruchik Pavlov. He lengthened shifts beyond the eight to nine hours stipulated by the Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor (*Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost*, OVTP) of the Public Works Ministry (*Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto*, OSPB) and extorted money from the Jews. One man suffering a high fever from malaria was still required to perform heavy work, despite a medical recommendation of light duty.[7] Pavlov also beat the men severely. It was during the 1942 work season that the work group learned that the tide of war had shifted in Russia when the Red Army halted the Germans at Stalingrad. That news resulted in a threat from Pavlov that none of the Jews would survive if the British and Soviet forces were victorious. "When the Russians come to Bulgaria, I'll mow you down with a machine gun," he said.[8]

The 1942 work season ended with a mustering-out order of the 5th Battalion on November 20, 1942.[9]

In 1943 the 1st Group of the 5th Jewish Labor Battalion was deployed at Dolna Oryahovitsa, although some of its men were quartered at the village of Pisarevo, some 5 kilometers (3 miles) east. The battalion's 2nd Group bivouacked at Gorna Oryahovitsa. Overseeing these groups at the outset was a podporuchik Skachkov, who was subsequently replaced by a kapitan Mihailov and then by Podporuchik Todor Hristov Toshkov.[10] The men worked at various tasks along the banks of the Yantra, on the grounds of a sugar factory, and also at the nearby Babinets quarry.[11] The overall unit strength was some 380 conscripts.[12]

According to postwar testimony by unit veterans, Skachkov wielded control via the "golden key" (his own quoted words) of extortion. He appointed one of the Jews, Buko Menahemov, as an agent to collect money from the others as bribes for the granting of leave time to make short family visits. The price for such furloughs was exorbitant, some 1,500 leva for three days. This was at a time when an active threat of deportation still hung over the Jews so that the labor conscripts suspected they might never see their families again.

Skachkov oversaw the men for only about a week, although that short time sufficed to earn him a lasting impression as an antisemite.[13] On assuming command, he announced, "I don't acknowledge greetings from a Jew." He declared that the life of one German was worth a thousand Jews and that the roads should be paved with the bones of Jews.[14] Skachkov tried to intimidate the conscripts by asking, "How much soil should be dug for a grave?" Although they were segregated from the general populace at the work sites, he insisted that the men wear the identifying yellow star required of Jews.[15]

Toshkov took charge on June 20, 1943, and held command for 50 days. During his trial in March 1945, he described the conditions at Gorna Oryahovitsa as "wretched," with inadequate barrack facilities. Frequent rain, mud, and high winds made the work difficult.[16] Between the periods of rain were episodes of scorching sunshine under which the men toiled. A large tree was available to provide some relief at the quarry worksite, although a veteran testified that Toshkov restricted access to its shade during work breaks, forcing the men to endure the sun.[17]

Maier Mandil, formerly a junior officer before Jews were expelled from the army, described Toshkov's command style to the People's Court Panel VII in March 1945. Mandil had been assigned to work in the quarry. He testified that Toshkov addressed the Jews as "filth" and without warning would suddenly hit a man from behind.[18] Like Skachkov before him, Toshkov threatened arbitrarily to shoot the Jews under his command, despite lacking the authority to do so. However, it was rumored that Toshkov had earlier shot a Pomak conscript, which lent credibility to the threat. Mandil quoted Toshkov as saying, "There will be a second Katyn forest here. It makes no difference to me if ten, fifteen, or twenty Jews die. I'll kill you all here."[19] By Katyn he referred to the massacre of Polish army officer prisoners of war (POWs) in the Soviet Union.

According to Mandil and other veterans, the extortion system continued under Toshkov. His agent among conscripts in the unit was Albert Shaulov.[20] Intimidation and misery were increased to induce the men to request leave time and then to force them to pay for the privilege. That pressure in turn led to desertions. On returning to the unit, those who had taken unauthorized leave

faced further extortion to avoid beatings.[21] Others were beaten for having been absent.[22] After a large number of men were granted furloughs in exchange for bribes, word of such abuses reached higher authorities in the militarized labor system. Polkovnik Tsvetan Mumdzhiev, the labor troop commander, and the inspector of labor troops with the rank of major then visited the 5th Battalion in the field, Toshkov was subsequently transferred to duties in the nearby town of Pavlikeni, but was not disciplined and retained authority over labor conscripts.[23]

Testifying in his own defense at his 1945 trial, Toshkov attempted to justify his brutality by emphasizing the high desertion rate of the unit.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the forced labor camps in Gorna Oryahovitsa and Dolna Oryahovitsa can be found in GVA (available at USHMMA under RG-46.058M) and Tva, fond 2062.

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NOTES

1. Mois Aron Franko testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (GVA), reel 2.
2. Naftali Bohor Eshkenazi testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
3. Mois Aron Franko testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
4. Tva, fond 2062, opis 1, a.e. 15
5. Marko Yakov Mordehai and Naftali Bohor Eshkenazi testimonies, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
6. The norms were one, two, and four cubic meters, according to the testimony of Mois Aron Franko, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
7. Dr. Marko Bohor Soref testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

8. David Bohor Madzhar, Isak Kalderon, Eliezer Isak Alkalai, and Mois Aron Franko testimonies, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

9. Tva, fond 2062, opis 1, a.e. 15.

10. Zhak David Albelda testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

11. Avram Haim Farhi testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

12. Todor Hristov Toshkov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.

13. Herzel Eshua Levi testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

14. Leon David Ruben testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

15. Zhak David Albelda testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

16. Toshkov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.

17. Maier Mandil testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

18. Avram Moshe Elazar was also struck in this manner during August 1943, corroborating Maier Mandil's testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

19. Two other veterans, Merkado David Koen and Avram Moshe Elazar, corroborated Toshkov's reference to Katyn in their courtroom testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

20. Identified as such in testimony by Avram Haim Farhi, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

21. Herzel Eshua Levi testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

22. Avram Moshe Elazar testimony, naming David Haskia and Marko Koen as victims, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

23. Herzel Eshua Levi and Leon David Ruben testimonies,

USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

HASKOVO

The city of Haskovo in the Staro Zagora oblast, contained one of the smaller temporary ghettos established by the Bulgarian Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV). Haskovo is 202 kilometers (126 miles) southeast of Sofia. The open ghetto existed along strictly delimited streets and housed Jews expelled from Sofia during the lead-up to KEV's planned deportation of Jews to the German authorities. According to a handwritten list dated June 30, 1943, there were 1,450 people assigned to the Haskovo ghetto. The list included Jewish men then on deployment in forced labor camps, so the actual number of inmates in the ghetto was smaller.[1] The ghetto continued to exist until September 1944.

The following notice, quoted in full, appeared six months after the Jews' arrival. It gives a sense of the restrictions placed on Jews in Bulgaria in the smaller ghettos set up by KEV:

Haskovo Police Authority
Regulations
No. 9
Haskovo City, December 10, 1943

On the basis of Paragraphs 19 and 21 of the decree of the Council of Ministers on 26 August 1942, as published in the Government Gazette, issue 192, 1942 and signed by the Commissar for Jewish Affairs as (orders) 126 and 258 of January 4, 1943,

WE ORDER

That as of today it is FORBIDDEN for Jews wearing the Jewish badge:

1. To circulate on these streets: "Sofia," "Otets Paisi,"

"Rakovska," part of Tŭrgovska, "Tsar Boris Square," and "Tsar Liberator"; or to leave their assigned area as bordered by these streets: "Shipka," "Ep. Sifroni," (sic: properly spelled "Sofroni"), "Musala," "Kŭrdzhali" as far as the police station, "Krŭsna," "Kardam," and "Struma" up to "Tsar Simeon," "Knyaz Svetoslav," and "Vasil Levski Boulevard" as far as "Shipka."

2. To visit the movie theaters "Balkan" and "Odeon."
3. To stay at the hotels "Tsar Boris III," "Central," "Maritsa," "Victoria," and "Tsar Simeon." At other hotels they are permitted to stay only up to ten days in a six-month period.
4. To visit eateries, pastry shops, barber shops, and other establishments which are located on the streets in Point 1, or furthermore, the following drinking establishments: "Dimitŭr Kalinov," "Doicho Peev," "Stoicho Stamatov," "Dobri Kalinov," "Todor Vŭlkov," "Grudio K. Ivanov," Grudi Stamov, Atanas Kunchev, and Ivan Shishkov, or to visit the cafés of Yanto Adato, Ardash N. Semerdzhiyan, Stoicho Grudev, or Mihail Ivanov.
5. To visit bazaars or stores earlier than 8 o'clock, or to go to the bazaar earlier than 9 o'clock on weekends.
6. To go to the municipal bath on any day other than Monday.

Violators are subject to fines of 100,000 leva under the Law for the Defense of the Nation.

Enforcement of these orders will be carried out by the police organs, and they shall be given widest publicity via the press and over loudspeakers.

POLICE COMMANDANT (signed) St. Ovcharov
Witnessed by the Haskovo police
command secretary (signed)[2]

The streets decreed off-limits at all times were broader thoroughfares than the ones in this notice. According to the listed street names it is evident that the Jews were spatially interspersed among non-Jews, although the decree aimed to restrict their movement to smaller byways such as those around the synagogue

(on Kozlodui Street according to a map from that era.) But the interspersing of Jews and non-Jews and the lack of a clearly defined boundary such as a wall or physical barrier made such rules difficult to enforce; hence, this announcement was reiterated a half-year after the imposition of ghetto strictures. In addition to the fines announced in the notice, violators could also be punished by being sent to the Somovit concentration camp or its successor camps in Kailŭka and Tabakova Cheshma. It is also significant that the Haskovo police notice did *not* repeat the KEV ban on Jewish employment. The omission may have been an oversight, but it deviated from KEV policy.

Photographic evidence documents the misery of the Jewish deportees. One image shows a family of Jews expelled from Sofia to Haskovo and sleeping on the sidewalk.[3]

SOURCES A map helpful in indicating the streets of the Haskovo temporary ghetto can be found in Elko Hazan et al., *Evreiskite obshtnosti v Bŭlgariya i tehnite sinagogi* (Sofia: Kameya, 2012).

Primary sources documenting the temporary ghetto at Haskovo can be found in HC VII, available at USHMMA as RG-46.058M, and TsDA, KEV documentation, available at USHMMA as RG-46.049M. Photographic documentation of the Haskovo ghetto is available at USHMMPA (Courtesy of OJB).

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NOTES

1. The list is in USHMMA, RG-46.049M (TsDA, KEV), reel 311.
2. USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 5, p. 310; 100,000 leva is approximately $750 in 1940 U.S. dollars.
3. "Bulgarian Jewish refugees, expelled from Sofia, camp outside a building in Khaskovo," USHMMPA, WS #16252 (Courtesy of OJB).

IHTIMAN

Ihtiman was a forced labor camp located near the town of Ihtiman, Sofiya oblast, in a valley in the Sredna Gora Mountains, 40 kilometers (almost 25 miles) southeast of Sofia and 96 kilometers (60 miles) west of Plovdiv. During the warmer months of 1943 and again in 1944, the Bulgarian Ministry of Public Works (*Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto*, OSPB) oversaw a highway construction project linking Sofia and Plovdiv, employing, among others, Jewish forced laborers. Prince Kiril of Bulgaria was especially interested in this effort to extend Bulgaria's international Highway 2. An engineering plan drawn up in March 1943 designated a 15-kilometer (more than 9-mile) stretch from Vakarel village to Ihtiman as Section VIII of this project. It also showed a smaller highway of 13 kilometers (more than 8 miles) to be built. The tightly budgeted plan was to be completed by September 15, 1943.[1]

Jewish families crowd into temporary living quarters in the balcony of the synagogue in Haskovo, July 1943. USHMM WS #93678, COURTESY OF RENI YULZARI.

In 1943, the 1st Labor Battalion, comprised of 1,400 unpaid Jewish conscripts in five unevenly sized work groups, was ordered to finish a 10-kilometer (more than 6-mile) segment.[2] (The unit was supposed to be 1,550 men strong, but Ivan Stoyan Gasharov, director of the Section VIII project, stated that only 1,400 reported for duty.) The nearby 1st Detachment deployed an additional 1,000 Jews, while the non-Jewish 13th Battalion worked on a 5-kilometer (3-mile) adjacent stretch. Ethnic Turkish and Serb (*Moravtsi*) conscripts and paid Bulgarian civilians served in separate units. Various bivouacs along the route—at Vakarel, Belovo, and Soludervent—functioned as Ihtiman subcamps. Living conditions for the forced laborers were spartan. Some men occupied wooden barracks, others tents. But OSPB had not installed plank beds for all Jewish draftees when work began in April, so they slept on bare ground for about two months until crude bunks were improvised.

Section VIII's efforts remained labor intensive. Each conscript was required to move each day at least 1.5 cubic meters (53 cubic feet) of earth by hand for a roadbed.[3] This quota physically challenged the older men and those who had formerly worked in sedentary professions.

Other factors hurt the Jewish laborers' morale and per formance. The 1943 work season coincided with a revised plan by the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV) to deport all of Bulgaria's Jews into German hands. This plan went into effect shortly after the labor conscripts reported for duty: many of their families were evicted and then confined under ghetto conditions in provincial cities awaiting deportation, with all their property confiscated. These actions fell with particular harshness on the Sofia Jewish community, which had supplied most of the men in the 1st Battalion and 1st Detachment.[4]

The KEV plan stipulated that deportation, including those men enrolled in work units, be completed by the end of September 1943. In preparation the Jewish groups assigned to Section VIII were to be dissolved on a phased basis in July and August 1943.[5] A diametric conflict of interests was thereby manifest: the OSPB operated with a mandate to exploit Jewish labor, whereas the KEV

aimed to rid Bulgaria of Jews in the near term. Yet the Section VIII seasonal work plan did not anticipate that the Jewish workers would react other than passively to their impending destruction.

Gasharov, a 33-year-old civil engineer, exerted dominance over the military personnel and exercised full control of the project. He aimed to complete Section VIII on time, progressing eastward from Vakarel toward Ihtiman. But the KEV evictions of Jews in May, June, and July disrupted the schedule, generating urgent leave requests by conscripts anxious about their families. Gasharov duly sought special permission to utilize Jewish forced laborers from OSPB. In this he coordinated with Polkovnik Tsvetan Mumdzhiev, the commander of conscripted laborers. Gasharov approved furloughs for some men, but many others simply absented themselves. Escape attempts were made during water-hauling details. Police posts were set up to intercept escapees, but many Jews still managed to evade detection and abscond at least temporarily. Desertions and sickness reduced the labor force even after the deportations were suspended. This attrition resulted in work shortfalls and placed greater burdens on those still present.[6]

Gasharov nevertheless pressed to finish the project by October, sometimes beating the men in an effort to increase their productivity. He boosted work quotas and lengthened the shifts beyond OSPB's daily summer maximum of 10 hours: some shifts lasted 15 to 18 hours. Veterans later stated that in 1943 Gasharov threatened to deport the laborers' families to Poland if the pace slackened.[7]

Many of the men contracted malaria. Yet the mortality rate remained relatively low, with just two Jewish fatalities in 1943 along the Vakarel-Ihtiman road. Even so, veterans recalled that rations were chronically inadequate. Certain foodstuffs never reached their intended recipients. Some men of the 1st Battalion's 5th Group believed that Gasharov removed refined flour from storage, leaving only coarse flour for the men's bread. The protein staple was beans, cooked without oil. Bulgarian Army officers in the guard force eventually recommended a regular dietary supplement of meat, but this supply was also partly diverted. Punishment for returnees from unauthorized leave also exacerbated tensions. But in recounting that period while on trial

in 1945, Gasharov denied harboring antisemitic sentiments. He claimed he had extended mail privileges to Jewish conscripts and provided transportation on approved furlough in the unit's trucks.[8]

Despite Gasharov's efforts, a shortage of cement combined with the KEV disruptions to keep Section VIII unfinished in 1943. The Jewish units were disbanded on November 20, and most men rejoined their families, then displaced under ghetto restrictions in provincial towns. A skeleton force of 10 Jews including an engineer stayed on voluntarily at Ihtiman as wage laborers. Gasharov retained them in that status when mobilization resumed the following spring. Also employed through the winter of 1943 was a group of Moravtsi internees who were unguarded.[9]

A full-scale effort to complete Section VIII resumed in mid-June 1944 under Gasharov's micromanagement, with about 1,200 Jews assigned to the project. But the looming presence of partisan units complicated matters. A communist cell among wage-earning Bulgarian workers siphoned rations and other supplies to the partisans. On occasion Section VIII trucks also transported partisans around the country. Gasharov acquiesced, despite the police having taken notice of this unauthorized use.[10]

Meanwhile Gasharov continued demanding that the Jewish laborers advance Section VIII, tolerating neither slackness nor "sabotage." He increased the daily earth-moving quota per laborer to 4 cubic meters (141 cubic feet). When heavy rains damaged the roadway at Soludervent, Gasharov pressed emergency repair crews to repair the road without food or rest. Ancillary tasks included building a gasoline storage tank some 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from Ihtiman, as well as an access branch road to the tank. Only two 15-minute breaks per day were permitted. Inspecting the site on one occasion, Gasharov indulged in beatings (not for the first time).[11]

The Jewish units dispersed again in September 1944, this time permanently with the nullification of antisemitic laws and the assumption of state power by the Fatherland Front (*Otechestven Front*, OF). A communist-dominated committee of the Fatherland Front took over Section VIII, retaining Gasharov as engineer. His daily labor quota requirements continued in effect. But shortly thereafter he was indicted for torment, mistreatment, and

antisemitic acts at the urging of Jewish veterans on the Vakarel-Ihtiman road.[12] The court received depositions from both accusers and supporters of Gasharov. The former, mostly Jews, described him as malicious, arrogant, and a fascist sympathizer who had run a "concentration camp."[13] But an organized campaign on Gasharov's behalf included testimonials from the Fatherland Front's steering committee for Section VIII, the local front organization in Ihtiman, and the Council of Ministers in Sofia.[14]

Opinion on Gasharov split largely, but not entirely, along ethnic lines. However, two Bulgarian Army lieutenants from forced labor units denounced Gasharov, whereas a few Jews joined in his defense, perhaps under pressure.[15] The court acquitted Gasharov.

SOURCES The sources for Ihtiman consist primarily of documentary evidence and testimony found in HC VII, March 1945, in which Ivan Gasharov stood accused of antisemitic persecution (available at USHMMA as RG-46.058M).

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NOTES

1. Ivan Stoyan Gasharov testimony, March 7, 1945, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 1; in the same collection, reel 7, Gasharov case file, protocol, paragraph 3, and affidavit, January 22, 1945; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov case file, Construction Prospectus, evidently drawn up by Gasharov; also report of Israel David Semah.

2. Gasharov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1; in the same collection, reel 7, Israel David Semah statement, January 15, 1945; in the same collection, reel 7, Protocol, Section VIII, OF Committee, p. 1, paragraph 1; also Iosif Yako Aladzhem statement.

3. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, Protocol, Section VIII, OF Committee.

4. Unit rosters, Tva, fond 2058, opis 1, a.e. 36, April 28, 1943; and fond 2058, opis 1, a.e. 38, October 1, 1943.

5. Gasharov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.

6. Ibid., March 7, 1945, frame 120; in the same collection, reel 7, Gasharov, response to indictment, March 11, 1945; also Leon Zhak Olivenbaum, Protocol, and accompanying report of Isak Natan Primo; Gasharov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1, confirmed by testimony of Polkovnik Tsvetan Mumdzhiev; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, report by Vitali David Koen; also unit rosters, Tva, fond 2058, opis 1, a.e. 36; and fond 2058, opis 1, a.e. 38; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, Protocol, Section VIII, OF Committee.

7. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, OSPB letter to Gasharov, July 29, 1943, signed by Engineer Voinov, and report by Izrael David Semah; Lea Koen interview, May 15, 2013; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, Order No. 5674, May 7, 1943; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, Protocol, Section VIII, OF Committee; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, Complaint, signed by nine including two non-Jews.

8. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, deposition by 1st Battalion veterans, pp. 3, 5; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, letter by Mihael Iosif Arie, veteran of the 5th Group, 1st Battalion; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, Protocol, Section VIII, OF Committee, paragraph 9; also letter by Nisim Rafael Aron to OF Committee of Section VIII, January 18, 1945.

9. Gasharov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1; in the same collection, reel 7, Gasharov file, Protocol, Section VIII, OF committee, p. 2.

10. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, Gasharov file, written statement by Iosif Yako Aladzhem, January 20, 1945; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, declaration by Ivan Vŭrbanov Neshkov; also reel 1, Gasharov testimony.

11. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Order No. 5508, July 27, 1944; also Leon Zhak Olivenbaum, Protocol; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, written statement by Iosif

Yako Aladzhem, January 20, 1945; Leon Zhak Olivenbaum testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2; reel 7, Gasharov file, statements by Iosif Yako Aladzhem and Dr. Yomtov Shimon Kovo.

12. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, certificate, March 27, 1945; in the same collection and reel, Gasharov file, Complaint, January 20, 1945.

13. Leon Zhak Olivenbaum testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2; also reel 7, Olivenbaum, Protocol, and Isak Natan Primo, report.

14. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, letter on Gasharov's behalf by Dimitur Pandezov and others; statements of Dagan Nachev Palashev and Velkoi Angelov Borshukov; Protocol, Section VIII, OF Committee.

15. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, letter by Viktor Yako Elias, February 26, 1945. The trial accounts of Gasharov personally beating Jews were corroborated in an interview in Washington, DC, on May 15, 2013, with Lea Cohen (former Bulgarian diplomat, novelist, and historian). Her father, Iosif Koen, was one of the Jews assigned to the Ihtiman project. Ambassador Cohen stated that Gasharov struck her father so hard that he suffered long-lasting hearing impairment.

KRŮSTOPOLE

Krůstopole was a labor detention camp run by the Bulgarian Interior Ministry from mid-1941 to September 1944. It was situated in the Plovdiv oblast near a rail terminus in the Rho-dope Mountains, some 20 kilometers (more than 12 miles) northwest from the northern Greek town of Xanthi.

Nazi Germany awarded the adjacent territory of Thrace to Bulgaria after the Nazis subdued Greece and Yugoslavia in the spring of 1941. The border adjustment satisfied longstanding Bulgarian territorial ambitions, but bound the Sofia regime closer to Germany. As a junior Axis partner, Bulgaria thereupon accepted enhanced German tutelage over internal security matters. After the German attack against the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Krůstopole camp was set up to hold Bulgarian communists, Soviet sympathizers, and foreign émigrés of suspect loyalty.[1]

The Nazi SS took a keen interest in Krůstopole. SS-Untersturmführer Helmuth Landau, a civil engineer, accompanied a party of Bulgarian security officers on an inspection trip of Krůstopole on September 25, 1941.[2] Landau represented Office II, SS-Main Office of Bud get and Buildings (Amt II, SS-Hauptamt Haushalt und Bauten, HHB), the agency then responsible in part for building and overseeing Nazi concentration camps. Krůstopole previously housed a Greek Army barracks. In Landau's view it was adequate for conversion into a heavily guarded forced labor camp provided certain modifications were undertaken. He submitted a sketch and a detailed set of proposals aimed at expanding capacity from the 420 inmates already held there to at least 800.[3]

The circumstances seemed acceptable for a concentration camp, Landau advised, although he expressed some concern that engineering improvements might be needed to channel a larger volume of fresh water to the facility. It was later shown that the water supply was a chronic problem during the three years of the camp's operation. As for economic viability, Landau noted how

German camps were processing materials like cement for the burgeoning SS construction industry, but added that Krŭstopole was more suited to agriculture and raising stock. He envisioned a captive community engaged in cultivating tobacco and cotton and in herding sheep. Along with incarcerating dissidents and potential saboteurs, Krŭstopole would thereby contribute to the Bulgarian (and Axis) wartime economy. The SS officer counseled the Bulgarians that an economic plan should accompany the spatial layout for an expanded Krŭstopole camp.

Landau stressed the need for an infirmary because large numbers of inmates could be expected to fall ill as workloads increased. He added that a morgue and a crematorium would also be required. He also recommended an electrified wire fence to keep inmates from escaping and the construction of adequate quarters for the guard force.

A subsequent Bulgarian plan set the camp capacity at 1,440. This capacity was eventually exceeded: one late report gives the numbers of inmates as 1,578. The proposed crematorium is absent from the Bulgarian drawings. Although the Krŭstopole work regime was arduous and living conditions spartan, Bulgarian authorities did not avowedly operate the camp to bring about the physical destruction of inmates en masse. However, the Interior Ministry expected prison settlements such as this one to produce useful items for the police. Krŭstopole turned out tunics, trousers, boots, harnesses, holsters for firearms, and also shoes for the inmates themselves. Some Krŭstopole prisoners worked on construction and quarrying details, and many more worked in the camp vegetable gardens, which aimed to supplement the meager rations the inmates were provided.

The prisoners' diet was supposed to include adequate amounts of rice, flour, beans, margarine, cheese, sugar, and some pork or lamb, but actual allotments fell short. The inmates managed to get word out complaining of their plight. A crudely scrawled anonymous note from a prisoner, smuggled from the camp, somehow reached the Interior Ministry in June 1943.[4] The ministry responded with a memorandum warning the camp administration to ensure that prisoners were adequately fed. Apparently the source of the problem was profiteering by security personnel, who diverted ration allotments to the black market.

Although the heavy mortality implied by Landau's report did not materialize at Krŭstopole, there were health problems. Malaria appears to have been the principal challenge according to situation reports from 1943, the best-documented year in the life of the camp.

Bulgarian archival sources do not mention any overt acts of resistance at Krŭstopole. The inmates there were mainly ethnic Bulgarians who were deemed subversive and remanded to administrative custody by the police in Sofia. Krŭstopole's guard force also consisted of ethnic Bulgarians. Although beatings of prisoners are known to have occurred, brutality there did not approach the systematic levels of sadism inflicted by the SS and their henchmen against Jews or inmates of other victim nationalities in other Nazi concentration camps.

Krŭstopole was disbanded after Bulgaria relinquished the territories of Thrace and Macedonia on the arrival of Soviet forces in the Balkans in September 1944.

SOURCES There is no specialized study on Krŭstopole. Archival holdings that document the camp may be found in GVA and MVR and copied to USHMMA as RG-46.009M, reel 8. This unpaginated collection, including the Landau memorandum, offers an uneven record. For several months in 1943 there is a set of detailed work output reports on the camp as an economic unit, but the years 1942 and 1944 are not recorded in this documentary source.

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NOTES

1. DPODS Memorandum, MVR, regarding the establishment of a detention center at Krŭstopole, July 29, 1941, USHMMA, RG-46.009M, reel 8.

2. BA-B, Landau SSO, Stammkarte, n.d.

3. Landau, "Gutachten," September 27, 1941, RG-46.009M, reel 8.

4. Doklat na zapiska ot Krŭstopoliat lager, June 15, 1943, RG-46.009M, reel 8.

LOVECH

During the spring and summer of 1943 and 1944 the 6th Labor Battalion maintained a field headquarters in the town of Lovech, in the Pleven oblast, some 123 kilometers (77 miles) northeast of Sofia, although its home base was in Pleven around 33 kilometers (20 miles) north of Lovech. The unit's tasks for both years included building the regional portions of a motor-way planned to stretch from Sofia to Varna on the Black Sea. In 1943 elements of the 6th Battalion were to construct a road section of about 23 kilometers (more than 14 miles) from Mikre, which is almost 104 kilometers (more than 64 miles) northeast of Sofia, northeastward toward Lovech. Two Bulgarian army captains rotated as battalion commander: Ivan M. Vladimirov and Angel Kalinov. In 1943, the 6th Battalion consisted of 20 work groups; each was the size of an army engineering company, numbering two to three hundred men equipped primarily with hand tools.[1] Eleven such groups, consisting of paid ethnic Serbs (*Moravtsi*), paid ethnic Turks, and "unemployed" men, possibly Roma, were stationed in other districts away from the Lovech area.

The remaining nine groups, consecutively numbered 1 through 9, were made up of unpaid male Jews performing forced labor near Lovech. Poruchik Raicho Boichev Kolevski supervised day-to-day operations at the work sites between Lovech and Mikre. Morale was poor because at this time the government was confiscating all Jewish property in the process of evicting many of the men's families, who were then awaiting deportation to Poland. The Jewish laborers' status remained ambiguous: it was unclear whether they were prisoners about to be deported or draftees mobilized for national service, though they were denied military uniforms.[2] Strict rules applied because the Jewish conscripts were expected to attempt desertion. A censorship measure further stipulated that their incoming and outgoing mail had to be written in Bulgarian. Items in other languages (such as Judeo-Spanish) would not be delivered.

Of the battalion's Jews, Group 1 with 300 men was quartered in Lovech. According to a preliminary order, the remaining eight Jewish groups were positioned as follows:

Group 2 with 300 men, bivouacked at kilometer 166 (i.e., the distance calculated from Sofia along the projected motorway);

Group 3 with 200 men, bivouacked at kilometer 164;

Group 4 with 200 men, bivouacked at Izvorche on kilometer 162.4;

Group 5 with 300 men, bivouacked at kilometer 159;

Groups 6 and 7, altogether 300 men, bivouacked at Sokolovo on kilometer 155.4, but working on separate adjoining road segments;

Group 8 with 300 men at Kirkova, kilometer 152;

Group 9 with 300 men, bivouacked at kilometer 147.3, close to Mikre.

The bivouac accommodation consisted of tents.[3] The cooks, bakers, and armed guards all were ethnic Bulgarian soldiers. The Jews were ordered to appear in Lovech by rail on May 10 and then proceed on foot to the work sites, because the use of motor vehicles was expressly forbidden to them. The denial of motor transport for the Jews throughout the work season was rationalized on economic grounds owing to wartime shortages of fuel and rubber.

Despite his modest rank Poruchik Kolevski oversaw some 2,000 or more Jewish slave laborers when the groups stood at full strength. He would move between the work sites in order to maintain his command. The geographic term "Lovech" was loosely applied to the whole of this project, such as at People's Court Panel VII in March 1945 when Kolevski stood trial for persecuting the Jewish crews.[4] But in later years some veterans denoted their encampments more precisely, such as Mikre, Sokolovo, and Izvorche.[5]

According to Kolevski, regulations forbade the assignment of

Jews to clerical, kitchen, medical, or other light tasks. Each man was expected to excavate 4 cubic meters (141 cubic feet) of earth per day and transport it 200 to 250 meters (656 to 820 feet). The daily work shift was officially set at 8 to 10 hours, but Kolevski demanded 12 hours of work each day.[6] Bread rations were chronically inadequate, and although an allocation for meat does appear on a unit ration invoice, in practice meat was not issued to the Jews.[7] A veteran of the 7th Group, Isak Avram Melamed, testified that Kolevski's treatment of Jews was harsh in general, but he also tended to single out and bully particular individuals. One man was beaten for having strayed into a village near the construction site.[8] Kolevski also bluffed with threats to have Jews and their families deported to Poland. A Jew in the 6th Group stated that Kolevski struck terror in him like no other.[9] But on trial, Kolevski attributed any antisemitic brutality to Bulgarian underlings.[10] Despite such intimidation some conscripts escaped and stayed away from the unit for varying periods of time, occasionally getting back to Sofia.[11] One Jew, the older ex-army officer Salvator Rafailov Seliko of the 2nd Group, fell ill and deserted for 46 days. On his return he was punished by reassignment to an ethnic Turkish work group. As to Kolevski's personal culpability, Seliko dismissed the poruchik as "the right hand of Kalinov," the battalion commander.[12] According to another Jew, Seliko's disappearance marked a watershed episode after which Kolevski cracked down harder on those still remaining.[13] The battalion's Jewish groups mustered out in early December 1943, with the men returning to their families in what had become makeshift provincial ghettos.

In 1944 a reconstituted 6th Battalion again relocated its headquarters from Pleven to Lovech. A new commander, Ivan Iotov Simitchiev, issued a 10-page statement of guidelines formulated to implement standards set for the labor battalions as a whole by the Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor (*Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost*, OVTP) at the Ministry of Public Works (*Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto,* OSPB). These guidelines emphasized discipline, sanitation, safety measures, work schedules, and regular record keeping. Although the Jewish laborers had been formally removed more than two years earlier from the War Ministry's

direct control, these guidelines reiterated in 1944 that they were to be governed according to military discipline.

In this document Simitchiev noted the need to deter desertion from the work groups, but he did not specify any means for doing so. Conscripts were to be provided with adequate bread rations and tools for their jobs, and the necessity for proper washing facilities was emphasized. Simitchiev also recognized the need for anti-malarial preventive measures. He stated the OVTP policy that set the daily work shift at between 8 and 10 hours, six days per week with Sundays off. However, he added that, if inclement weather imposed an unscheduled rest day, operations could continue on a Sunday. To facilitate control, field telephones were to connect the work sites to the commanders. And to secure life and limb, if the use of explosives was required to remove boulders during road construction, then proper procedures would include warnings and postings at a sufficient distance from the blast.

Simitchiev's guidelines indicate a desire to meet projected construction goals while minimizing friction, absenteeism, sickness, and injuries. However, the written principles were met with varying compliance when confronted by realities in the field. Those circumstances included the impending Axis defeat and the continuing alienation of persecuted Jewish conscripts. When three work groups of the battalion were detached to an emergency defense task at Svishtov, the junior officer in charge of at least one group there largely ignored the battalion's formal guidelines.[14]

The modern Sofia-Varna highway (E 772) in use today bypasses Lovech, although the spur built by Jewish slave laborers serves as a feeder route that provides access to that town.

SOURCES Although there is no secondary literature on the Lovech camp, the Sofia-Varna road, now a tertiary route called Route 401, can be followed on *Administrativen atlas republika Bŭlgariya* (Sofia: Global Agro, 2007), pp. 28–29.

Primary sources documenting the Lovech camp can be found in GVA (available at USHMMA under RG-46.058M) and Tva.

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NOTES

1. 6th Battalion Order No. 14, April 30, 1943, Tsa, fond 2063, opis 1, a.e. 14; also battalion rosters in fond 2063, opis 1, a.e. 14.

2. Raicho Boicher Kolevski testimony, USHMMA (GVA), RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 1.

3. Salvator Rafailov Seliko testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

4. Kolevski testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 1.

5. Claims Conference questionnaire files for Bulgarian compensation claimants.

6. Kolevski testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 1.

7. Aron Iosif Kalish testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2; and the handwritten 7th Group ration invoice for May 1943, reel 9.

8. Isak Avram Melamed testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

9. Asher Nisim Farhi testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

10. Kolevski testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 1.

11. Aron Iosif Kalish testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

12. Salvator Rafailov Seliko testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

13. Leon Isakov Shapchiiski testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

14. 6th Battalion Order No. 17a, April 2, 1944, Tsa, fond 2063, opis 1, a.e. 12.

NEDELINO

In 1941, the 3rd Labor Battalion was deployed at and near the remote location of Nedelino (Nedŭlino), in the Plovdiv oblast, 201 kilometers (125 miles) southeast of Sofia in the Rhodope Mountains near the border with Greece.[1] The battalion also had some bivouacs at Ardino (194 kilometers or approximately 121 miles southeast of Sofia) and Byal Izvor (193 kilometers or 120 miles southeast of Sofia).

Like its sister battalions, the 3rd Battalion consisted of four construction companies staffed by Jewish conscripts. Each company enrolled approximately 400 men. In 1941, they were led by Jewish officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) on "reserve" status. In addition to the four construction companies, the 3rd Battalion also included a small number of Jews in the attached bridge-building unit and in the administrative company. Thus a few Jewish conscripts either possessed the requisite construction skills or were motivated to learn them while in service.

An order of the battalion commander set the daily schedule for the period from June 15 to October 1. Wake-up was at 5:00 A.M., followed by washing, roll call, and calisthenics. Breakfast lasted from 6:15 to 6:45, after which came the first work shift from 7:00 to 11:00 A.M. The 15 intervening minutes indicate that the bivouac and the work site were located fairly close to each other. Lunch and rest lasted from 11:45 A.M. to 2:45 P.M. followed by a work shift, from 3:00 to 7:00. A dinner hour was set from 8:00 to 9:00 P.M., but there was an hour's extra work on the longer summer days. Wednesdays were scheduled for only a morning work shift, from 7:00 A.M. to 12:00 P.M. However, the schedule does not indicate any such reduced work on Saturdays or Sundays. There was no official provision for observing the Jewish Sabbath.[2]

Despite the day-in, day-out routine, personnel rosters for the 3rd Battalion show a markedly lower desertion rate than its sister battalions. The disparity was partly attributable to location.

Nedelino, Ardino, and Byal Izvor lay deep in an economically underdeveloped rural area populated mainly by ethnic Turks, who grew tobacco and tended their gardens on patches of arable land in mostly hilly terrain. A wayward Bulgarian-speaking urban Jew would find himself isolated in such an environment. Transportation was also a problem. Much less civilian traffic plied the mountain road to and from Nedelino and its satellite camps than traversed the thoroughfare leading from Sofia to the northern part of the country, presenting fewer chances for hitching a ride back to the distant capital or the other principal cities that were home to nearly all of the Jews. Conscripts in the 3rd Battalion thus had little choice but to stay put and work. In a rare case of desertion, one man listed as absent without official leave on August 17, 1941, appeared again on the battalion rolls as of September 3.[3] This situation contrasted with the considerable numbers of men slipping away for longer periods from battalions closer to Sofia or in north central Bulgaria. The 3rd Battalion roster also shows that sick or injured Jewish conscripts were treated in a civilian hospital at Haskovo or at the hospital of the army's 10th Divisional District.

Most of the men enrolled in the battalion were released on October 1 when their 150 days' obligation was up. A few others stayed until they had completed the requisite time in service. At the close of the 1941 work season the 3rd Battalion command and administrative cadre returned to the unit's home base at the city of Sliven.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Nedelino camp can be found in TsVA.

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NOTES

1. Records of the 3rd Labor Battalion for 1941 from TsVA, fond 2004, opis 1, a.e. 42.
2. Order No. 21, from TsVA, fond 2004, opis 1, a.e. 42.
3. TsVA, fond 2004, opis 1, a.e. 42.

PAZARDZHIK

Pazardzhik is located approximately 100 kilometers (62 miles) southeast of Sofia. In the spring and summer of 1943, the Bulgarian Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV) established a temporary ghetto in Pazardzhik in the Plovdiv oblast in preparation for the deportation of Bulgaria's Jews. The ghetto continued to exist until September 1944.

Survivor Sofi Danon remembered cramped quarters and near starvation in Pazardzhik:

> The interned citizens of Sofia came to Pazardzhik. We had to accommodate them in our houses. Some of them slept in the school on bunks. There were some ill people among them. My mother, father, and brother slept in one room. I and one of the daughters of Mois Farhi, one of the interned families, slept in another room. The third room we gave to the mother, father, and her brother. The living room, through which all of us passed, was used by another family also from Sofia: a man, his wife, and two children. I can't remember their names. We also gave out the room in the attic. I still can't believe that all we had gathered through the years—rice, flour, sugar—was what we had to share with those people from Sofia.[1]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the temporary ghetto at Pazardzhik can be found at VHA, which holds 48 interviews with survivors or residents of the town. An eyewitness account in English that documents the ghetto can be found at www.centropa.org.

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NOTE

1. Sofi Eshua Danon-Moshe interview, September 2006, www.centropa.org/biography/sofi-eshua-danon-moshe.

PLOVDIV

Plovdiv, in the Plovdiv oblast, served as the site of a ghetto and as headquarters for the 2nd Labor Battalion.[1] The city is 132 kilometers (82 miles) southeast of Sofia. As had been a customary residential pattern dating back to Ottoman times, Plovdiv's Jews mostly lived on streets a short distance from the south bank of the Maritsa River.[2] There were about 5,500 Jews living in the city as of the early 1940s, largely clustered around part of Ferdinand Street (now renamed Hristo G. Danov Street) and part of Ruski Boulevard. This existing concentration facilitated the practical enforcement of ghetto controls.

Both the creation of the ghetto in 1942 and the increased incorporation of Jews into the 2nd Labor Battalion (which previously included Turks, Pomaks, gypsies, and other persons considered unsuitable to bear arms) marked a critical moment in the development of the Bulgarian regime's antisemitic policies.

Ghetto restrictions were decreed for the Jews of Plovdiv on September 29, 1942, by the Plovdiv city police chief, who acted on behalf of the then newly formed Bulgarian Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi,* KEV). The decree required Jews to wear identifying badges, and to mark their homes and businesses. It also defined the hours during which Jews could be present in shops and bazaars.[3]

These restrictions remained in force while the KEV sought to transfer all of Bulgaria's Jews into Nazi German custody in early 1943. Although a March 1943 protest by Metropolitan Kiril of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in Plovdiv dampened the KEV's plans for evicting the city's Jews, the cleric's remonstrations failed to dissuade the KEV from further deportation measures across the country. As of late May 1943, the authorities expelled Jews from Sofia and other cities, some of them to Plovdiv to await forcible exile. When the deportation plans were effectively suspended in June that year, however, the Jews in Plovdiv—residents and expellees—stayed there under ghetto conditions until September

1944.

Extant KEV financial records attest to the ghetto conditions in Plovdiv. The community was under curfew and could not make a lawful living. The KEV doled out meager sums from the "Jewish Community Fund," which consisted of blocked Jewish bank accounts and other seized assets. Those funds were unavailable to their former owners; instead, the KEV payments provided a barely adequate upkeep for the community. Jews were forbidden to travel without special permission from the KEV; they were banned from riding the railways without a prior permit from the KEV; and they also had to give up any automobiles, motorcycles, or bicycles they owned, further limiting their mobility.

Malnutrition became chronic among Plovdiv's Jews, especially during 1943 and 1944. Communal kitchens were organized in response to the need, financed by the Jewish Community Fund. The local KEV coordinator ("delegate") to Plovdiv was P. Rashev, serving as chief of the Plovdiv ghetto with peremptory authority over its civilian residents, who had no right to appeal. Rashev punished violators of ghetto restrictions by recommending that they be sent to the concentration camp at Somovit on the Danube, or after early 1944 to the Tabakova Cheshma or Kailŭka camp sites near Pleven.

An invoice dated November 7, 1944, from the Plovdiv Jewish Community Fund to the KEV mentions 56 Sofia families who had been "re-settled" to Plovdiv and were presumably still there.[4] However, the antisemitic measures had been out of effect for two months by the time that report appeared, so it omitted those persons who had already returned to the capital to reclaim their former residences. Moreover, as of November 7, there were still 23 Jews from northern Greece staying in Plovdiv, as the invoice mentioned. These consisted of men who had been serving in Bulgaria's Jewish forced labor battalions at the time when their families were rounded up and deported in March 1943. The men were then under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Works and the Army, outside the clutches of the KEV. The labor battalions' overall Bulgarian commander Tsvetan Mumdzhiev had facilitated the men's stay at Plovdiv on leave status during the winter months.

Starting in the spring of 1942, several Jewish groups of the 2nd Labor Battalion worked to widen what was then the Sofia-Pazardzhik-Plovdiv trunk road. The battalion's 1st Jewish Group worked at Momina Klisura, 75 kilometers (47 miles) southeast of Sofia, and at Sestrimo, 72 kilometers (45 miles) southeast of Sofia.[5] The 2nd Jewish Group was quartered in Gabrovitsa some 69 kilometers (almost 43 miles) southeast of Sofia on the Sofia-Plovdiv road, along a stretch of motorway that parallels the course of the Maritsa River.[6]

The 2nd Battalion's 3rd Jewish Group was deployed along a section of roadway from Toplit Izvori ("Hot Springs") to the village of Lozen almost 91 kilometers (nearly 57 miles) southeast of Sofia.[7] Eli Baruh, who later prosecuted accused perpetrators, served in this group. Baruh referred to the encampment as "Belovo," the name of the town 15 kilometers (more than 9 miles) away, although that usage is not reflected in the archived documentation of the battalions subordinate to the Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor (*Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost*, OVTP).[8] Housing was in tents set up in an open field. Two Bulgarian Army officers—Svilen Bonev and Ivan Genov Cholakov—commanded: both were described as brutal antisemites. Typical of such group leaders, Bonev was a reserve captain of peasant stock from a village in the Radomir district. The daily routine began at 5:00 A.M., with reveille including beatings with a heavy army belt. Baruh reported that Cholakov punished conscripts for infractions by forcing them to stand under armed guard holding a wheelbarrow beneath the scorching sun for an hour.[9] Some victims were beaten senseless. Despite being convicted for these cruelties after the war, Bonev and Cholakov received only light prison sentences.

Convalescing Jewish forced laborers stand on the balcony of a hospital in Plovdiv, 1943. USHMM WS #21154, COURTESY OF COMFORTY MEDIA CONCEPTS.

The 4th Jewish Group was deployed at Simeonovets about 89 kilometers (55 miles) southeast of Sofia and the 5th Jewish Group at Lozen village, adjacent to the 3rd Group mentioned earlier. Both units also worked on the Sofia-Plovdiv road.

Meanwhile in a separate project the 6th and 7th Jewish Groups of the 2nd Labor Battalion worked on portions of a road between

Peshtera and Dospat in the Rhodope Mountains of south central Bulgaria. The 6th Jewish Group was stationed at the Shiroka Polyana reservoir nearly 125 kilometers (more than 77 miles) southeast of Sofia, between Batak and Dospat.[10] The 7th Jewish Group worked just to the north at Tash Boaz (Turkish: Rock Pass; today: Dospatski Prokhod) nearly 122 kilometers (more than 75 miles) southeast of Sofia.[11]

The 8th Group and Detachment 10/26, both Jewish, worked on the Sofia-Plovdiv highway in Sestrimo more than 72 kilometers (45 miles) southeast of Sofia.[12]

Eight "unemployed groups" were also part of the 2nd Battalion.[13] In the archival records, such an appellation is believed to be a reference to the Roma. The first such group was formed on June 29, 1942, and was deployed on a road segment between the villages of Babek, almost 146 kilometers (nearly 91 miles) southeast of Sofia, and Svezhen, more than 140 kilometers (87 miles) southeast of Sofia. A special disciplinary group for Jews was also formed, to which some men were sent for taking unapproved leave on their return to the 2nd Battalion or for other infractions. This group was deployed on the Sofia-Plovdiv highway.

From mid-November to the first week of December 1942, the 2nd Battalion mustered out by group. The groups nearer to Pazardzhik mustered out in November; the groups at Momina Klisura and Sestrimo were released in December.[14]

SOURCES A published testimony describing forced labor in the Plovdiv/2nd Labor Battalion, headquartered in Plovdiv, is Eli Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo* (Tel Aviv: N.P., 1960).

A partial archival record of the Plovdiv ghetto including the police order is included in TsDA, fond 190, opis 3, a.e. 272, USHMMA, RG-46.049M, reel 320, consisting mainly of financial documents along with some administrative paperwork. Primary sources documenting the Plovdiv/2nd Labor Battalion can be found in TsVA and TDia.

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NOTES

1. The headquarters location is noted in TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 1, which is the battalion's Order No. 18 for the year, July 1, 1942. TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 4, includes rosters of the constituent work groups in the battalion.

2. Elko Hazan et al., *Evreiskite obshtnosti v Bŭlgariya i tehnite sinagogi* (Sofia: Kameya Dizain, 2012), pp. 72-74.

3. TsDA, fond 190, opis 3, a.e. 272, USHMMA, RG-46.049M, reel 320.

4. Bulgarian State Archive, fond 190, opis 3, a.e. 272.

5. See Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, p. 122; also TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 2, covering the 2nd Battalion's 1st and 2nd Jewish Groups. This Momina Klisura in Pazar dzhik oblast should not be confused with another terrain feature of the same name near Blagoevgrad, due south from Sofia.

6. The group's September and October 1942 strength rosters are included in TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 2. This Gabrovitsa should not be confused with another place of the same name in the vicinity of Lovech.

7. Order No. 22, TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 1.

8. Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, pp. 122–126.

9. Ibid., pp. 122–123, including a photograph of a group of conscripts, each holding a small wheelbarrow on his back as punishment.

10. TDia, fond 1568K, opis 3, a.e. 176.

11. TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 2; also Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, p. 123.

12. Order No. 18, TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 1.

13. TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 2.

14. Ibid.

RIBARITSA

At the end of June 1940, the State Security section of the Police Directorate (*Direktsia na politsiata, otdel dŭrzhavna sigurnost*, DPODS) established Bulgaria's first true concentration camp at Ribaritsa in the Pleven oblast, almost 91 kilometers (56 miles) east-northeast of Sofia. (The toponym "Ribaritsa" indicates a fishing site. This Ribaritsa should not be confused with an identically named place in the Etropole oblast.[1]) Like certain other internment sites this camp was set in a scenic resort location. Such a choice of locale might seem incongruous, but it had the advantage of combining remoteness with a ready support infrastructure. The first group of internees consisted of communist youth league members quartered in a newly built structure at the resort. A larger incoming group of dissidents from Sofia was installed in the Hotel Benkovski, which offered a pleasant mountain view; later arrivals had to bunk in sheds, barns, or on the grounds of the City Hall garden. Meanwhile the authorities hastily constructed a more permanent camp nearby at a point where the narrow Kostina River ran close to a road from Teteven to Troyan. Accommodation was in four large tents housing 30 to 40 people each. Three of the tents sheltered interned radicals, whereas locally recruited workers occupied the fourth.

More arrested people kept arriving, numbering 180 by August 7, 1940. That total was increased after the touring Moscow "Spartak" soccer team played in Sofia and was greeted too effusively by admiring leftist fans, some of whom paid for their ardor with a stay at Ribaritsa. By then the earlier internment phase of restriction to the village premises had ended. Enclosed and guarded, Ribaritsa then became Bulgaria's first German-inspired concentration camp. The internees slept on wooden plank beds cushioned only with ferns and foliage taken from the surrounding forests. They toiled to construct a road planned to extend from Ribaritsa to Troyan. But in protest against their privations the inmates shortly declared a strike, refusing to go out to the work site.

The response of DPODS was to uproot the entire establishment and relocate it. This new camp was at the Beklemeto Pass through the Balkan range (also known as the Troyanski Pass) 110 kilometers or (nearly 69 miles) northeast of Sofia. For two months the internees worked alongside an army labor corps unit to build a road linking Troyan and Kŭrnare. The military authorities thereby came to exercise some security functions over interned dissidents until they were freed by a DPODS decision in the second half of October 1940.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Ribaritsa camp are Angel Krŭstev, "Kontslagerite v Bŭlgariya," *Vekove* 6 (1986): 22–31, and Ivan Grigorov, "Kontslagerite v Bŭlgariya: Pŭrva chast: Predi 9 Septemvri 1944 g.," *Pro-Anti* 15:12 (March 24–30, 2006): 24–30.

Primary sources documenting the Ribaritsa camp can be found in TsDA; an unpublished memoir of Gurko Popov is available in the Lovech archives.

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NOTE

1. TsDA, fond 966, opis 1, a.e. 83, as cited in Grigorov, "Kontslagerite v Bŭlgariya"; unpublished memoir of prisoner Gurko Popov, cited in ibid., pp. 24–25.

SHUMEN

Bulgaria's formal state of war with the Western Allied powers remained only theoretical until U.S. air raids against the Ploieşti oil installations in Romania started on August 1, 1943. On the return flight to their bases in North Africa, some of the bombers overflew Bulgaria and were intercepted and shot down by fighter planes of the Bulgarian Air Force. Crew members who safely bailed out were taken captive. Many subsequent bombing missions were launched against targets in Romania and Bulgaria by both the United States Army Air Force (USAAF) and Britain's Royal Air Force (RAF), flying out of bases in Italy as the war progressed in 1943 and 1944. More than 300 downed flyers fell into Bulgarian hands while the country was still an Axis ally. This large group of prisoners of war (POWs) necessitated the creation of a camp, which was located on the outskirts of Shumen, in the Shumen oblast, located 300 kilometers (nearly 186 miles) northeast of Sofia.

Typically on capture the prisoners were held in local jails and then taken to the central prison in Sofia for several days of interrogation before being transferred by train to the Shumen camp.[1] Wounded POWs were treated in Bulgarian hospitals until well enough to be sent to the camp.

Shumen operated for 10 months from November 25, 1943, to September 25, 1944, under the jurisdiction of the local garrison of the Bulgarian Army. The Bulgarian authorities conducted the camp in accordance with protocols of the 1929 Geneva Convention.[2] Security was relatively light, the enclosure being surrounded by several lines of barbed wire. Seven Bulgarian camp commandants, all first or second lieutenants, commanded Shumen during its 10-month existence.[3]

Prisoners had to endure limited rations and only a quart of water per day for drinking and hygiene. Lice were rampant. Some concerns regarding inadequate nutrition at the Shumen camp were resolved by mid-August 1944 following a report by the

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and U.S. diplomatic pressure.[4]

The Shumen camp eventually held 329 Allied personnel, mainly American but also airmen from Great Britain, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, Greece, and Yugoslavia. When the Red Army entered Bulgaria in September 1944, the POWs were repatriated into Western Allied hands via Turkey.

One downed American flier was freed by communist partisans from a local jail before he could be sent to Shumen. He then stayed with the partisans. One British intelligence officer, Major William Frank Thompson, was executed by Bulgarian security forces in June 1944 after he was captured in the western part of the country. His mission was to contact Bulgarian partisans. His remains are interred in the Sofia War Cemetery.[5]

SOURCES A secondary source describing the Shumen camp is Rumen Rumenin, *Letyashti kreposti nad Bŭlgariya* (Sofia: Hristo Botev, 1990). On the killing of William Frank Thompson, see his brother's account, E. P. Thompson, *Beyond the Frontier: The Politics of a Failed Mission, Bulgaria 1944* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Merlin/Stanford, 1996).

Primary sources documenting the Shumen camp can be found in NARA, RG-389 (Provost-Martial General's Office). Two published memoirs are John Muirhead, *Those Who Fall* (New York: Random House, 1988) and Robert Henry Johnson, *Gidi Gidi Boom Boom* (Fort Worth, TX: Prairie International, 2006). "Gidi Gidi Boom Boom" was the crew's name for the B-24 bomber in which Robert Johnson served as the top turret gunner.

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NOTES

1. Muirhead, *Those Who Fall*, pp. 211–258; and Johnson, *Gidi Gidi Boom Boom.*
2. Rumenin, *Letyashti kreposti nad Bŭlgariya*, pp. 148–165.
3. Ibid., p. 154.

4. NARA, RG-389, box 2139, including a complete list of the prisoners with their nationalities, ranks, and dates and places of capture; also available in Rumenin, *Letyashti kreposti nad Bŭlgariya*, pp. 183–205.

5. See www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/2224481/THOMPSON,%20WILLIAM%20FRANK.

SKOPIE

In March 1943, a wholesale tobacco ware house in Skopie called the "Monopol" was renovated by Bulgarian authorities to temporarily hold the Jews of Yugoslav Macedonia. (Today Skopie is the capital of the Republic of Macedonia.) Skopie, then in the Skopie oblast, is 174 kilometers (108 miles) southwest of Sofia. The Jews stayed there for two weeks before being sent to Treblinka. A Jewish minority had resided in Balkan towns for more than four centuries. Although a tightly knit ethno-religious group, Macedonia's mostly Sephardic Jews had long been integrated into regional economic and cultural life. Yet within the course of a day nearly all were uprooted from their homes in the cities of Skopie, Bitola, and Shtip and taken to the Monopol. Only a very few evaded the police dragnet or were freed before the trains left for German-occupied Poland.

Since the reemergence of a Bulgarian state in the late nineteenth century, one of its priorities had been the acquisition of certain Slavic-speaking adjacent lands. This irredentist goal was partially realized under the Nazi-imposed "New Order" in Europe. With German sponsorship, Bulgaria occupied and administered much of Macedonia following the collapse of Yugoslavia in the spring of 1941. Cooperation with the Third Reich in persecuting the Jews proceeded as an understood quid pro quo for this territorial gain. After depriving the victims of their livelihoods and civil rights, the next step entailed deportation in accordance with the "Final Solution," which was extended to the southern Balkans in early 1943 by the government in Sofia, acting as a sovereign entity.

The governmental body set up to register, arrest, and detain the Jews and then to dispatch them into German hands was the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV), a semi-autonomous unit within the Bulgarian Interior Ministry. Peio Draganov (a.k.a. Peio Draganov Peev) was the KEV official ordered to prepare a transit camp. A lawyer by training, the 46-year-old Draganov was the mayor of his home

village of Popovo in eastern Bulgaria until joining the KEV staff in Sofia in late 1942 to advance his career as a public servant. Draganov's prior work for KEV was connected with the relocation of individual Jewish families from Sofia to provincial towns. In that capacity he subsequently alleged that he had disagreed with the head of the KEV, Aleksandŭr Belev, over procedures.[1] Draganov lacked the needed experience to handle the logistical tasks of forcibly incarcerating an entire civilian community. Yet on February 15, 1943, Belev abruptly sent him to Skopie to set up a camp.

On trial two years later, Draganov claimed that he tried to refuse the assignment on grounds of nervous exhaustion, but that Belev had insisted he take it. Draganov also stated that he did not know where the Macedonian Jews were to be "resettled" after being expelled. He chose the Monopol site at the suggestion of Skopie's mayor Spiro Kitinchev, who noted that the tobacco ware house had sufficient capacity to house up to 8,000 occupants. Furthermore, the Monopol sat conveniently beside the rail line where the detainees were to embark on their last journey.

Draganov thereupon worked on the scene with another KEV functionary, Zahari Velkov (a.k.a. Zahari Velkov Ivanov), on practical details, although the Skopie authorities were not to be shut out from the potentially lucrative process.[2] Asserting a local prerogative, the Skopie district director, a Dr. Raev, imposed a division of labor whereby Draganov took charge of accommodations. Makeshift dormitory, cooking, and sanitary facilities were installed, given that the Monopol had been designed to hold tobacco and not to shelter human beings. Most of the interior space was taken up by multiple-tiered bunk beds. Families remained together, but there were no provisions for privacy.[3]

Jews from Macedonia await deportation inside a large ware house at the Tobacco Mono poly transit camp in Skopie, March 1943.
USHMM WS #79605, COURTESY OF COMFORTY MEDIA CONCEPTS.

When Draganov stated he would need from 20 to 30 assistants from the KEV to run the place, Raev told him to hire local personnel instead. Meanwhile Polkovnik Asen Georgiev Bogdanov of the Skopie police was appointed to oversee the arrest of the victims, and Ivan Zahariev of the Skopie municipal administration was placed in charge of confiscating the Jews' property.[4] In addition to the KEV personnel and Skopie officials, Interior Minister Petŭr Gabrovski also dispatched an inspector, Todor Lulchev, to observe and report.[5]

The KEV had earlier compiled a census of the Jews throughout metropolitan Bulgaria and the annexed parts of Macedonia.[6] In Macedonian towns, the roundup of victims began as scheduled during the early morning hours of March 11, 1943. Bitola was blockaded by police to prevent escapes, and most Jews were caught despite rumors of an impending action. Told they would be resettled within the borders of metropolitan Bulgaria, they were granted only 10 minutes to gather baggage weighing up to 40 kilograms (88 pounds) for adults and 20 kilograms (44 pounds) for children. By that after noon 3,351 people from 793 house holds had been arrested, fleeced of cash and valuables, and placed onto two trains headed for the Monopol in Skopie.[7] At Shtip, Bulgarian soldiers likewise undertook the tasks of arresting and sending 551

people from some 150 Jewish house holds to the Monopol.[8] About another 3,350 Jews from Skopie itself were incarcerated there after being rousted out of their homes by police. (A few Jewish families residing in the cities of Kumanovo, Veles, Presheno, Gevgeli, Kriva Palanka, Boyanovo, and Gara Udovo were also arrested and deported.[9]) The roundup in Skopie was described as "cruel" by a non-Jewish onlooker, himself an official, who observed the doomed families being crowded into the Monopol with their bundles, quilts, and mattresses.[10] A report on March 15 by the Skopie municipal authorities to the Bulgarian government claimed that the Macedonian population strongly supported the action against the Jews.[11]

Although KEV planning stipulated that the Jews were to receive three meals per day under detention, the preparations proved inadequate. There was no distribution of food in the morning, and only a serving of soup with beans was given later each day. The detainees spent their days idly, deprived of daylight and exercise. While being held incommunicado in the Monopol they sought ways to hide such money as they had managed to hold onto, despite intrusive baggage searches by their jailers.[12] To maintain internal order the Jews were subdivided into groups under appointed leaders.[13] Outside the guards were armed with machine guns.[14]

During the following two weeks approximately 60 Jewish physicians and pharmacists were released from the Monopol along with their families, due to the need in Macedonia for medical personnel. A few people were also excused on grounds of illness because the KEV hoped to avoid spreading any epidemics within the transit camp or on handing the victims over to the Germans. Just before the deportation, some Jews with foreign citizenship, including those holding Spanish, Italian, and Hungarian papers, were released.[15]

All of the bureaucratic agencies and security forces directly involved in the Skopie action were Bulgarian. Draganov over-saw the transliteration of a list of deportees from Cyrillic characters into a German version for the convenience of the Nazi authorities who were to receive the victims. After completing the name list Draganov was fired by Raev on March 16, to be replaced by Asen Vladimirov Paitashev.[16] Interior Minister Gabrovski's

representative Todor Lulchev assigned the Jews to particular departure trains.[17] On March 17 Commissar Belev and his assistant Maria Pavlova arrived in Skopie to uphold their supervisory prerogatives. Trains then left on March 22, 25, and 29, taking the deportees to Treblinka where all were murdered on arrival.[18] Draganov was subsequently arrested for dereliction of duty and spent three months in jail from October 1943 to January 1944.[19]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Skopie (Monopol) camp can be found in TsDA, fonds 190, 264, 1568, and 2123; TsDA, KEV collection, available at USHMMA as RG-46.049M; and HC VII, available at USHMMA as RG-46.058M. A photograph of the camp is available at CZA (USHMMPA WS #79605). An early account of published testimonies is Natan Grinberg, *Dokumenti* (Sofia: N.P., 1945).

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NOTES

1. Peio Draganov Peev testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.
2. Zahari Velkov Ivanov deposition, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 4; Peio Draganov Peev deposition titled "Inquest" (*Doznanie*), USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 6.
3. "Jews from Macedonia await deportation inside a large ware house at the Tobacco Mono poly transit camp in Skopje," USHMMPA, WS #79605 (Courtesy of CZA).
4. Peio Draganov Peev deposition, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 6.
5. Todor Lulchev testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
6. USHMMA, RG-46.049M (KEV), reel 123.
7. Report by KEV officials Georgi Dzhambazov and Kiril Stoimenov, March 12, 1943, TsDA, fond 2123, opis 1, a.e. 4096, pp. 91-93.

8. TsDA, fond 190, opis 1, a.e. 403, p. 1; also TsDA, fond 1568, opis 1, a.e. 70, pp. 2–3.

9. USHMMA, RG-46.049M, reel 123; also an accounting of KEV expenditures and receipts from March 1943 (*Akt na predavane i preemane*), USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 6.

10. Hristo Slavov Hristov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

11. TsDA, fond 264, opis 7, a.e. 836, p. 6.

12. Albert Sarfati testimony in Grinberg, *Dokumenti*, p. 160.

13. TsDA, fond 190, opis 3, a.e. 88, p. 2

14. Sarfati testimony in Grinberg, *Dokumenti*, p. 160.

15. TsDA, fond 190, opis 3, a.e. 171, pp. 1-2; TsDA, fond 190, opis 3, a.e. 171, p. 7r/v.

16. Asen Vladimirov Paitashev testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.

17. Todor Lulchev testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

18. TsDA, fond 190-K, opis 3, a.e. 88, p. 2.

19. Peio Draganov Peev deposition, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 6.

SMEDOVO

On June 17, 1944, a detachment of approximately 2,000 men consisting of nine Jewish work groups was detailed to improve a roadway in northeastern Bulgaria between the town of Smedovo (today: Smyadovo), Shumen oblast, some 304 kilometers (190 miles) east of Sofia, and the village of Veselinovo, which is more than 9 kilometers (almost 6 miles) south of Smedovo. The route parallels a small stream called the Brestova. This endeavor constituted one segment of a larger project aimed at improving motorized travel between Smedovo and Karnobat, which is about 299 kilometers (186 miles) east of Sofia. Part of the detachment's work entailed the local quarrying of materials for the upgraded roadway. In some places, a new right of way was also to be set in place, close to the already existing Smedovo-Veslelinovo road. The unpaid conscripted laborers ranged from 20 to 46 years of age. They belonged to the 4th Labor Battalion, controlled by the Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor (*Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost*, OVTP) of the Ministry of Public Works (*Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto*, OSPB).[1]

The Bulgarian command staff for the project set up in a Smedovo school building during the summer of 1944 when classes were not in session. The name of the town was thus applied to the Smedovo-Veselinovo project as a whole, both in con temporary OVTP memoranda and by Jewish veterans during subsequent years.[2]

Major Genchev, the OVTP's inspector of operations, turned in a favorable report on conditions at this deployment. His evaluation, dated August 3, 1944, focused on the facilities to house, feed, and care for the forced laborers. Point by point, the aspects he considered were each the subject of numerous complaints by Jewish conscripts in labor units at other places in the country. Their grievances were later echoed in courtroom testimony against officers of those forced labor units.

Genchev stated that the Jews' barracks were all erected conveniently nearby the work sites. Elsewhere the conscripts were often obliged to march some considerable distance from their bivouacs to the project sites, which expended physical energy, but did not count as part of the work shifts. The shelters at the Smedovo bivouacs were constructed of sturdy materials including canvas and were equipped with adequate furnishings, also in contrast to the makeshift arrangements at many encampments. Sanitary facilities were also gradually being provided, although Genchev noted that they had not yet been installed in all locations. His report did not elaborate on the interim arrangements before these facilities were completed.

According to Genchev, cook houses at the bivouacs were well built and were maintained in a clean and neat condition. The field kitchens served sufficient rations of good quality. Furthermore, ovens at Smedovo and Veselinovo provided fresh bread that was transported by truck to the bivouac sites. Meat was provided two or three times per day. This situation contrasted with what Jewish conscripts endured at other sites, where a monotonous diet typically consisted of bean soup with poor quality bread or none at all, and no meat.

A 25-bed clinic for the 4th Battalion workers was set up in Smedovo. It was staffed by two Jewish doctors and a dentist. Due to a shortage of trained Bulgarian personnel at battalion and lower levels, clerical support for the battalion and its work groups was drawn from among the ranks of the Jewish conscripts. Again, this situation departed from the practice in other units during 1942 and 1943, when Jews were at times expressly forbidden from practicing medicine or from being assigned to light duty such as maintaining unit records.

The only seriously negative note in this report was a criticism of the technical aspects of the roadway improvement. Genchev stated that a Bulgarian section engineer (unnamed) was to be faulted for inadequate arrangements, resulting in his transfer to another assignment.

In regard to conditions for the Jewish conscripts, the Genchev report reflects the characteristics of a document prepared for the files to serve as reference material in case of contingency. It was

drafted during the Red Army's rapid advance through Romania toward the Danube, and that overwhelming force could reasonably be expected to cross the river and penetrate Bulgarian territory. German forces were hastily departing from the region in defeat, and it was anticipated that Bulgaria's antisemitic laws and its system of Jewish forced labor would end shortly. In such a case, the Genchev report's description of the bivouacs along the Smedovo-Veselinovo project would document how significant measures were undertaken by certain officers to better the Jewish conscripts' lives.

The 4th Battalion ceased its Smedovo operations in early September 1944 when the Red Army entered Bulgaria, a pro-Allied government took control at Sofia, and all antisemitic laws were nullified. Most of the Jewish personnel abandoned the road-building project by the official liberation day of September 9, despite the relatively better accommodations described by Genchev. A few remained until the middle of September before leaving or being formally discharged.[3] The fact that veterans of the 4th Battalion in 1944 were not among those testifying against their former Bulgarian overseers at People's Court Panel VII when it convened in March 1945 provides some oblique confirmation of the improved facilities.

Major Genchev's one-page report was approved by Polkovnik Tsvetan Mumdzhiev, commander of the forced labor units under the OSPB, and bears Mumdzhiev's signature. Mumdzhiev had long sought to upgrade the treatment of Jewish conscripts and to restore their status to something that resembled the situation prevailing in 1941. Smedovo represents a step in that direction, albeit belated. People's Court Panel VII did not indict Genchev, and although Mumdzhiev stood trial, he was acquitted.

SOURCES The documentation on the Smedovo camp derives from Genchev's one-page report. It can be found in HC VII, March 1945 (available at USHMMA as RG-46.058M). Additional documentation about the Smedovo camp can be found in ITS, 0.1 (CNI).

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NOTES

1. Report drafted by Major Genchev at Radomir, August 3, 1944, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 7.

2. ITS, 0.1 (CNI), records for Jaakov Kalaora, Awram Chaim Jeschaya, Mosche Jossifov, Isak Kemalov, Mosche Geron, Schlomo Benjamin Kohen, Nissim Hananel, Mordechai Natan, Schlomo Avram Maschiach, Armand Segal, Sami Moschkovitsch, Jaakov Menachem (German spellings), and Yakov Kapon; also Jewish Claims Conference questionnaire files for Bulgarian compensation claimants.

3. ITS, 0.1, Schlomo Avram Maschiach (German spelling) and Armand Segal.

SOFIA

Restrictions on Jewish residence in Sofia (Sofiya), the capital of Bulgaria, in the Sofiya oblast, began in January 1941 when the Bulgarian Parliament enacted the avowedly antisemitic Law for the Defense of the Nation. One provision forbade Jews to relocate to Sofia from elsewhere or to change residences at all without police permission. Ghettoization measures followed in late 1942 on the orders of the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV). Unlike occupied Poland where Nazi-imposed ghettos preceded the Final Solution by some two years, in Bulgaria the residential concentration of Jews was planned from the start as a transitional step in the deportation process. The KEV relied on the consistory, the traditional Jewish internal governing body (the equivalent of a Jewish Council), to compile a register of the city's Jews. The KEV called on state security organizations for enforcement as needed so a Jewish police force was not established.

Organized Jewish cultural life did not have time to adapt to confined conditions in the ghettos; nevertheless, certain defining features of the Nazi-era ghetto did apply to Sofia. Jews, except those in mixed marriages, were forbidden to dwell with non-Jews. Their economic activity was banned or tightly limited. A curfew kept Jews from circulating freely. They had to surrender their telephones, radios, automobiles, motorcycles, and bicycles.[1] (KEV records show expropriation of 179 automobiles, 605 bicycles, and 94 motorcycles, which excludes those vehicles Jews sold at lower than normal market prices when owner ship was forbidden.) And dwellings were marked by the six-pointed star symbol (*evreiski znak*) on a placard denoting "Jewish residence" (*evreisko zhilishte*).

Jews are forced to deliver their radios to Bulgarian officials for confiscation, Sofia, 1941. USHMM WS #09064, COURTESY OF COMFORTY MEDIA CONCEPTS.

Sofia presented the principal national challenge to the KEV in achieving Jewish segregation because the city was home to some 25,000 Jews. Many resided in a working-class neighborhood called Iuch Bunar. The central Sephardic synagogue was a notable landmark there, located just west of Sofia's large covered "Hali" market on Maria Luiza Boulevard. Other wise, Iuch Bunar consisted mainly of small-scale enterprises, shops, and shabby tenements inhabited largely but not exclusively by Jews (the actual percentages of Jewish and other inhabitants cannot be determined from existing data). Although not a fashionable part of town, this area lay within easy reach, on foot or by tram, of Sofia's main commercial and governmental districts.

Ghettoization was imposed in Sofia by a KEV decree on October 20, 1942, restricting Jewish habitation to west of the longitudinal Maria Luiza Boulevard.[2] The KEV pointedly eschewed using the term *geto* at the time, although the word did later appear in the indictment of the March 1945 trial in Sofia of antisemitic perpetrators.[3] The ghetto comprised Iuch Bunar and part of the adjacent Konyovitsa neighborhood. According to KEV the other thoroughfares demarcating this "Jewish quarter" (*evreiski kvartal*) were Tsarina Ioanna Street, Alabin Street, Makedonia Boulevard, St. Stambolov Boulevard, Partenii

Nishavskii Street, Vladaiska Ruka Boulevard, Vasil Krikov Street, Rishki Prohod Street, Tutrakan Boulevard, Sveti Kiril i Metod Street, and Slivnitsa Boulevard. However, those streets represented just an outer perimeter. The KEV order added that Jews were not allowed to dwell on Tsarina Ioanna or Alabin Streets or on Makedonia or Maria Luiza Boulevards. So as not to inconvenience non-Jews, and in keeping with the projected temporary nature of the ghetto, non-Jewish house holds residing within the designated zone were apparently not required to vacate their premises.

Jews who had lived outside the designated ghetto were now obliged to move inside its perimeters. The KEV seized the abandoned apartments of those somewhat more affluent Jews. Yet despite the discomfort of those directly affected, there were few reasons for alarm (i.e., no wall, barbed-wire fences, or formal checkpoints were constructed). Meanwhile the continued presence of non-Jewish neighbors within the designated quarter helped maintain an outward sense of normality. Most able-bodied Jewish male adults were away on service in forced labor units at the time of the KEV decree. When they returned to their families on winter furlough, the ghetto was already an accomplished fact.

Initial deportation plans pursuant to the Final Solution were agreed to on February 22, 1943, by the KEV chief Aleksandŭr Belev and the SS representative in Bulgaria, SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker. The victims were to include selected Jews from Sofia, Kiostendil, Plovdiv, and several other towns, but word of the impending deportation leaked. In March a National Assembly protest against deportation spearheaded by its vice chairman Dimitŭr Peshev led to a postponement of those plans. The KEV then instigated further controls on Jews while Belev reassessed tactics for resuming deportations.

In April 1943 the Sofia police promulgated restrictions affecting Jews at places outside the ghetto boundary. Those restrictions fell into several categories.[4] The first paragraph of the order named specific cafes that were off-limits to Jews wearing the required yellow star. Subsequent paragraphs likewise designated restaurants, theaters, clubs, museums, libraries, gardens, and parks as being out of bounds for Jews. Jews were not admitted to the Aleksandŭr Nevski Cathedral or the National Assembly or allowed on Tsar Aleksandŭr I Boulevard. They were barred from riding the

electric tramways between 7 and 9 A.M. and could not occupy the first car of a tram at any time. Shopping for Jews was restricted to 3:30 to 4:30 P.M. daily. This police order also barred Jews from streets outside the ghetto, at railway stations, or in industrial zones unless their presence was required by work. They were banned from congregating in groups of more than three persons, from attending dances and concerts, and from using public baths. The order required public facilities to post signs stipulating Jews as unwelcome. A hefty fine of 2,000 leva (just over $15 in 1940 U.S. dollars) could be imposed on Jews who violated the ordinance.

Deportations resumed following an abortive demonstration by Jews from Iuch Bunar on May 24, 1943. Police halted the march, beat demonstrators, and arrested hundreds, immediately dispatching them to a concentration camp in the Danube port of Somovit. Massive evictions of Jews from Sofia ensued over the next three months in accordance with Belev's expanded national deportation plan. In KEV paperwork the stated purpose was "resettlement" (*izselvane*), the euphemism for shipment into Nazi hands. However, top Bulgarian officials were ultimately dissuaded from approving that step.

This movement of people resulted in the unforeseen formation of ad hoc ghettos in provincial Bulgarian towns even as the Sofia ghetto was emptied out during the summer of 1943. As Jewish families were ejected from their homes, KEV operatives, working house by house, proceeded to inventory and seize their abandoned house hold possessions. These items were sold at auction to the general public. Proceeds went into a KEV fund for the temporary upkeep of the Jews until their deportation, after which the remaining sum was supposed to be remitted to the state treasury. Meanwhile, shops and businesses confiscated from Jews were consigned to selected trustees having connections to the KEV.

Ghetto restrictions stayed in effect until the end of August 1944 for those few Jews remaining in Sofia during this period who had been exempted from eviction on various grounds.

SOURCES Extensive archival documentation can be found at USHMMA, in two collections from TsDA (KEV, RG-46.04M), and at GVA (RG-46.058M). The latter collection includes trial

documentation. A novel by Viktor Baruh, *Beyond the Law*, trans. Elena Mladenova (Sofia: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), gives a sense of life in the ghetto.

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-46.04M (TsDA-KEV), reel 299.
2. USHMMA, RG-46.058M (GVA), reel 4.
3. Sofia People's Court Session VII.
4. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 4. The order does not specify an exact date in April.

SOMOVIT, KAILŬKA, AND TABAKOVA CHESHMA

Somovit, Kailŭka (Kaylaka), and Tabakova Cheshma were detention camps for Jews that operated under the authority of the Bulgarian Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV) between 1943 and 1944. A memorandum by Commissar Aleksandŭr Belev in the spring of 1943 stipulated the expulsion of all Jews from Bulgaria before the end of September that year. The victims were to be evicted from their homes and sent either to ad hoc provincial ghettos or to transit camps inside the country before being turned over to the German authorities. Belev initially planned to situate the camps in the Danube barge ports of Lom and Somovit.[1] Lom had already served as the embarkation point for Jews deported from Bulgarian-annexed parts of Greece to the Treblinka killing center. The town of Radomir was also briefly considered as a transit camp site.[2]

Although Belev wanted all Jews held in custody by May 30, practical arrangements remained rudimentary at best because the facilities were intended for short-term use. A KEV functionary, Ilia Iliev Dobrevski, was assigned the task of preparing a vacant school building in Somovit for the deportees to occupy. Dobrevski accomplished little in advance and did not make any arrangements regarding food. A more senior KEV official, Yaroslav Kalitsin, took charge as the lack of preparedness for the impending deportation became apparent.

The opening of the Somovit camp (in the Pleven oblast) was pushed forward by an influx of Jews from Sofia, who arrived earlier than expected. An impromptu demonstration had erupted in Sofia's Iuch Bunar ghetto on May 24, 1943, when word of Belev's deportation plan leaked out. Heavily armed police responded almost immediately, halting the protest and beating and arresting hundreds. That night, some 200 Jewish men and boys were taken under guard to the Sofia train station, put aboard rail cars, and

transported the next morning to the Danube River port of Somovit 160 kilometers (99 miles) northeast of Sofia. The camp opening can thus be dated to May 25. Somovit municipal authorities were subordinated to the KEV for the handling of administrative details, and a military guard commanded by a second lieutenant provided security.

Cash, overcoats, shoes, luggage, printed material, and valuables such as watches were seized from the captives on arrival. Thirty to forty people were crammed into each room. The head guard greeted them with these words, according to Rabbi Daniel Tsion, who was among the first group of Sofia Jews sent to Somovit: "Listen! As of today you're staying here. You'll carry out every command you receive from now on. Anyone objecting will be tossed into the Danube or get a bullet. Remember, no one here will be held responsible if you die. You understand?"[3]

Food was not distributed at first, although those who brought some provisions shared what they had. The initially strict control regimen forbade prisoners from rising without permission from their assigned places in the schoolrooms. When allowed to walk about they were forbidden to converse or even to peer out of the windows. One bit of torment stipulated that prisoners' trips outside to relieve themselves were limited to only one half-hour per day. Not all were able to comply, resulting in a sanitation problem. Those confined also endured beatings with rifle butts, profanity, and insults from the guards. Rabbi Tsion's objections regarding such gratuitous brutality were met with a drawn pistol and a renewed death threat from the head guard. The inmates were convinced that they would be shipped upriver imminently and then deported to Poland.[4]

After several days the KEV finally authorized a paltry food allotment. Each prisoner at Somovit received 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of coarse bread made from raw bran daily. Seven kilograms (15.4 pounds) of beans per day were to be distributed among all the prisoners, sometimes with onions, but there was no meat. As the head guard stated, "The ration is really small, so you'll suffer." Gradually, the daily bread ration was increased to 200 grams, then 300, and finally 500 grams (7, 10.6, and 17.6 ounces). This increased sustenance coincided with the government decision to suspend deportation. In light of this development, the

plan for an additional transit camp at Radomir was put on hold, while Lom evolved more as an ad hoc ghetto than a camp per se.

By June 2, the original contingent of Somovit prisoners was increased by another 185 Jews sent there from Sofia, in addition to 28 from Ruse and about 100 from Plovdiv.[5] The subsequent arrivals included women. A commandant, Asen Stefanov Tasev, took charge.[6] The KEV's inmate roster differentiated between Jews arrested at the May 24 demonstration in Sofia and those sent specifically to await deportation via river barge. Yet when it became clear in August 1943 that the deportations would not resume, many from both lists were released to the provincial ghettos, although no one was permitted to resume residence in Sofia. Somovit then continued as a punishment camp for Jews accused of violating provincial ghetto restrictions. The number of prisoners fluctuated, but intake and release rosters show that the total never exceeded the low hundreds. Through the winter of 1943 the captives endured relentless cold wind sweeping off the Danube.

In early 1944 the remaining Somovit inmates were relocated southward to two camps, Kailŭka and Tabakova Cheshma, both on the outskirts of the city of Pleven, located 132 kilometers (82 miles) northeast of Sofia. Liuben Petrov Zimriev of the KEV was the Kailŭka superintendent (*domakin*). Jews were remanded to these detention sites from the ad hoc ghettos on KEV orders for committing alleged infractions (e.g., violating curfews or failing to wear the Jewish star). Many had been sent from the Dupnitsa ghetto on suspicion of communist sympathies or black market activity. One offender supposedly cohabited illicitly with an ethnic Bulgarian woman.[7] Another contingent had deserted a work detail. Their terms of incarceration were set at several months to a year. Kailŭka and Tabakova Cheshma each held people of both sexes, including families.

At Kailŭka, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) south of Pleven, the Jews were confined to crude wooden barracks. One such structure caught fire on the night of July 11, 1944, resulting in the death of 11 Jewish inmates who were unable to get out. Zimriev, a Pleven resident, left the premises when the blaze started. Arson by members of the fascist-style Brannik youth movement was suspected in the Jewish community, but never proven in court; in

March 1945, Zimriev stood trial at the Sofia People's Court VII, but testimony regarding the Kailŭka blaze did not reach a conclusive verdict on responsibility.[8] The Kailŭka camp shut down after the arson, but Tabakova Cheshma, located a few kilometers away, held Jews until all Bulgarian antisemitic laws were nullified in late August 1944.

Although inventories were kept of money and possessions seized on arrival at Somovit, some former inmates later claimed that their cash was not returned on their release.[9]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the camps at Somovit, Kailŭka, and Tabakova Cheshma can found in TsDA (KEV documentation is available at USHMMA under RG-46.049M) and GVA (available at USHMMA under RG-46.058M). A published testimony is the memoir by Rabbi Daniel Tsion, *Pet godini pod fashistki gnet* (Sofia: N.P., 1945).

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NOTES

1. Belev memorandum, TsDA, fond 1568-K, opis 1, a.e. 122, pp. 49–51.
2. Testimony by defendant Ilia Iliev Dobrevski, March 1945, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (GVA), reel 1.
3. Tsion, *Pet godini pod fashistki gnet*, p. 62.
4. Ibid., pp. 61–64.
5. USHMMA, RG-46.049M (KEV), reel 11 and related references.
6. Tasev signed, as commandant, an invoice of money seized from 42 Somovit inmates, July 31, 1943. It was counter-signed by the mayor of Somovit, Ivan Mihailov, USHMMA, RG-46.049M, reel 11.
7. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 3.
8. Liuben Petrov Zimriev testimony in USHMMA, RG-46.058M,

reel 1; also USHMMA, RG-46.049M, reel 123.

9. USHMMA 1997.A.0333, reel 11.

STRUMA VALLEY

The Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor Service (*Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost,* OVTP) deployed Jewish forced laborers and ethnic Turkish labor troops in the Struma Valley in the Sofiya oblast of southwestern Bulgaria in 1943 to maintain the railways. The OVTP administered this project for the Ministry of Public Works (*Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto*, OSPB). Polkovnik Tsvetan Mumdzhiev, an active-duty army officer, commanded these and other labor units across the country; he exercised considerable latitude as a military man heading a largely autonomous body within a civilian ministry.

The Struma line enhanced access to the Bulgarian-occupied territories of northern Greece. The railway upgrade effort coincided with an ideologically driven scheme by the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV) to deport all of Bulgaria's Jews into German hands, starting with those in occupied lands. The KEV and OSPB thus operated at cross-purposes. Many of the Jewish conscripts deployed on the Struma railway were in fact drawn from erstwhile Greek towns in the Bulgarian-occupied zone. Faced with uncertainty about their fate and that of their families, they endured harsh conditions such as beatings, inadequate rations, and extortion by lower level Bulgarian Army personnel. Malaria debilitated their numbers. Morale consequently remained poor with a negative impact on production. Although similar circumstances prevailed elsewhere in Bulgaria among Jewish labor units, a memo by Mumdzhiev cited "laziness" and high desertion rates specifically along the Struma line.[1]

Labor camps were situated at several towns or stations along the railway: Gara Pirin, Gara Belitsa, Sveti Vrach, Marikostino (or Marikostinovo), Poruchik Minkov, Kulata, and Gara Rupel. Conscripts witnessed the passage of trains carrying Greek Jewish

deportees to their fate, which triggered confrontations between Bulgarian authorities and Jewish forced laborers at several sites along the route.

The Gara Pirin camp at Kresna, 108 kilometers (67 miles) south of Sofia, deployed ethnic Turks holding the status of paid, unarmed Bulgarian Army laborers. This point marked the northern end of the railway improvement project in 1943.[2]

Gara Belitsa was a station at Strumyani, 119 kilometers (74 miles) south of Sofia. This site should not be confused with the town of Belitsa located some distance across the mountains to the northeast. Kapitan Tsvetan Donchev was the commander at Gara Belitsa in 1943, but Poruchik Georgi Stoimenov Pinalov exercised immediate authority over the 3rd Jewish Group (*grupa*). This unit combined Jewish forced laborers from Greece with those from metropolitan areas of Bulgaria. Most proved susceptible to Struma's endemic malaria. According to Pinalov, a physician examining 158 men found 128 infected. A veteran of the unit, Isak Deba, alleged that Pinalov regarded malaria as an insufficient excuse for work absence.[3] Pinalov strictly enforced army regulations, despite the fact that Jews were legally classified as civilians.

In March 1945, Pinalov stood trial for brutality and antisemitism, among other charges. While denying he harbored prejudice, he acknowledged having slapped conscripts, but stated that the degree of force fell within customary army parameters. He cited the particularly lax discipline and poor work results at Gara Belitsa as justification for his actions.[4] Among Pinalov's victims were seven Greek Jewish draftees from Drama and Kavala.[5] Their offense was having sung Greek songs at work. The corporal punishment was administered in a particularly brutal manner to these men who were deemed foreigners, not countrymen. In addition to receiving beatings, conscripts could also be held in a lockup in camp. Confinement was at Pinalov's discretion without any formal disciplinary hearing. Pinalov denied an accusation that locked-up detainees were stripped naked, claiming that they were permitted to retain overcoats in the cell.

One Greek Jew, Karl David Gatenio, recounted how, on March 5, 1943, a train carrying their deported relatives passed by

conscripts as they were installing reinforced concrete along the railway bed. According to Gatenio, Pinalov told the men that their parents were being taken to work for Germany and to die, as collective punishment to the Jews for having started World War II. Pinalov also threatened his workers with deportation to Poland. A subordinate subsequently granted Gatenio permission to see his father, who was among the deportees held at a temporary transit camp in Gorna Dzhumaya (today: Blagoevgrad), farther north along the Struma line.[6]

Sveti Vrach (today: Sandanski) is a city in the Struma Valley some 126 kilometers (78 miles) south of Sofia and 21 kilometers (13 miles) from the Greek border. During most of 1943 the 12th Labor Battalion was posted there. The battalion's 7th Group assembled at the end of January and worked for 10 months at various sites. Yako Avramov Molho recounted beatings, abusive language, and the extortion of money from the conscripts by the group leader, Podporuchik Nikifor Mladenov Pavlov. A conscript's family in Sofia, fearing deportation, sent him 30,000 leva ($229 in 1940 U.S. dollars) through a messenger. Pavlov then sought to confiscate this sum. A subsequent complaint against Pavlov signed by four former conscripts stated that he "systematically stole" from the Jewish forced laborers and transferred the loot to his family. When conscript Leon Iosif Samuilov attempted to report this corruption to higher authorities, he incurred a particularly severe beating.[7] Shemuil Iosif Moshe noted that Pavlov arbitrarily increased work demands, characterizing him as a sadist.[8]

The 6th Jewish Group of the 12th Battalion was deployed at Marikostino (or Marikostinovo) about 141 kilometers (88 miles) south of Sofia and 6.4 kilometers (4 miles) from the Greek border. One source gives the precise location as the "Poruchik Minkov" station on the railway line.[9] After replacing another officer, Pavlov also led this group during the summer of 1943.[10] On taking command he gave a speech echoing Nazi propaganda that blamed the Jews for starting the war. He frequently beat men and threatened to have them deported to Poland, falsely implying that he had the power to do so and thereby exploiting the threat as leverage.[11]

At the end of February 1945, nearly six months after Bulgaria

switched to the Allied side, Pavlov was discharged from service and remanded to People's Court VII.[12] In March 1945, veterans of the 6th Jewish Group testified that during 1943 Pavlov operated a scheme to extort cash from them. Some men had received money from their families at the time of the mass evictions from the Sofia ghetto to provincial towns. For a price a conscript could be reassigned from dangerous or onerous tasks at the job site. Approved furloughs could also be bought for 1,000 leva ($7.60 in 1940 U.S. dollars) per day. A Jewish conscript named Waizberg, the unit secretary and bookkeeper, was identified as Pavlov's intermediary for arranging such transactions.

The 8/9th Jewish Group was deployed at Gara Rupel (just on the Greek side of the prewar frontier) under Poruchik Parashkev Iordanov. When northward-bound trains bearing doomed Greek Jews passed the work site, the men under his command tried to toss their bread ration to the deportees. In response, Iordanov threatened the conscripts with a revolver. Complaints about Iordanov as a "corrupt antisemite" meanwhile reached the higher command level. On April 6, 1943, Mumdzhiev cited him for misconduct. Iordanov was accused of arbitrarily adjusting conscripts' leave schedules and of linking bribes to the issuance of leave permits.[13]

Mumdzhiev henceforth paid close attention to furlough policy. His measures to ensure fairness had broad repercussions some two months later during the 1943 work season, which coincided with the KEV's revived attempt to deport Jews. Mumdzhiev's issuance of valid permits at that time had the effect of temporarily releasing large numbers of Jewish conscripts, thereby obstructing the KEV's plans for sending all Jews out of the country to their destruction.

SOURCES The only published source describing the Struma Valley camps is Eli Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo* (Tel Aviv: N.P., 1960).

Primary sources on the Struma Valley camps can be found in USHMMA, RG-46.058M (GVA).

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NOTES

1. Mumdzhiev Order No. 165 of May 18, 1943, quoted in Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, pp. 137–138.
2. The disposition is noted in Mumdzhiev's Order No. 290 of the Bureau of Temporary Labor, July 30, 1943, reproduced in Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, pp. 142–143.
3. Isak Deba testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (GVA), reel 2.
4. Georgi Stoimenov Pinalov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.
5. Karl David Gatenio testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
6. Ibid.
7. Yako Avramov Molho deposition, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.
8. Shemuil Iosif Moshe deposition, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.
9. Petko Iotev Dobrev, deposition of a subaltern to People's Court VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.
10. David Iosif Davidov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
11. Albert Baruh testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
12. Protocol of February 28, 1943, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.
13. Memorandum cited in Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, pp. 138–139.

SVISHTOV

In the summer of 1944, unpaid Jewish labor conscripts were deployed to prepare military defense positions near the Danube River port of Svishtov in the Pleven oblast, 172 kilometers (107 miles) east of Sofia. The workforce was an ad hoc detachment formed from the 6th Labor Battalion and comprising that parent unit's 9th, 10th, and 11th Groups, all placed under the overall command of Poruchik Raicho Dobrev Kolevski of the Bulgarian Army.[1] Other groups of the 6th Battalion remained in the Bulgarian interior around the town of Lovech, where the battalion was headquartered.

The forced laborers in Svishtov were quartered at first in a school, but subsequently in tents. The tactical military construction task to which these three groups were assigned differed from the infrastructure improvement projects to which Jewish compulsory laborers in Bulgaria had been detailed during previous years. The shift in emphasis was prompted by the rapid approach of powerful Soviet ground forces advancing southward across the breadth of Romania. As a neighboring Axis-affiliated state, Bulgaria faced probable invasion by the Red Army. The Danube was the only remaining natural barrier between Bulgaria and the Soviet 3rd Ukrainian Front, an army group amply furnished with tanks, artillery, and pontoon equipment. Its combat engineers had demonstrated aptitude at crossing broad rivers during their campaigns to oust the Germans from the southern USSR. Toward the end of August 1944 they were poised to cross the Danube as well. The Svishtov sector was a prime locale for this crossing because it included the large mid-stream Belene Island around which the river flowed in two narrow channels, easily bridgeable with pontoons. Despite his modest rank, Kolevski therefore bore heavy responsibility should the Bulgarian government dare to resist the inevitable Soviet incursion.

The Bulgarian armed forces, equipped mostly with obsolete hardware, were vastly outgunned by the battle-hardened Red

Army and stood little chance along the breachable Danube line. Consequently tensions in Svishtov ran high, and motivation among the Jewish forced laborers was particularly poor. After having endured years of antisemitic oppression, their sympathies lay with the Allies. Yet in addition to being required to dig and construct futile defensive works, these men also faced possible conscription into the Bulgarian Army and exposure to combat. That possibility was evident from the battalion strength rosters that in the summer of 1944 began listing the Jews according to their military draft registration districts.[2] The result was a high desertion rate from Kolevski's detachment. He responded with brutality by personally beating many of the men. In postwar testimony at the Sofia People's Court Panel VII in March 1945, the Jewish labor unit veteran Zhak Solomon Tadzher recounted how he had personally seen Kolevski beat 10 or 15 conscripts, although Tadzher guessed that up to a hundred had endured Kolevski's blows. These punishments were accompanied by verbal abuse echoing bigoted tropes: the Jews "had the blood of the Bulgarian people on their hands," and the Danube defense position would be "built with soil and the bones of Jews." Tadzher believed that Kolevski sought to provoke a mutiny among the Jews to justify his brutality.[3] Kolevski himself threatened to shoot anyone whom he suspected of trying to abscond.

In addition to violence by Kolevski and his military subordinates, would-be Jewish deserters faced a gauntlet of Bulgarian police forces stationed around Svishtov. Many men nevertheless successfully escaped, and the unit strength rosters list dozens missing at various times. Their absence intensified the suspicions of and work demands placed on those who remained, and fear permeated the detachment. However, the intensity of torment varied from one group to another. Jews in the 9th Group under Poruchik Nakov were said to have had a relatively easier time.[4]

Another witness, Sami Moshe Levi, had served in the harsher 11th Group led by Podporuchik Nikola Skachkov. During the previous year this officer had commanded Jewish conscripts of the 5th Battalion at Gorna Oryahovitsa, where he had become known for antisemitism and cruelty. Several Jews in the 11th Group suffered from malaria, but were still forced to report to work by

Skachkov, who denied them a posting to light duty. The daily quota per man was to dig 8 cubic meters (282.5 cubic feet), an onerous if not humanly impossible task. The men toiled from dawn to dusk. Levi alleged that Skachkov equated the Jews with Josip Broz Tito's Partisans, a Communist-led enemy force, and subjected them to insults and frequent beatings. Sometimes three or four men were pummeled each day. Skachkov was quoted as having used the derogatory term *chifuti* (the Bulgarian equivalent of "kikes") in referring to Jews and was also said to have extorted money from them in return for train tickets to escape from the Danube. Levi's testimony was corroborated in various details by that of Perets Haim Perets and Mois Avram Koen, both 11th Group veterans.[5] Koen also told the court in March 1945 that Skachkov had denied the men air-raid shelter protection. Skachkov was quoted as having laughed and told the Jews, "They're your airplanes. If you're killed, the world won't come to an end."

Defending himself on the witness stand, Skachkov attributed his conduct to pressure from Kolevski and to the need to deter the conscripts from deserting. The absentee rate in the 11th Group had reached some 50 percent of its paper complement of 250 men, according to Skachkov. Rosters assembled at battalion level confirm a high level of desertion. Attempting to shift blame, Skachkov also attributed the backbreaking work quotas to an engineer Goranov who had designed the riparian project.[6]

As events developed, the Danube defense line did not experience the test of actual battle. Bulgaria was granted an armistice and switched to the Allied side as the Red Army crossed into the country virtually unopposed. Meanwhile during the first few days of September 1944 Kolevski's command disinte-grated. Rosters of the 6th Battalion compiled at Lovech later that month show its other Jewish work groups still reporting for duty, albeit with diminished numbers present, but the 9th, 10th and 11th Groups stationed in Svishtov had effectively ceased to exist.[7]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Svishtov forced labor camp can be found in GVA (available at USHMMA as RG-46.058M) and Tva, fond 2063.

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NOTES

1. Zhak Solomon Tadzher testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (GVA), reel 2; and Tva, fond 2063, opis 1, a.e. 14.

2. Tva, fond 2063, opis 1, a.e. 14.

3. Zhak Solomon Tadzher testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

4. Nikola Skachkov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.

5. Sami Moshe Levi, Mois Avram Koen, and Perets Haim Perets testimonies, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

6. Skachkov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.

7. Tva, fond 2063, opis 1, a.e. 14.

TRŬNSKA KLISURA

For several months during 1942 approximately 300 unpaid Bulgarian Jewish labor conscripts from the 1st Labor Battalion were deployed at Trŭnska Klisura, a mountain gorge in the Sofiya oblast on the border between Bulgaria and Serbia, 59 kilometers (32 miles) west-northwest of Sofia.[1] They worked to improve road access between metropolitan Bulgaria and the part of Serbia that had been awarded to Bulgaria by Nazi Germany after Hitler's subjugation of Yugoslavia in 1941. The road was intended to link Pirot, the principal regional town, and its hinterland to Bulgaria economically and militarily.

Details about working conditions at Trŭnska Klisura were recorded in affidavits and testimony submitted to the Sofia People's Court Panel VII in March 1945, mainly by veterans of the 1st Battalion's 16th Group. The first commander of that unit in 1942 was an officer named Georgi Markov, but as of August 1, 1942, Kapitan Aleksi Ivanchev Shonkin (a.k.a. Aleksi Ivanchev) supervised the Jewish laborers. He was assisted by junior officers Pane Shumanov, Asparuh Gŭlzhbov, and Metodi Minev.[2] These subordinates were sometimes assigned to beat conscripts whose performance displeased Shonkin. As the weather turned colder over the next few months, the captain remained in charge and demanded that the labor draftees complete arduous physical tasks even when snow was falling.[3]

According to the testimony of veterans, Shonkin set a challenging if not impossible daily earth-moving quota of 4 cubic meters (141 cubic feet) per man and intimidated the laborers to achieve that goal. At times he extended the work shift as late as 10:00 P.M., in contravention of guidelines set by the Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor (*Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost*, OVTP) of the Public Works Ministry (*Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto*, OSPB). He told the men of the 16th Group that they would remain alive only if they worked. Other wise, Shonkin intimated, he

would order their deportation to Poland. Although Shonkin lacked the authority to fulfill such a threat, he did have the power to detail men to a disciplinary detachment within the labor battalion system. Sometimes after a day's work Shonkin arbitrarily delayed the serving of the men's evening meal for several hours while he subjected them to insulting harangues.[4] It was said that once he pointed a machine gun at his unit and, echoing a standard Nazi propaganda theme, accused world Jewry of bearing guilt for starting the war. Hostile witnesses subsequently alleged that Shonkin avowed pro-Nazi sympathies and pointedly lamented the huge loss of German lives on the Eastern Front. His period of command ended on November 17, 1942.

The 16th Group was then discharged, and the men returned to their families, before other constituents of the 1st Labor Battalion were released. Because of this early discharge the 16th Group is not listed on an otherwise comprehensive handwritten 1st Battalion mustering-out roster dated December 14, 1942. The battalion's other groups served in various locales, with the 1st Group operating in proximity to the 16th. Some groups were posted in the Sofia vicinity, whereas the several detachments of the 2nd Group were parceled out to serve as labor auxiliaries in military districts around the country.[5] Each group included up to 300 men. Day-to-day functional control was exercised at the group level. From the roster, testimonies, and other eyewitness accounts, it is evident that the battalion functioned merely in an administrative capacity. Thus, an officer like Shonkin enjoyed considerable operational autonomy at an isolated posting such as Trŭnska Klisura where access presented a problem.

A group of Jewish prisoners at a forced labor camp in Trŭnska Klisura, Bulgaria, listen to an accordionist during their lunch break, 1942. USHMM WS #09058, COURTESY OF COMFORTY MEDIA CONCEPTS.

The Jewish conscripts in that project faced a special hazard posed by unexploded military ordnance left over from past conflicts. Trŭnska Klisura was an oft-contested mountain gateway leading into lands historically coveted by Sofia's rulers as rightfully Bulgarian. In modern times armed actions had taken place during the Serbian-Bulgarian War of 1885, the Second Balkan War of 1913, the Bulgarian campaign against the Serbs in 1915, and, more recently, the 1941 German invasion of eastern Yugoslavia that was launched from Bulgarian territory. Forced laborers excavating on the road improvement project were thus likely to encounter the live munitions that littered the area, yet adequately selected, trained, and equipped expert personnel were not present for the safe removal of war detritus. Instead, the unit relied on Jewish conscripts within its own ranks, who were detailed for that purpose in makeshift ordnance disposal teams. One such squad, composed of Iulius Haim Zilberman, Meshulam Aron Bali, and Itsak David Alkutser, was clearing a minefield on August 1 when an explosion occurred. All three men were seriously injured.[6] Medical help was slow to arrive on the scene, and then more hours passed before the wounded conscripts could be evacuated by truck to a hospital. The incident proved fatal for Alkutser and Zilberman, and Bali lost an eye.[7]

This incident became a focus of contention at the Sofia People's Court Panel VII in March 1945, when Shonkin and 63 other Bulgarians stood trial accused of persecuting Jews. The prosecution attempted to hold him at least indirectly responsible for the casualties among the ordnance disposal men.[8] A Bulgarian officer testified that the incessant pressure to speed up the work led to the careless handling of live land mines, which, in this case, resulted in an explosion.[9] The delay in providing swift emergency care was also examined in detail. But on the witness stand and in a deposition to the court Shonkin denied harboring antisemitic or fascist sympathies, the necessary motive under the legal ground rules to achieve conviction at this trial. Also testifying or

submitting affidavits on Shonkin's behalf were a number of active-duty Bulgarian army officers and several Jewish acquaintances. One of the latter stated that Shonkin had held his family's property in safe-keeping when it was confiscated and returned the items after the antisemitic laws were nullified.[10]

There are no accounts of Jewish forced labor at Trŭnska Klisura during subsequent war years. By 1944 the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border zone came to be largely dominated by armed Bulgarian communist partisan units operating in conjunction with Marshal Tito's Yugoslav forces.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the forced labor camp at Trŭnska Klisura can be found in GVA (available at USHMMA under RG-46.058M); and Tva, fond 2063.

Steven F. Sage

NOTES

1. The size of the unit was noted in testimony by Naim Isak Gavrilov, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (GVA), reel 2.

2. Deposition to the Sofia People's Court Panel VII of Lazar Nisim Malki, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7; Naim Isak Gavrilov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M reel 2.

3. Iosif Elia Reitan testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

4. Deposition to the Sofia People's Court Panel VII of Isak Daniel Isakov, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7; also Lazar Nisim Malki deposition, USHMMA, RG-46.058M reel 7.

5. Tva, fond 2058, opis 1, a.e. 29.

6. Meshulam Aron Bali testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1; and official report of the incident, August 12, 1942, drafted by an officer Nikolov of the battalion's 1st Group for OSPB, in USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.

7. Meshulam Aron Bali testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1; and Isak Daniel Isakov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2; also author's conversation with Solomon

Aron Bali, a descendant, in Sofia, October 2012.

8. Isak Daniel Isakov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2; and Isakov affidavit (RG-46.058M reel 7); also Meshulam Aron Bali and Maer Solomon Kaneti testimonies, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.

9. Kapitan Asen Georgiev testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

10. Affidavits of Rafael Buko Koen and defendant Aleksi Ivanchev Shonkin, both in USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.

VRATSA

Vratsa, a town nearly 60 kilometers (37 miles) northeast of Sofia in the Vrachan oblast, was the site of a temporary ghetto for Jews, established in the spring of 1943. Vratsa was one of the sites chosen by the Bulgarian Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV) to hold Jews from urban centers in preparation for their deportation. The ghetto continued to exist until September 1944.

At Vratsa, the newcomers received temporary lodgings in school buildings that were vacant for the summer recess.[1] Survivor Roza Anzhel (Rosa Angel) described nutrition in the Vratsa ghetto:

> As for the food, in the school there was a soup kitchen. And during the time in which we were allowed to walk outside, we took food from the school and then returned home. We had the right to be outside for two hours a day—between 8 and 10 o'clock. The rest of the time we didn't even have the right to show our faces at the windows because in Vratsa was the headquarters of the gendarmerie and there were blockades all the time, there were gendarmes in the streets. We couldn't go anywhere, even to buy bread.[2]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the temporary ghetto at Vratsa can be found in VHA, Rosa Angel interview, March 4, 1998 (#41439), and an English summary at www.centropa.org.

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NOTES

1. Anzhel interview, January 2006, www.centropa.org/biography/roza-anzhel.
2. Ibid.

ZHELŬZARTSI

Zhelŭzartsi (Zhelezartsi), in the Pleven oblast, is located almost 229 kilometers (142 miles) northeast of Sofia. At this site, the 1st Section, 11th Group, of the 5th Battalion of Jewish forced laborers upgraded the Zhelŭzartsi-Kesarev road between Gorna Oryahovitsa and Shumen in 1942. The commander of the 11th Group (roughly 30 to 40 men) was Georgi Kŭnchev Kasabov. Headquartered at Veliko Turnovo, almost 192 kilometers (119 miles) northeast of Sofia, the 5th Labor Battalion consisted of numerous groups such as this one, widely scattered in north central Bulgaria.

Testimony given at the Sofia People's Court Panel VII in March 1945 gives some idea of the antisemitic invective to which members of the 5th Labor Battalion were subjected during the 1942 labor deployment and later. A Jewish veteran quoted from memory a speech by an inspector, Podpolkovnik Todor Boichev Atanasov of the Bureau of Temporary Labor, to the conscripts at Zhelŭzartsi.

> A whistle blew to summon the men as Atanasov and the group commander drew up in a car. The inspector got out and delivered his remarks: "Dirty Jews, you're finally being brought to account. For 60 years you enslaved the Bulgarian people and never imagined that you would pay any price yourselves. Up to now you abused our women and sisters. Well, now we'll do the same to yours. I've come straight from the Council of Ministers. Your salvation is in work, work, and only work. The norms will be set high. Those who appeal to their group leader will be told, 'There's no leniency for anyone. Everyone works. I don't care whether you're sick or weak. Nobody's got permission to stay back in the barracks or help out in the kitchen.'"[1]

Atanasov continued, emphasizing that the construction jobs had

to be completed at whatever cost to the conscripts themselves. As to their fate he concluded, “Not a Jew will be left alive in Europe. We’ll push you into the Black Sea and the Danube. We’ll take you out and mow you down with machine guns.”[2] With that “morale builder” the inspector all but obviated his earlier words linking work to survival. The tone of the speech and the circumstances of its delivery suggest that Atanasov intended his message for all the Jews in forced labor, not just this section at Zhelŭzartsi. There can be little doubt he delivered similar harangues to other units at different sites. In 1942, threats and intimidation were the approved means to boost productivity.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Zhelŭzartsi camp can be found in HC VII (available at USHMMA as RG-46.058M).

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NOTES

1. Boris Davidov Leviev deposition to HC VII, February 15, 1945, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.

2. Ibid.

ZVŬNICHEVO

During the work season beginning in April 1943, men belonging to the 1st Group, 2nd Labor Battalion were encamped in tents in the village of Zvŭnichevo in the Plovdev oblast, some 95 kilometers (59 miles) southeast of Sofia and 7 kilometers (more than 4 miles) west of the city of Pazardzhik.[1] This group consisted of 80 Serbs and 80 unpaid Jews, subsequently to be joined by about 200 ethnic Turks.[2] The policy of the Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor (*Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost*, OVTP) of the Public Works Ministry (*Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto*, OSPB) kept members of the different ethnic groups from commingling either in the bivouac or on the job.[3] Working in ethnically segregated sections (*yadrovi*), the entire group's labor conscripts were assigned to build a segment of the Sofia-Plovdiv highway. The road paralleled an existing railroad, both of which roughly followed the course of the Maritsa River. Although geographically separated, this effort near Pazardhik was part of a larger road construction effort by the 1st Labor Battalion then underway at Ihtiman and related sites.

The tasks involved moving earth to create a roadbed and finishing it in reinforced concrete. At the height of the work season each laborer was supposed to excavate 4 cubic meters (141 cubic feet) of earth per day, in a shift lasting 12 hours. The quota requirement met the most stringent work norm as decreed by the OVTP, although the shift length exceeded the officially authorized norm.[4]

Feldfebel Hristo Dimitrov Iovchev held overall command of the 1st Group.[5] Under Iovchev, the noncommissioned officer (NCO) in charge of the Jewish section in Zvŭnichovo was Georgi Ivanov Chalŭmov. The Jews worked on a road sector located some 200 to 300 meters (656 to 984 feet) from the Zvŭnichevo railway station. Jewish veterans of this deployment agreed that Chalŭmov's derogatory language and brutal behavior manifested an overt antisemitism.

Chalŭmov came from the village of Lozen nearly six kilometers (almost four miles) west of the bivouac and work site. He singled out Jews and accused them of communist sympathies. His beatings of conscripts were commonplace. One beating victim was Marko Pinkas, who called attention to himself by singing an Italian song. Cudgel in hand, Chalŭmov responded, "Jews are not here to sing, but to work. Your nation is finished. This will be your grave."[6]

Dr. Beniamin Yakov Petrikovski, the group physician, later testified that even incapacitating illness did not spare a man from beatings by Chalŭmov. Petrikovski cited the case of a malaria sufferer, Nisim Isak Levi, who had to be revived by an injection to the heart after Chalŭmov assaulted him, despite the fact that Levi did not belong to Chalŭmov's section.[7] The doctor also treated Mois Dzherasi, whose hands were beaten with a wooden club. In addition to using that instrument Chalŭmov occasionally hit the laborers with rocks, according to Petrikovski who examined the men's injuries and heard their complaints. It was the belief of Jewish conscripts that such brutalities were limited to their group, sparing the Serbs who worked separately.[8]

Although the bigotry and abuses displayed by Chalŭmov were fairly common among overseers at the time, in this case additional factors worsened the plight of those unlucky enough to be placed under him. During the entire period of service from April to December 1943, the men of this group had to endure particularly bad rations, "not fit for pigs" in the words of one veteran. OVTP was supposed to supply adequate provisions of cooking oil, sugar, rice, and cheese. However, some conscripts suspected group commander Iovchev of systematically taking these items for his benefit with the connivance of the section's Bulgarian cook, Feldfebel Milam Mudev Munin.[9] The Turkish and Serb conscripts also suffered from the embezzlement of the food to which they were entitled.[10]

The men were issued bread, however. On one occasion their attempt to share it with other victims of misfortune led to further conflict. The incident occurred in the autumn of 1943 after Italy switched from the Axis to the Allied side. Much of the Italian Army in the Balkans was then disarmed and taken captive by the Germans, their erstwhile comrades-in-arms. When a German train carrying so-called Italian military internees (*Italienische*

Militärinternierte, IMIs) passed along the rail line paralleling the highway construction site at Zvŭnichevo, the Jewish laborers tried to show solidarity by handing bread and cigarettes to the Italians. This gesture prompted Iovchev and Chalŭmov to instigate reprisal beatings.[11] As Chalŭmov told the men, "When the Germans passed by, you remained silent. But when the Italians who are the Germans' enemies passed, you cheered. By that you indicated that you are opponents of Bulgaria." In addition to beatings, the men were penalized with two hours' increased work shift time, and mealtime breaks were shortened to just 15 or 20 minutes.[12] Iovchev also punished the conscripts by withholding leave privileges for family visitation.

Many of the Jews in the work group were originally residents of Sofia. By the middle of the summer of 1943, their families had been evicted from their homes in the Sofia ghetto and sent to ad hoc provincial ghettos to await deportation. Some of those families were staying in Pazardzhik, just east of Zvŭnichevo. When not denying overnight requests for furloughs, the Bulgarian group leaders extorted money from the conscripts for authorization to see their wives and children. The price ranged from 50 to 200 leva. In his testimony at Sofia, Dr. Petrikovski corroborated this chicanery, citing the case of the conscript Albert Moskona.[13]

For his trial defense in March 1945, Iovchev implied that stern measures toward the conscripts were necessary to deter desertion.[14] Dr. Petrikovski alleged that among the Bulgarian overseers there was a 10-man mutual protection cabal called the "Maro Gang" (*Banda Maro*) of which Chalŭmov was a member.[15] Chalŭmov for his part denied fascist sympathies and claimed to have been in contact with the underground apparatus that subsequently took power as the Fatherland Front (*Otechestven Front*, OF) government. A document to the court from the OF executive committee in Chalŭmov's home village of Lozen declared that Chalŭmov had not belonged to any political groupings, but had communicated with the organization.[16]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Zvŭnichevo camp can be found in GVA (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-46.058M).

NOTES

1. Deposition to Sofia People's Court Panel VII by Nisim Aron Papo of Sofia, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (GVA) (HC VII), reel 7.

2. The ethnic breakdown was recalled by the group physician Dr. Beniamin Yakov Petrikovski (himself a Jew) during his testimony to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, March 1945, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

3. Testimony of Nisim Isak Levi to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, March 1945, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

4. OSPB Order No. 5378, June 6, 1942.

5. Iovchev's rejoinder (*Vŭzrazhenie*) to the charges of antisemitism at Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 7.

6. Depositions to Sofia People's Court Panel VII by Nisim Aron Papo and Nisim Isak Nisim, both of Sofia, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 7; also Papo's testimony on HC VII, reel 2.

7. Testimonies of Dr. Beniamin Yakov Petrikovski and Nisim Isak Levi to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

8. Testimony of Nisim Isak Levi to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

9. Deposition to Sofia People's Court Panel VII by Shelomo Iosifov of Sofia, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 7.

10. Testimony of Dr. Beniamin Yakov Petrikovski to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

11. Testimony of Dr. Beniamin Yakov Petrikovski to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2; the incident of the IMI train was also related in

testimony by Nisim Aron Papo to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2, and in a deposition by Shaul Nisim Shaulov, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 7.

12. Chalŭmov's speech on this occasion was recalled by Nisim Aron Papo in his testimony to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

13. Testimonies of Nisim Aron Papo and Dr. Beniamin Yakov Petrikovski to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

14. Iovchev's rejoinder to the charges of antisemitism at Sofia People's Court Panel VII is USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 7.

15. Testimony of Dr. Beniamin Yakov Petrikovski to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

16. Reply (*Otgovor*) to Sofia People's Court Panel VII charges, by Georgi Ivanov Chalŭmov, March 13, 1945; and one-page document (*Udostoverenie*) by the Lozen village OF Committee, March 12, 1945, both in USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 7.

Ustaša guards move among a large group of Serbian villagers who are seated on the ground near the entrance to the Jasenovac concentration camp. Original caption reads, "At Hell's door: last search at gates of camp Jasenovac." USHMM WS #46647, COURTESY OF MEMORIJALNI MUZEJ JASENOVAC.

CROATIA

Founded after the German-led invasion and partition of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH) operated as a vassal state of the Axis powers from April 1941 until May 1945. It was governed by the fascist Ustaša movement under Ante Pavelić, which pursued the establishment of an ethnically pure Greater Croatia, which included Bosnia-Herzegovina in its borders. The Ustaša unleashed a brutal civil war and genocide targeting political dissidents and ethnic minorities. Between 1941 and 1945, the regime murdered no fewer than 310,000 ethnic Serbs, up to 26,000 Jews, and up to 20,000 Roma in mass atrocities and camps, including the sprawling Jasenovac camp complex not far from Zagreb.

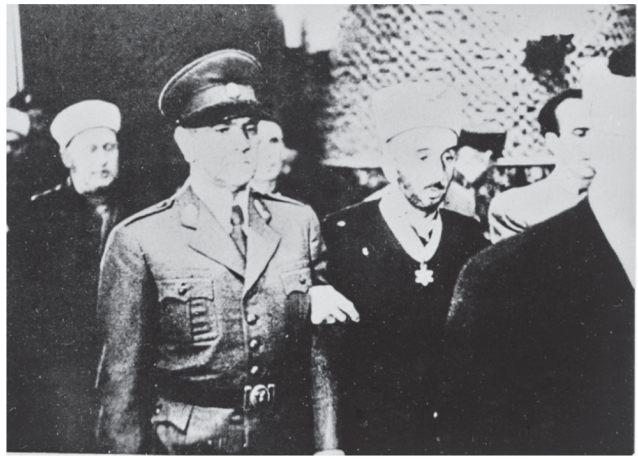
The Kingdom of Yugoslavia was nominally an Axis ally after joining the Tripartite Pact on March 25, 1941. However, the agreement, which included permission for German troops to pass through Yugoslav territory on their way to Greece, bitterly divided the Yugoslav government. Two days after its announcement, British-backed Serbian military officers overthrew Prince Paul, the pact's strongest supporter, and denounced the agreement. Although the successor government quickly retracted that statement and pledged allegiance to the Tripartite Pact, Adolf Hitler ordered the invasion of Yugoslavia on March 27, 1941. Supported by murderous air-strikes against Belgrade that violated international law, German, Italian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian troops advanced into Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941, quickly defeating the Royal Yugoslav Army and occupying the country. Eleven days later, Yugoslavia formally surrendered and ceased to exist for the duration of World War II as the Axis powers swiftly dismembered its territory. Germany annexed northern Slovenia and established a military occupation administration in Serbia. Italy annexed southwestern Slovenia, part of the Adriatic coastline and most Adriatic islands, occupied the rest of the coastline, and joined Kosovo-Metohija to the Protectorate of Albania. Bulgaria occupied Macedonia, and Hungary annexed the Bačka and Baranja regions, in addition to eastern Slovenia.

Although Hitler initially favored the integration of Croatia's territory into Hungary, he came to support Croatian state-hood in part as a check on Italian territorial ambitions. The Axis powers offered the new Croatian government to Vladko Maček, head of the Croatian Peasant Party (*Hrvatska seljačka stranka*, HSS). Maček declined. The Axis then offered the opportunity to form a government to the Ustaša movement, despite the fact that it had fewer than 12,000 members. Its leader was an extremist lawyer by the name of Ante Pavelić. He had close ties with Benito Mussolini that were founded on a shared opposition to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Since 1927, Pavelić had been negotiating a deal with the Italian government that would concede Italy's territorial claims to Dalmatia for its support of Croatian national sovereignty. Slavko Kvaternik, a deputy leader of the Ustaša, proclaimed the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia in a radio broadcast on April 10, 1941. On April 16, 1941, Pavelić then

declared a new government, according himself the title of Leader (*Poglavnik*).[1]

Despite the new state's nominal independence, Germany and Italy divided Croatia into zones of influence that each administered; German and Italian troops were also stationed in large parts of rural NDH territory. Per Italian demands, the NDH was founded as a constitutional monarchy under the Italian prince Aimone. He reluctantly assumed the regency under the name Tomislav II, but remained purely a figurehead and never set foot on Croatian soil. This arrangement served mainly to justify the presence of Italian troops on Croatian soil, particularly in the coastal regions. The NDH's establishment had additional strategic purposes for the Axis powers, allowing the Germans to pacify the Croats with only a minimal use of military resources and making it possible to divert most such resources to Operation Barbarossa. Croatia dissolved its ties with the Italians after the ouster of Mussolini and Italy's armistice with the Western allies on September 8, 1943, when Poglavnik Pavelić officially became the NDH head of state.

At the time of its formation, the NDH's borders were unclear. On May 13, 1941, the Croatian government signed a border agreement with the German Reich. Six days later, it signed the Treaty of Rome with Italy, by which Italy annexed large swaths of Croatian territory, including most of Dalmatia and of the Adriatic islands. On October 27, 1941, the two states reached a formal agreement about NDH's border with Montenegro, which was an Italian protectorate. As mentioned earlier, these agreements remained in effect until the Italian armistice with the Western powers, after which the NDH seized control of the Dalmatian territories. The NDH government formally demarcated its eastern border with Serbia which was under German occupation on June 7, 1941.



Croatian leader Ante Pavelić visits a mosque in Zagreb. USHMM WS #46634, COURTESY OF MEMORIJALNI MUZEJ JASENOVAC.

At its peak, the NDH encompassed a territory of 115,133 square kilometers (44,453 square miles), including most of the territory of modern-day Croatia, the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina with its majority non-Croatian populations, and small parts of modern-day Serbia. It bordered the Reich to the northwest, the Kingdom of Hungary to the northeast, German-occupied Serbia to the east, the Italian protectorate of Montenegro to the southeast, and Italy along its coastal area. It was organized into three levels of administration. In 1941, there were 22 great parishes (*Velike župe*), each headed by a *Grand župan*. On the lower administrative tiers, there were 142 districts (*Kotars*) and 1,006 municipalities. Zagreb served as the capital.[2] The country had an ethnically and religiously diverse population of approximately 6.5 million that consisted of 3.3 million Catholic Croats, slightly fewer than 2 million Orthodox Serbs, 800,000 Muslim Bosniaks, 175,000 Germans, 75,000 Hungarians, 45,000 Czechs, 40,000 Jews, 25,000 Ukrainians, 25,000 Roma, 22,000 Slovaks, and 5,000 Italians.[3]

THE USTAŠA REGIME

The Ustaša regime had its ideological origins in the extreme Croatian nationalist currents that had coalesced around opposition

to the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav monarchy since the turn of the twentieth century. A centralized Serbian-dominated Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes under King Alexander was proclaimed on December 1, 1918. Croats saw themselves immediately disadvantaged by the regent's pro-Serbian policies, leading to a decade of contentious and violent politics and civil unrest. In January 1929, King Alexander responded by banning all political activity in the now renamed "Kingdom of Yugoslavia."

King Alexander's establishment of a royal dictatorship resulted in a surge of Croatian nationalism. It also led to an increase in popular support for far-right extremists and the formation of the "Ustaša" terrorist organization in 1931 by the radically nationalist lawyer Ante Pavelić. It was created under the name "Ustaša—Croatian Revolutionary Organization" (*Ustaša—Hrvatska revolucionarna organizacija*, UHRO) and in 1933 was renamed "Ustaša—Croatian Revolutionary Movement" (*Ustaša—Hrvatski revolucionarni pokret*). Its official manifesto, published that year as "The Seventeen Principles," revealed an ideology steeped in fascism, racism, and ultraconservatism. Proclaiming the historical uniqueness of the Croatian nation, it sought the establishment of an ethnically purified Greater Croatia reaching all the way to the Dina River and Belgrade outskirts in the east. Non-Croats were to be excluded from political life and political enemies and other ethnic groups were subject to persecution and annihilation. Bosnia Muslims were declared to be ethnic Croats. The Ustaša pursued the establishment of an authoritarian regime that was to promote collective rights and a corporatist economy and, with the aid of the Roman Catholic Church, protect the patriarchal social order.

Beginning with its ascent to power in April 1941, Ustaša rule was contested. In Zagreb and other urban centers, the population tended to be largely supportive of the regime, but many Croatian nationalists objected to the territorial concessions that Pavelić made to Italy and feared that they had merely traded Serbian overlords for German and Italian ones. Further, the Ustaša were unable to create a functioning state and institutions. As soon as 1942, famines broke out that hit the cities particularly hard. As a result, the public support for the Ustaša soon collapsed. For the duration of the war, German and Italian troops remained stationed in the country, leaving the more remote parts of the country to the

Ustaša militias or the various other movements. These different factions soon started guerrilla war against each other while they left most of the countryside, where they had previously suppressed continuing unrest and protests by disaffected Croats. Ustaša forces, together with the Army of the Independent State of Croatia (*Domobranstvo*) and gendarmerie (*Oružništvo*), also fought alongside German and Italian troops against the Yugoslav Partisans, who by November 1943 were recognized by the Allies as the military of the Yugoslav state.

More significant in the general destabilization was the civil war caused by the Ustaša's brutal persecution of political opponents and ethnic minorities—predominantly Serbs—that claimed the lives of some 500,000 people. The Croatian army and the Ustaša militia perpetrated mass atrocities across the countryside. Initially, the militia was organized into five regular battalions, two railway security battalions, as well as the elite Black Legion and Poglavnik Bodyguard Battalion. Military-instigated massacres began almost as soon as the Ustaša assumed power. On April 27, 1941, Ustaša soldiers killed Serb peasants in the community of Gudovac in Northwestern Croatia, and atrocities spread quickly.

In May 1941, Ustaša officials including ministers Mile Budak, Mladen Lorković, Mirko Puk, and Milovan Žanić publicly proclaimed the government's goal to establish an ethnically homogeneous Croatia by a variety of measures including the use of force. Croatian military units and Ustaša militia razed entire villages, often torturing the men and raping women in a particularly sadistic fashion. The frenzy of violence escalated after the launch of Operation Barbarossa, when the communist groups in Croatia began to revolt as a result of the withdrawal of the bulk of the German troops. The Croatian authorities also committed mass murder in concentration camps, including the Jasenovac camp complex, where at least 70,0000 victims perished. Estimates of the total number of Serbian victims range widely from 25,000 to 1,000,000, but most experts now place it in the low to mid-300,000s.[4]

THE USTAŠA CAMP SYSTEM

The Ustaša regime established its first camps shortly after the

foundation of the NDH, and a network of large and small camps (numbering about 20) soon spanned the entire country. From April 1941 on, their design and purpose were strongly influenced by the Nazi SS model, which Satnik (later Bojnik and Pukovnik) Vjekoslav Maks Luburić, his superior Eugen Dido Kvaternik, and other Ustaša security officers observed during trips to Berlin and the headquarters of the SS Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (*Inspektion der Konzentrationslager*, IKL) at Oranienburg. The Ustaša authorities incorporated in their own concentration camps German approaches to prisoner arrival, registration, housing, roll calls, and forced labor battalions. Furthermore, the Croats also patterned the color-coded designation and hierarchy of prisoners on the IKL system. Serbs received blue badges, for example, and communists red. Arrests and deportations were managed by the head of the Ustaša police, Božidar Cerovski. The camp personnel consisted largely of long-term Ustaša members who had joined during the organization's exile period and had distinguished themselves by committing violent acts of terrorism and murder. The camp administration also recruited additional police units, army units, auxiliary units, and ethnic German supporters of the regime. Killings were generally carried out by mass shootings in sites near the camps, but a large faction of victims also perished due to terrible and chaotic conditions in the camps.[5]

From April to August 1941, the Internal Affairs Ministry's Directorate for Public Order and Security (*Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost*, RAVSIGUR) was responsible for the supervision of Ustaša camps. From August 1941 to January 1943, Bureau III of the Ustaša Supervisory Service (*Ustaška Nadzorna Služba*, UNS) under Luburić administered the camps. A member of Pavelić's inner circle, Luburić had commanded the Ustaša units responsible for the first mass atrocities: the massacres at Gudovac, Veljun, and Glina. As the head of Bureau III of UNS, he was the commander-in-chief of all Croatian concentration camps and the founder of Jasenovac. From January 1943 on, supervision of the camps reverted to RAVSIGUR.

The first Ustaša camps were Lepoglava near Varaždin (in the north) and Kerestinec (near Zagreb). Other early camps included Gospić (in the west) and its subcamps at Pag Island and Jadovno; Kruščica near Vitez (in Bosnia); Loborgrad (in Zagorje);

Jastrebarsko (not far from Zagreb); and Đakovo (in Slavonia). Over the course of the summer of 1941, tensions over competing territorial claims arose between the Ustaša and Italian regimes. Anticipating an Italian invasion of western Croatia, the Ustaša ordered the liquidation of all camps there, especially the Gospić complex, on August 23, 1941. The order created logistical chaos because camp authorities under Commander Stjepan Rubinić lacked the personnel and transportation needed to manage the transfer of prisoner populations toward the interior of the NDH. The difficult terrain around the Gospić camp complex, such as the Velebit Mountains near Jadovno, and Pag Island's location exacerbated these logistical challenges. In response, camp personnel began to kill prisoners in mass executions in caves and killing fields, leaving behind thousands of dead bodies for Italian occupation forces to dispose of. Another 4,000 prisoners were deported from Gospić into the eastern regions of the country. These numbers threatened to overwhelm the concentration camp system elsewhere, leading the Ustaša authorities to build a new transit camp at Jastrebarsko and to reopen the internment camp at Kruščica. Both sites subsequently held thousands of Jews and Serbs deported from Sarajevo and other cities. From there they were transferred to newly built concentration camps at Jasenovac, Loborgrad, and elsewhere.[6]

Ustaša Colonel Vjekoslav (Maks) Luburić signs a document.
USHMM WS #46721, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

Between August 1941 and February 1942, the Ustaša authorities built the Jasenovac camp complex in the marshlands near the Sava and Una Rivers some 100 kilometers (62 miles) southeast of Zagreb. This complex became the largest concentration and extermination camp operated by the Ustaša regime and one of the largest such camps in wartime Europe. It consisted altogether of five camps, although the first two—Krapje (Jasenovac I) and Bročice (Jasenovac II)—were closed in November 1941. Ciglana (Jasenovac III), Kozara (Jasenovac IV), and Stara Gradiška (Jasenovac V) operated nearly until the end of the war. Jasenovac III and V spawned subcamps, including the nearby camp farms at

Mlaka and Jablanac. Other important Ustaša camps were the children's concentration camps at Jastrebarsko, between Zagreb and Karlovac, and Sisak (the latter also serving as a German-administered transit camp for the deportation of forced laborers to the Reich).

Ustaša camps served a range of purposes that were often not clearly delineated. Many sites were intended to detain political opponents and alleged enemies of the state, particularly Serbs and Jews. Some, such as the camp in Slavonska Požega, served as transit and resettlement camps for the massive ethnic resettlement intended to create an ethnically pure Croatia. The German Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo) used such sites for the deportation of Slovenes into the NDH, whereas Ustaša authorities transferred hundreds of thousands of Serbs slated for resettlement to them. Most of the camps were located in Serbian-populated western Croatia, where they became places of terror and mass murder as early as July 1941. They also served as command centers for Ustaša militia units and as military posts facilitating Ustaša control of the countryside.

Although ethnic Serbs were their initial targets, Ustaša forces also persecuted and murdered tens of thousands of Jews and Roma as enemies of the state. By late 1941, the Croatian authorities had incarcerated approximately two thirds of the 32,000 Jews living in Croatia in camps, including at Jadovno, Kruščica, Loborgrad, Đjakovo, Tenje, and Jasenovac. Between 12,000 and 20,000 Jews were murdered in these camps. The Ustaša authorities also collaborated with the Nazi regime in genocide when they handed 5,000 Croatian Jews over to German custody in August 1942 and in May 1943.[7] The Croatian Jews were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Approximately 3,000 Jews evaded these deportations. Some were exempt because of intermarriage or other factors, and some went into hiding or fled to Italian-occupied territories. The Italian authorities assembled Jews in camps of "protective internment" (*internamento protettivo*), including on Rab Island (Italian: Arbe) off the Adriatic coast, where a number of Jews were spirited to safety by the Yugoslav partisans after the Italian armistice of 1943. The Ustaša also targeted Roma, murdering 20,000 men, women, and children—virtually the entire non-Muslim Roma population of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Muslim Roma were to some extent exempted after the Bosnian Muslim clergy intervened on their behalf in 1942. About 15,000 Roma died at Jasenovac.

THE END PHASE, 1943–1945

By 1943, as the war turned against Nazi Germany and its allies, the NDH began to destabilize under the surge of partisan warfare. The Ustaša genocides had galvanized mass resistance by both royalists and communists determined to fight the regime. The earliest organized resistance occurred on June 22, 1941, when the First Sisak Partisan Brigade was formed in the Brezovica forest near Sisak in Croatia. The Partisans led by Josip Broz Tito were highly effective in organizing resistance movements composed of Croats, Serbs, Bosniaks, and others including Jews. Uprisings were particularly strong and frequent in rural areas, where the Partisans soon controlled large swaths of NDH territory.[8]

In the camps, the Ustaša's orgy of violence continued to the end. In early 1945, the Ustaša began moving the remaining inmates from Lepoglava, Sisak, and other sites in the Jasenovac complex. Although the Partisans were responsible for the liberation of the NDH camps at Jastrebarsko (1942) and Jasenovac V (1945), the Ustaša murdered the remaining Jasenovac prisoner populations and destroyed as much documentary evidence as possible.

By 1944, Pavelić's regime was entirely dependent on the military might of some 100,000 Croatian army and Ustaša troops. The Croatian army then merged with the militia units and by November 1944 was fully under Ustaša control. Meanwhile, the German position in the Balkans became untenable with Romania's withdrawal from the Axis in August 1944. Throughout the fall of 1944, German troops withdrew from Greece, Serbia, Albania, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, German and Croatian troops continued to fight together in northwestern Yugoslavia while attempting to retreat to Austria. Fighting continued even after the surrender of German Army Group E on May 9, 1945. On May 14 and 15, German and Ustaša troops engaged the partisans near Prevalje in present-day Slovenia. The Battle of Poljana was the final battle of World War II on European soil. The Ustaša was

officially dissolved and banned. Its members and many other collaborators, but also some innocent noncommunists, were punished by the victorious Tito regime.

The bodies of Croatian concentration camp victims floating along the banks of the Sava River near Sisak, May 3, 1945. USHMM WS #91557, COURTESY OF LYDIA CHAGOLL.

Along with other surviving leaders of the Ustaša regime, Pavelić fled to Austria, Italy, and finally Argentina, where he led the Ustaša in exile. He sustained serious injuries in an assassination attempt on April 9, 1957 and subsequently died in Spain in 1959.[9]

SOURCES An important secondary source relating to the persecution, atrocities, and camps under the Croatian regime is Alexander Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs: Massengewalt der Ustaša gegen Serben, Juden und Roma in Kroatien*

1941–1945 (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013); Korb's study details the ethnic civil war and mass atrocities against Serbs, Jews, and Roma instigated by the Ustaša. A foundational but dated text on the topic is Ladislaus Hory and Martin Broszat, *Der kroatische Ustascha-Staat, 1941–1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1964). For additional information about the Roma genocide, see Dennis Reinhardz, "Damnation of the Outsider: The Gypsies of Croatia and Serbia in the Balkan Holocaust," in David Crowe and John Kolsti, eds., *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1992), pp. 81–115. For additional information on the mass murder of Serbs, see also Michael Frucht Levy, "'The Last Bullet for the Last Serb': The Ustaša Genocide against the Serbs, 1941–1945," *NatPpr* 37: 6 (December 2009): 807–837. For information on the camps, see, among others, Nataša Mataušić, *Jasenovac 1941–1945: Logor smrti i radni logor* (Jasenovac-Zagreb: Javna ustanova Spomenpodručje Jasenovac, 2003); Slavko Goldstein and Ivo Goldstein, *Jews in Jasenovac* (Jasenovac: Jasenovac Memorial Area, 2003); and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 89–101. Older but still useful books include Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (1966; Zagreb: Globus, 1990); Jaša Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); and Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade, 1957). For details about NDH's establishment and the genesis of long-term rifts and conflicts, see Slavko Goldstein, *1941: The Year that Keeps Returning* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2013); Les Shaw, *Trial by Slander: A Background to the Independent State of Croatia and an Account of the Anti-Croatian Campaign in Australia* (Canberra: Harp Books, 1973); and Marcus Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997). For a broader overview of World War II developments in

the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia, see Jozo Tomasevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941–1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001). The partisan wars in divided Yugoslavia are detailed in Klaus Schmider, *Partisanenkrieg in Jugoslawien 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Verlag E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 2002). For succinct information about the Holocaust on Yugoslav territory, see Holm Sundhaussen, "Jugoslawien," in Wolfgang Benz, ed., *Dimensionen des Völkermords: Die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1991), pp. 311–330. For information on ethnic Germans in Yugoslavia during and after the war, see Georg Wildmann et al., eds., *Weissbuch der Deutschen aus Jugoslawien: Ortsberichte 1944–1948* (Munich: Universitas, 1995). For information on relevant primary sources, see Martin Seckendorf and Günter Keber, eds., *Die Okkupationspolitik des deutschen Faschismus in Jugoslawien, Griechenland, Albanien, Italien und Ungarn (1941–1945)* (Berlin: Hüthig, 1992) and Demokratska Federativna Jugoslavija, ed., *Dokumenti o izdajstvu Draže Mihailovića* (Belgrade: Drzavna Komisija za Utvrdjivanje Zlocina Okupatora i Njihovih Pomagaca, 1945).

Numerous local, regional, and national archives contain valuable documentation, with much of the material available in microform or digital form at USHMMA. See, among others, AJ, fonds 103 and 110, which contains records of the Yugoslav government-in-exile and its investigation into war crimes of the occupation powers; AUSSME, H3, H5, H8-9, I3, M3, which includes records and artifacts of the Axis invasion and occupation of Yugoslav territory; BA-MA, RH 20-12, RH 24-15, RH 26-114, which includes German military documentation pertaining, among others, to German troops stationed in Croatia; CZA, L17, which contains reports from occupied Europe; HDA, collections 218.1, 223, 227, 228, 232, 235, 241, 246–248, which includes records of the Croatian Justice Ministry and Interior Ministry's embassy reports, and, at 306 ZKRZ, records of an internal commission investigating war crimes of the occupying powers against Croatia; NARA, RG-238 (War Crimes), microfilm collection M893 (NMT Case 7); and RG-242 (Captured German Documents), microfilm collections T77 (Records of Headquarters, German Armed Forces

High Command, and T311 (Records of German Field Commands: Army Groups); RGASPI, fond 1430, which contains the records of a support committee for Jewish refugees in Zagreb; and RGASPI, fond 1441, which contains the records of the Jewish community in Zagreb. At USHMMA see, among others, RG-61.007M, records of the Ustaša Supervisory Office; RG-61.009M, records of the Jewish Section of the Ustaša Intelligence Service; RG-61.010M, records of the Ustaša Supervisory Office on Đakovo; RG-61.011M, records of the Ustaša Supervisory Office on Loborgrad, Gornja, Rijeka, Jasenovac, and others; RG-61.015M, records of the Ministry of Health and Social Services, Welfare and Social Services Division; RG-61.016M, records of the NDH Internal Affairs Ministry; RG-61.017M, records of the Public Prosecutor's Office; RG-61.019M, records of the Jewish Collection of the Croat Historical Museum, Zagreb; RG-49.003M, Records Relating to Crimes against Serbs, Jews, and Other Yugoslav peoples during World War II, 1941–1943; RG50.468M, Jasenovac Oral History Proj ect; and RG-61.001M, Jasenovac Memorial Area Collection.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. Tomasevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia*, pp. 1–82.

2. For maps and additional information, see Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs*, pp. 72–78.

3. See census material in BA-MA/RH 31 III/13, among others, as cited in Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs*, pp. 78–79.

4. These numbers are at the low end of most current estimates of the victims of the Ustaša genocide. They are based on Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs*, pp. 432–433. Tomasevich provides extensive analysis and explanation of the wide-range of "Alleged and True Population Losses" reflected in scholarship, media, and popular perception since the end of the war. Official Yugoslav estimates for Jasenovac victims, mostly Serbs, ranged from 600,000 to 700,000. Private Serbian estimates often exceeded one million Serbian

casualties. Some of these numbers are based on estimates generated during the war; for example, those issued by Tito, who reported on April 4, 1942, that the Ustaša had already killed some 500,000 people, mostly Serbs. At the end of the war, Tito reported to the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency in Paris a total of 1,706,000 casualties, including Serbs and all other victim categories. In the postwar period, both scholars and Yugoslav officials gave a figure of 700,000 people murdered at Jasenovac. Tomasevich ultimately sides with low-range estimates calculated by Bogoljub Kočović and published in his *Žrtve Drugog svetskog rata u Jugoslaviji* (London: Naše delo, 1985), pp. 172–180. According to Kočović and Tomasevich, the losses of population in Yugoslavia between 1941 and 1945 include 209,000 Serbs for the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and 125,000 Serbs and Montenegrins for the territory of Croatia. See Tomasevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia*, pp. 718–750.

5. Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs*, pp. 375–377.

6. Ibid., pp. 386–390.

7. Ibid., p. 448.

8. Schmider, *Partisanenkrieg in Jugoslawien, 1941–1944*, pp. 104–108.

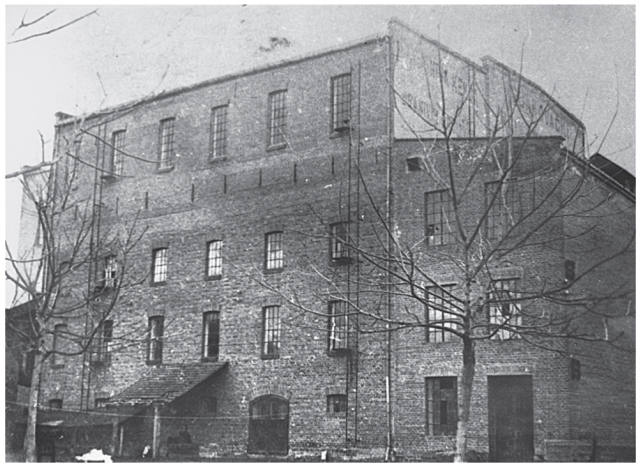
9. Tomasevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia*, pp. 751–767.

Camps in Croatia
Germany
Hungary
Italian-Occupied
Lepoglava
Loborgrad
Koprivnica
Kerestinec
ZAGREB
Jastrebarsko
Sisak I & II
Jasenovac I
Jasenovac II
Jasenovac III & IV
Jasenovac V
Slavonska Požega
Tenja
Đakovo
BELGRADE
Gospić/ Jadovno
Gospić
Gospić/ Pagisland
Independent State of Croatia
Italy
Kruščica
SARAJEVO
Serbia
Adriatic Sea
Montenegro
Albania
Italian-Occupied
CITY
CITY & CAMP
Camp
0 20 40 60 80
miles
0 20 40 60 80
kilometers
W
E
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

ĐAKOVO

Similar to the Loborgrad concentration camp, the Đakovo camp—located in Slavonia 197 kilometers (123 miles) southeast of Zagreb in 1941–1942—was a concentration camp for women. Đakovo (German: Djakovo), a Catholic diocesan town, had a strong nationalist and religious meaning for Croatia. The city's environs were a central settlement of the German population in Croatia. Before it became a concentration camp, the Đakovo camp was administered by the Osijek Jewish community to house Jewish women and children deported from Sarajevo. In June 1942, a typhoid epidemic resulted in the dissolution of the camp and the subsequent murder of its prisoners after their transfer to the Jasenovac camp.

The Jewish communities in Bosnia were the first to be deported from their hometowns. The men were sent to Jasenovac and the women and children to the north Croatian camps for women. Toward the end of November 1941, the Osijek police ordered the Osijek Jewish community to make room within five days for 2,000 Jewish women and children deported from Sarajevo. Young members of the Jewish community quickly converted a 40-meter-long (almost 44 yards), three-story abandoned flour mill called "Cereal" (*Cereale*), which was owned by the Đakovo diocese, into a camp to house those women and children. The camp was later enlarged by several buildings. On December 2, 1941, approximately 1,800 Jewish women and children from Bosnia and about 50 Serbian women arrived at the camp. A transport of 1,161 women, originating from the Stara Gradiška women's concentration camp, arrived on February 24, 1942.[1] There were then about 3,000 persons in the camp, about a quarter of them children under the age of 14. Jewish community officials administered the camp until March 29, 1942. Two or three policemen under the command of Dragutin Mayer from Osijek guarded the camp.



Exterior view of a former flour mill in which the Đakovo concentration camp was located. USHMM WS #68292, COURTESY OF JEWISH HISTORICAL MUSEUM, BELGRADE.

Most of the women worked in ceramics and leather workshops, although as many as 400 women were made to do agricultural work on farms and in fields near the camp. In spite of all the renovations, the buildings were completely inadequate to house human beings because of the lack of heating and the humid conditions. At the beginning of 1942, a typhoid epidemic erupted in the camp. The Osijek Jewish community made every effort to contain the epidemic and evacuated a number of children, who were then taken care of by foster parents and were able to attend school. Other Jewish communities in Croatia lent humanitarian aid. In the Đakovo camp itself, a kindergarten was organized for the children.

Statements by the bishop of Đakovo, among others, fanned fears that the epidemic could spread and radicalized the situation. On January 30, 1942, the authorities sent a medical commission into the camp, which found awful hygienic conditions and recommended increases in the amount and quality of the medical supplies and care. As a result, a small number of prisoners were taken to hospitals. Meanwhile, the district administration requested that the camp be moved from its urban location. In contrast, the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška Nadzorna Služba*, UNS) was

interested in enlarging the current camp, because the arrests of the Jews of Slovenia had started, increasing the number and size of transports to the camp by February. In the middle of April 1942, the Ustaša took over the camp with a detachment from Jasenovac led by Jozo Matijević. Some of these new guards lived in neighboring villages, and others lived in the camp. The new guard force drastically worsened conditions in the camp: no one could leave the camp, and contact by prisoners ceased with the outside world. Deliveries of aid from the Jewish communities were seized by the Ustaša, and cases of robbery, torture, mistreatment, and other offences occurred. The large increase in the number of prisoners quickly worsened the typhoid epidemic, resulting in prisoners dying every day. By March 1942, there were 631 hospitalized people in the camp, an additional 219 were infected, and 131 prisoners had already died. At least 569 bodies were buried in the camp cemetery.[2] Thus, the mortality rate for the 3,000 people temporarily imprisoned in Đakovo amounted to nearly 19 percent. On May 18, the Croatian Ministry of Health (*Ministarstvo zdravstva*, MZ) asked the Directorate for Public Order and Security (*Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost*, RAVSIGUR) to dissolve the camp within one month, disinfect the prisoners, and clean up the area.[3] The Ustaša responded by dissolving the camp and murdering the prisoners. Between June 15 and July 5, 1942, 800 prisoners were transported in each of three transports to the Jasenovac concentration camp and murdered on arrival, according to testimony by the camp commandant at that time, Miroslav Filipović-Majstorović. In 1945, the Yugoslav authorities undertook exhumations in the area of the Đakovo camp.

SOURCES Under the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, there were few works published that dealt with the Đakovo camp. Thus the early report, Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade, 1957), contains only a brief section on the camp. Moreover, the camp is discussed in Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Prilog proučavanjo terora u NDH: Ženski sabirni logori 1941–1942," *Popr* 4 (1985): 1–38.

Additional information can be found in Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Globus, 1990) and in Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2001). For the role of ethnic German guards at Đakovo, see Carl Bethke, *(K)Eine gemeinsame Sprache? Deutsch-jüdische Beziehungsgeschichte in Slawonien, 1900–1945* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2011); for a comparison with the Loborgrad concentration camp, see Alexander Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs Massengewalt der Ustaša gegen Serben, Jud en und Roma in Kroatien 1941–1945* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the Đakovo camp can be found in HDA, collection ZKRZ, GUZ, fond 306; it contains a report about the situation in the Đakovo camp that probably originated from the Zagreb Jewish community. MUP collections (RG 223/38) and the Jewish Section of UNS (RG 252/9) contain correspondence of the health authorities, as well as between the Croatian authorities and the Jewish communities (some of the Jewish Section documentation is copied to USHMMA as RG-61.009M). Copied to USHMMA under RG-61.010M is the UNS collection on Đakovo. Also copied to USHMMA from HDA is the UHRO collection on the Đakovo camp (Acc. No. 1998.A.0021). YVA has some reports on the camp in collection M 70. At ITS, collection 1.1.15.1 (Listenmaterial Jugoslawien) holds lists of prisoners buried at Đakovo. This material is available in digital form at USHMMA. There are survivor accounts in JIM-Bg. AS holds documentation on Đakovo in the DK collection. USHMMPA holds five photographs related to Đakovo and its survivors, including two of the flour building (WS #68292 and 78483). USHMMA has four oral history interviews with Đakovo survivors: Ljilljana Ibvanisevic (RG-50.468*0009, July 19, 1997); Aleksandar Jovanović (RG-50.585*0015, August 5, 2006); Sava Petrovic (RG-50.468*0007, July 12, 1997); and Rade Vlaisavljević (RG-50.585*0021, September 27, 2007). The published diary of Diana Budisavljević, who organized humanitarian assistance for the camp inmates, is available as Josip Kolanović, ed., *Dnevnik Diane Budisavljević: 1941–1945* (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2003). An eyewitness report in the English language is Nada Salzberger and Vlado Salzberger,

We Survived … Yugoslav Jews on the Holocaust (Belgrade: Jewish Historical Museum, 2005).

Jens Hoppe and Alexander Korb
Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. Gesundheitspolizeilicher Kommissionsbericht über das Judenlager in Đjakovo, February 9, 1942, YVA, M 70/16, p. 3.

2. ITS, 1.1.15.1 (Listenmaterial Jugoslawien), "Liste von Juden des KZ-Lagers Djakovo beerdigt auf dem jüdischen Friedhof in Djakovo/Kroatien," June 21, 1945, Doc. No. 478091–478117; and ITS, 1.1.15.1, "Liste faschistischer Opfer aus dem Sammellager Djakovo, beerdigt auf dem jüdischen Friedhof in Djakovo," Doc. No. 478214–478267.

3. MZ Ivo Petrić to RJRS, Priljepĉive zarazne bolesti u logorima, Zagreb, May 18, 1942, YVA, M 70/14.

GOSPIĆ

From June to mid-August 1941, Gospić was the center of an Ustaša concentration camp complex that included several subcamps, including those at Jadovno and Pag Island; those subcamps, constructed by mid-1941, were in locations considered completely unproductive from an economic viewpoint. Gospić is in the Croatian region of Lika, approximately 149 kilometers (about 93 miles) southwest of Zagreb. In June and July 1941, the Croatian police began to arrest Jewish and Serb citizens in many communities throughout the country and to deport them to concentration camps. On June 26, 1941, the Chief of State of the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH), Ante Pavelić, designated Gospić as the central camp for all Serb and Jewish "communists," at the same time ordering that "Croatian Jews in labor camps should be lodged in the open air."[1] In total up to 30,000 prisoners from other concentration camps and communities all over the country were deported to Gospić in June and July 1941, mostly by railway. In the Gospić complex, they were deployed as forced laborers in agriculture and for road construction. The conditions were particularly deadly in two of the subcamps: Pag Island (Italian: Isola da Pago), roughly 32 kilometers (20 miles) west of Gospić, and Jadovno in the Velebit Mountains, approximately 11 kilometers (6.8 miles) west of the main camp. Because of their isolated locations, these subcamps were intended for prisoners deemed dangerous or condemned to additional punishment.

In mid-1941, as many as 2,500 Jews—approximately 5 percent of Croatia's total Jewish population—were deported to camps. For the first time, the police arrested women and children as well. As a rule, the deportees were taken to transit or collection camps near their residences, where they were registered and separated from their families. The authorities then released specific prisoners to their homes. A complex of camps built around Gospić served as a collection camp. Although it was under the control of Bureau III of

the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška Nadzorna Služba*, UNS), led by Vjeko-slav Maks Luburić, Gospić was actually run by the local police commandant Stjepan Rubinić (born 1909). Rubinić was a determined and ruthless commandant, unafraid of conflicts with either his superior, the head of the Croatian Interior Ministry (*Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova*, MUP), or the German army. The Gospić camps were dissolved in August 1941 when the Italians invaded western Croatia. The guards evacuated a large number of the inmates, but also murdered thousands.

Malnourishment, hard and often senseless physical labor, mistreatment, and torture made life hellish in the Gospić camps. According to reports from surviving Jewish prisoners, the Ustaša clearly treated the Serbian prisoners more brutally than the Jews in the beginning. Serbs and Jews were divided into separate groups, and contact between them was prohibited. In this way, the Ustaša succeeded in activating and reinforcing prejudices, as demonstrated by the virulent antisemitism in the camps. Yet, there were numerous examples of mutual solidarity between Serbs and Jews, which demonstrated the limits of Ustaša ethnic policies even in the camps. Because few survivors either lived through their odyssey through various other camps or, in exceptional cases, were released, researchers classify the Pag Island and Jadovno subcamps as annihilation camps, into which the Ustaša dispatched Serbs and Jews for the sole purpose of mass murder. Yet, questions remain whether the Ustaša's murder of Jadovno and Pag Island prisoners was planned or whether circumstances, namely the subcamps' isolated locations, fostered mass murder. Certainly, the treatment of the prisoners was brutal. Yet external events also played a role. For example, the Ustaša responded in panic to the Italian invasion in August 1941, carrying out a wave of mass killings.

Internal Ustaša inquiries into Rubinić's activities involving the failed attempt to evacuate the camps and prisoners revealed that his superiors were dissatisfied with the result. On September 13, 1941, Rubinić was arrested together with some of his Ustaša staff in the Jastrebarsko camp. Subsequent investigations explored the question of who ordered the "evacuation" of the Jadovno camp. In this case the term "evacuation" referred to mass murder, but the job was incomplete. In addition to questioning this decision,

Rubinić was accused of embezzlement and the sexual molestation of prisoners. A disciplinary court sentenced him to expulsion from the Ustaša and one year's imprisonment in the Stara Gradiška camp, where he served as a prisoner-functionary.[2]

As mentioned, the Italian invasion of western Croatia caused a crisis in the Ustaša concentration camps. In response to the invasion, approximately 4,000 prisoners were deported to eastern Croatia from camps in and around Gospić. In haste, the UNS arranged for two transit camps to be built beyond the Italians' reach, which absorbed prisoners evacuated from western Croatia and later Jews deported from Sarajevo and other cities. Up to 1,500 Jewish prisoners were housed on an estate near Jastrebarsko, a small town between Zagreb and Karlovac. In September 1941, 3,000 Jewish and Serbian men, women, and children arrived at the Kruščica internment camp in central Bosnia, which had been operational in prewar Yugoslavia; they were then moved again to recently completed concentration camps, such as Jasenovac and Loborgrad.

The fact that the Ustaša carried out evacuation marches of weakened prisoners and perpetrated massacres under the very eyes of members of the Italian army challenges the picture of the Italians as presumptive liberators. Survivors of the Gospić camp recalled being stunned that the Italian military completely disregarded the prisoners.[3]

SOURCES The Gospić camp is treated, often briefly, in numerous works about the persecution of the Jews in occupied Yugoslavia: Jaša Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Globus 1990); Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa LengelKrizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 89–101; Ilija Jakovljević, *Konclogar na Savi* (Zagreb: Konzor, 1999); and Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber 2001). Only a few statements on those camps can be found in the

Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade, 1957), and those statements focus mainly on the murder of inmates at Jadovno. In German, there is some information on Gospić in Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993) and Marija Vulesica, "Kroatien," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 9: *Arbeitserziehungslager, Ghettos, Jugendschutzlager, Polizeihaftlager, Sonderlanger, Zigeunerlager, Zwangsarbeiterlager* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009). See also Alexander Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs Massengewalt der Ustaša gegen Serben, Juden und Roma in Kroatien 1941–1945* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013). For a detailed discussion of a survivor's account, see Zvi Loker, "The Testimony of Dr. Edo Neufeld: The Italians and the Jews of Croatia," *HGS* 7: 1 (1993): 67–76.

Primary documents about the Gospić camp can be found in JIM-bg and AS, especially in the files of the DK collection. Additionally, numerous documents on the Gospić camp complex are located in HDA, in the collection of files of the Croatian State Commission, "Zemaljske komisije za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača." USHMMA holds three oral history interviews with Gospić survivors: Ivo Herzer (RG-50.030*0097), Otto Lingfelder (RG-50.120*93), and Yosef Morgenshtern (RG-50.120*0108). In YVA collection O-39/158 there is a testimony by a Jewish lawyer from Zagreb, Dr. Edo Neufeld, who was taken from Zagreb to Gospić in July 1941. Moreover, there is a report about the Gospić concentration camp by ISI (1976). VHA holds eight pertinent testimonies, including an account by a survivor of what could be considered an additional Gospić subcamp at Ovčara.

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NOTES

1. MUP, Pavelić Extraordinary Decree, June 26, 1941, VaB, NDH/234, 4/4, pp. 20–22.
2. MUP RH, file II-91, box 150, USIKS 337/41, p. 804, as cited by Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, p. 27.
3. YVA, O-39/158, Neufeld testimony, as cited in Loker, "The Testimony of Dr. Edo Neufeld," p. 69.

GOSPIĆ/JADOVNO

In May 1941, the Ustaša built a subcamp of the Gospić concentration camp at Jadovno in the Velebit Mountains, located 154 kilometers (96 miles) southwest of Zagreb and 11 kilometers (6.8 miles) west of the city of Gospić. It was located in a forest clearing at an altitude of 1,200 meters (3,937 feet) in the Jadovno hamlet. During the summer of 1941, approximately 3,000 prisoners from the Gospić camp were transferred there. Just as at Pag Island, the Jadovno subcamp housed, in addition to Serb and communist prisoners, Jews deported from their homes; for instance, on June 23, 1941, approximately 200 Jews from Zagreb were brought to the subcamp. The first prisoners worked on clearing the road and building barracks for the Ustaša guards, while the prisoners slept in the open air in makeshift accommodations.

The "Sevic pit," one of numerous pits into which corpses of victims from the Jadovno concentration camp were thrown.
USHMM WS #85762, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

The camp was under the control of Bureau III of the Security Police (*Ustaška Nadzorna Služba*, UNS) in Zagreb, but was

administered by the Gospić camp staff. Its commandant was the UNS chief in the Gospić district, Stjepan Rubinić. Troops from the Ustaša 17th Company under Satnik Mihajlo Prpić and the 23rd Company under Satnik Drago Gespaverić guarded the prisoners.

New transports of prisoners arrived regularly at the camp during its short existence. When there was no longer any room to house the prisoners, some were shot. Some groups of prisoners were shot immediately on arrival, such as was the case for 165 Jewish youths, whom the police in Zagreb had arrested toward the end of May because of allegedly leftist convictions and who were then transported from the Danica concentration camp to Jadovno on July 10, 1941. The transport from one concentration camp to another, more isolated site suggested that murder was the under lying purpose for the transfer. Bodies were disposed of in the numerous chalk caves in the camp's environs, some of which reached a depth of up to 50 meters (164 feet).[1]

It is not known whether the transports to Jadovno were organized using lists of prisoners, because such lists no longer exist. Consequently, it is difficult to determine both the total number of prisoners and the number of murder victims; the estimates of the number murdered in Jadovno vary widely. Historian Jaša Romano estimates that there were about 3,500 murder victims.

In August 1941, during the Italian occupation of western Croatia, the Ustaša shut down the Jadovno camp. The closure of the isolated camp resulted in the mass murder of numerous prisoners. Accusations of atrocities and irregularities prompted the Ustaša Disciplinary and Criminal Court (*Ustaški stegovni i kazneni sud*, USIKS) in Zagreb to punish Rubinić, partly in connection with the "evacuation" at Jadovno.[2]

SOURCES The most exhaustive source on Jadovno is Đuro Zatezalo, *Jadovno: Kompleks ustaških logora 1941,* 2 vols. (Belgrade, 2007), which also claims the highest estimated number of victims. In addition, the Jadovno camp is treated in a few works about the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia, including Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants*

and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia (Belgrade, 1957); Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Ucešnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 89–101. Extensive coverage of the Jadovno camp can be found in Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2001). See also Alexander Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs Massengewalt der Ustaša gegen Serben, Juden und Roma in Kroatien 1941–1945* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013). Additional information can be found in Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993) and Marija Vulkesica, "Kroatien," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 9: *Arbeitserziehungslager, Ghettos, Jugendschutzlager, Polizeihaft-lager, Sonderlanger, Zigeunerlager, Zwangsarbeiterlager* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009). See also Narcisa Lengel-Krizman and Mihael Sobolevski, "Hapšenje 165 omladinaca u Zagrebu u svibnju 1941. g.," *Nom* 31 (1998): 7–9 and Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Globus, 1990). For two reports based on survivors' accounts, see Vlasta Kovač, "Božo Švarc: Kako sam preživio," *H-K*, 69/70 (2001): 5 and Zvi Loker, "The Testimony of Dr. Edo Neufeld: The Italians and the Jews of Croatia," *HGS* 7: 1 (1993): 67–76.

Primary documents about the Jadovno camp can be found in JIM-bg and AS, especially in the files of the DK collection. In addition, numerous documents on the Gospić camp complex can be found in HDA, in the collection of files of the Croatian State Commission, "Zemaljske komisije za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača." USHMMA holds an oral history interview with Božo Švarc (RG-50.468*0001), and USHMMPA has a number of photographs taken during investigations of mass murder at Jadovno. The first detailed statement about the Gospić camp complex was written in December 1943 by the Zagreb

lawyer, Dr. Edo Neufeld, who fled from the Croatian camps via Italy to Switzerland. See Edo Neufeld, "Svjedočanstvo preživjelog," *Nom* 42/43 (2000): n.p. YVA, collection O.10/123, holds testimonies by Dr. Emil Freundlich (March 6, 1958), Dr. Bela Hohšteter (April 12, 1958), and Dr. Milan Polaks (May 4, 1958).

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NOTES

1. Photograph of the sevic pit, USHMMPA, WS #85762 (Courtesy of MRNJ).
2. MUP RH, file II-91, box 150, USIKS 337/41, p. 804, as cited by Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, p. 27.

GOSPIĆ/PAG ISLAND

Beginning on June 25, 1941, up to 3,000 prisoners were transported from the Gospić camp to Karlobag, and from there they were brought to Pag Island by requisitioned fishing boats. Pag Island is 169 kilometers (105 miles) southwest of Zagreb and 32 kilometers (20 miles) west of Gospić. Soon after its establishment, the Italian troops stationed in the region noted that it was a "camp for undesirables" (*indesirabili*), as expressed by an army observer.[1] Although most of Zagreb's Jews came to Pag Island via the Gospić camp, many of the Serb prisoners had been local residents. An exception was the 500 Serb prisoners who were transported to the camp from Banja Luka.

The camp for male Serbs and Jews was located on the northern side of the island, on a barren rock plateau above Slana Bay. A barbed-wire fence separated the Jewish men in Slana in that camp's southern section from the Serbs and Croats housed in the northern section.

Up to 650 Serb and Jewish female prisoners and children who had been transported to the island were lodged in the village of Metajna, located a few kilometers south of the men's camp. This location made possible several instances of contact with the local population and the smuggling of food into the camp. The guards also had their accommodations in the village. Up to 300 members of the Ustaša militia, some of whom were island residents, acted as guards for both the men's and women's camps. The Ustaša Satnik Maks Očić from Zagreb commanded the Metajna camp; the camps in Slana were led by the Ustaša official Ventura Baljak, born in 1904 in Poličnik. Both camps were the responsibility of the Ustaša poručnik Ivan Devčić, called Pivac, born in 1908, who had been part of the staff in an Italian training camp of the Ustaša before 1941.

A company of the Italian army under the command of Capitano Paolo Bertoli was stationed on the island, but did nothing to prevent the violence in the camp. The Italian accounts are an

important source for the camps' history. For example, they report that the guards brought large amounts of building material onto the island, supposedly to build roads. This indicates that the Ustaša claim of wanting to use deported Jews as forced laborers was not purely fictional. After the prisoners built the camp, they were forced into hard labor in the salt works and quarries and also to build roads. The prisoners in Slana worked up to 12 hours a day. Some of the women in Metajna worked for the Ustaša as seamstresses.

Within a few weeks of the prisoners' arrival on Pag Island, the Ustaša guards there initiated mass killings in a section of the island called Furnaza. On July 3, 1941, they removed 55 elderly Jewish prisoners and killed them in a cave located some distance from the camp. In the following weeks, the guards carried out additional mass killings. At the beginning of August 1941, around 80 Serbs from the village of Sibuljine were brought to Slana and murdered on August 6. The prisoners in the camp, listening in the night to the frequent firing of machine guns, had little hope that their abducted fellow prisoners could survive.

View of the Ustaša concentration camp on Pag Island, 1941.
USHMM WS #78455, COURTESY OF JEWISH HISTORICAL MUSEUM, BELGRADE.

Most of the mass murders were carried out toward the end of August when Italian troops began to expand their area of

occupation in western Croatia and to close in on the Gospić camps. Fascist Italy's annexation of western Croatia appeared imminent. To prevent the liberation of the prisoners by the Italians, on August 23, 1941, the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška nadzorna služba*, UNS) ordered the dissolution of the Pag Island camps and evacuation of the prisoners to the mainland. This order posed an organizational challenge with which the Ustaša was unable to cope because of the chaos in the face of an impending Italian invasion and the lack of transportation. Only a few ships were available to transport about 450 prisoners to the mainland. Although the Italian military did not make an attempt to prevent the evacuation, the Ustaša feared that it would do so. Instead of letting the remaining prisoners fall into Italian hands, the guards began to murder them. At the Pag coast, the guards beat to death or shot groups of prisoners and threw their bodies into the sea. According to witnesses, Father (*Don*) Ljubo Magaš from Barbat was an especially active participant in these atrocities.[2] The priest Krsto Jelinić from Zadar and Martin Maraš also participated in the violations. The Ustaša member and guard, Joco Orešković, reported on the murder of two Jewish children during an inspection visit of the camp by Vjekoslav Maks Luburić, a high-ranking UNS functionary.[3]

The invading Italian soldiers and the inhabitants of the surrounding communities, who dared to visit the camps after the Ustaša left, were confronted by a terrible sight, because the guards had not bothered to dispose of the bodies. As early as 1941 the Italian occupying authorities carried out an investigation under the leadership of Tenente Dr. Santo Stazzi of the V Italian Army Corps, which resulted in the discovery of 791 victims buried in a mass grave, including 293 women and 91 children. An additional 76 bodies were found in other locations.[4]

After the war ended, other mass graves were investigated, but some of the killing sites were never found. Thus the total number of victims cannot be determined. However, it has been estimated at around 1,500, among them about 1,000 Serbs and 450 Jews. Historian Klaus Voigt estimates the number of murdered Jews to be 300. The estimated highest number of prisoners on Pag Island was 5,000.

SOURCES To date, there is not a monograph on the Pag Island camp, but a few works on the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia include some information on this camp; see Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade, 1957); Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa LengelKrizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 89–101; Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Ucešnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); and Ivan Babanovski and Samuel Sadikario, *Portraits of Criminals —Jasenovac Called the Balkans' Auschwitz* (Skopje: Akademski Pevat, 2008). Extensive information about both camps on Pag Island can be found in Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Globus 1990) and Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber 2001). See also Alexander Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs Massengewalt der Ustaša gegen Serben, Juden und Roma in Kroatien 1941–1945* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013).

Primary documents about the Pag Island camp can be found in JIM-bg and AS, especially in the files of the DK collection. Additionally, numerous documents on the Gospić camp complex can be found in HDA in the collection of files of the Croatian State Commission, "Zemaljske komisije za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača." The website, www.jadovno.com, reproduces testimonies and archival documentation, including a report submitted at Bari on September 8, 1944, by former Metajna prisoner Nada Feuerissen, extensive interviews with Pag Island prisoner Dr. Oto Radan, and facsimiles from Italian army investigations of 1941. The original Italian army documentation, attributed to AUSSME, has not been found.

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NOTES

1. Military Post No. 10 to Command of Second Italian Army, August 1, 1941, YVA, O.10/64, p. 3.

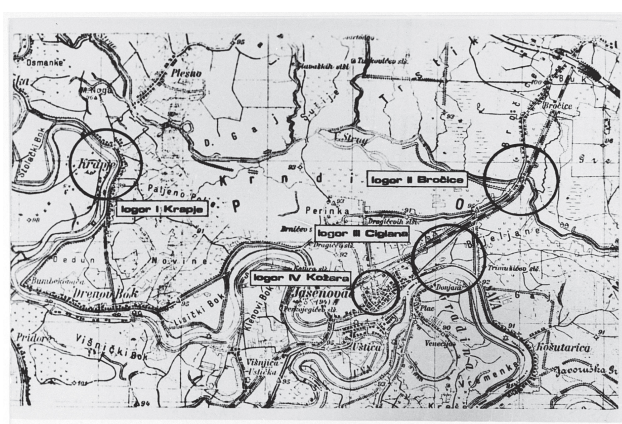
2. Dr. Oto Radan interview, quoted in www.jadovno.com, July 10, 2010.

3. Orešković testimony, DK, n.d., as quoted in Babanovski and Sadikario, *Portraits of Criminals*, p. 37.

4. Entry of September 3, 1941, Sottotenente Vittorio Finderle alla direzione di sanita' del V CdA, Ogg.: "Relazione circa i cimiteri provvisori della nostra zona," September 6, 1941, original in AUSSME (uncertain provenance), reproduced at www.jadovno.com.

JASENOVAC I AND II

In August 1941, the Ustaša founded the first two camps in the camp complex located in Jasenovac, which is 100 kilometers (62 miles) southeast of Zagreb. Jasenovac I (Krapje) was located near the village of Krapje, approximately 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) northwest of Jasenovac. Jasenovac II (Bročice) was located near the village of Bročice, approximately 5 kilometers (3 miles) northeast of Jasenovac, close to the Jasenovac-Novska Road and the Veliki Strug River. These subcamps were built on the marshy terrain of Lonjsko polje, a region that experienced the seasonal flooding of the Sava, Veliki Strug, Trebeža, and Lonja Rivers. Survivors described the Krapje and Bročice camps as each having three to four wooden barracks raised on stilts that housed inmates and one raised wooden barrack for camp administrators and guards. Survivor Otto Langfelder recalled that Bročice was separated internally into compounds for Jews and Serbs.[1] A high barbed-wire fence and manned guard towers surrounded each camp.



A map showing the location of four of the concentration camps that made up the Jasenovac camp system. USHMM WS #46543, COURTESY OF MEMORIJALNI MUZEJ JASENOVAC.

Eugen "Dido" Kvaternik, serving as state secretary of the Internal Affairs Ministry (*Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova*, MUP) and as director of the Directorate for Public Order and Security (*Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost*, RAVSIGUR), ordered the establishment of Jasenovac I and II in the early summer of 1941. In late July and early August 1941, the Directorate for Land Reclamation and Water Regulation (*Ravnateljstvo melioracijskih i regulacijskih radova*) procured timber and chipboard for the construction of wooden barracks near Jasenovac. On August 23, 1941, the Ustaša newspaper *Hrvatski narod* reported that the construction of barracks in Lonjsko polje was finished and that they were to house workers sent there to perform the "regulation of the course of certain rivers, tributaries, streams, and underground rivers, as well as drainage of the vast flood-prone areas of the Lonjsko polje region."[2] On the same day, the first large groups of prisoners started arriving in the Krapje and Bročice camps. Most of the arrivals were Jews and Christian Orthodox Serbs transferred to the Jasenovac camps from previously established Ustaša camps set up in and around Zagreb—Gospić and the Gospić subcamp of Pag Island—and elsewhere in the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH). The earliest existing document that showed prisoners were sent to the Krapje and Bročice camps appeared on September 11, 1941: in a telegram, Kvaternik instructed that "50 Communists and Četniks from Bijelina be sent to the Jasenovac transit camp."[3] As many as several thousand male prisoners were arrested by the Ustaša militia, local police directorates, and the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška nadzorna služba*, UNS) and sent to the Krapje and Bročice camps from late August until early November 1941.

Bureau III of the UNS, commanded by Satnik (later Bojnik and Pukovnik) Vjekoslav Maks Luburić, oversaw the Krapje and Bročice camps. Poručnik Ante Marić was camp commandant (*Zapovjednik logora*) of the Krapje camp; Poručnik Ivan Rako held the same position in the Bročice camp. Units from the 13th and Lika Ustaša Battalions and the Ustaša Defense (*Ustaška obrana*) guarded both camps.

It is impossible to state the exact number of inmates who passed

through or perished in the Krapje and Broč ice camps, but the combined camp populations ranged between 4,000 and 5,000 inmates. At any given time each camp held between 1,500 and 2,500 inmates. The majority of the prisoners held in the camps were Jews and Serbs; the rest were Croats and Bosniaks, prisoners belonging to other ethnic groups, and regime opponents, including communists.

On arrival, the prisoners were thoroughly searched by guards, stripped of all valuables, and sent to wooden barracks where they slept on bunks. As more prisoners arrived the barracks became overcrowded, and some prisoners were forced to sleep on the floor. All prisoners had to work from early morning until late evening, seven days a week. The prisoners built flood-protection embankments along the Sava, Veliki Strug, and Lonja Rivers. Each morning, prisoners were assembled into large work groups of several hundred men and marched in columns for several kilometers to worksites where they used shovels, wheelbarrows, and bare hands to transport earth and other materials to the embankments. Armed guards accompanied prisoners working outside the camps. The guards carefully observed the prisoners and walked among them; prisoners seen to be taking unauthorized breaks or not performing their work adequately faced severe beatings by the guards and in some cases were shot.

Living conditions in the Krapje and Broč ice camps were very harsh. The inmates suffered from chronic malnourishment, inadequate clothing, lack of sanitation, various diseases, exhaustion, and regular beatings by the guards. Prisoners were usually given two or three meals a day consisting mostly of warm water mixed with small amounts of potatoes, beans, cornmeal, cabbage, or turnips.[4] The autumn of 1941 was unusually cold, leading to a sharp increase in the number of weak, sick, and emaciated prisoners who died in the barracks and at the worksites. Survivors testified that a dozen or more prisoners died in the camps each day. The first mass murder of prisoners took place in late October or early November 1941. A reduction in the amount of food the prisoners received in the Krapje camp sparked a prisoner uprising that was viciously put down and resulted in the deaths of many prisoners. Afterward, a traveling summary court (*Pokretni prijeki sud*), presided over by Ivan Vignjević,

sentenced approximately 100 prisoners to death.

In late October heavy autumn rains started and continued to fall for three weeks without relief. In the belief that maintaining the camps through winter was not feasible, Luburić ordered that young, strong, and skilled prisoners be put to work to set up Jasenovac III (Ciglana) close to the town of Jasenovac. In mid-November, as rain continued to fall and nearby rivers flooded, the water levels in the camps rose drastically and life came to a standstill. Acting on Luburić's orders, the guards dissolved the Krapje and Bročice camps between November 14 and 16, 1941. Strong and healthy prisoners were marched to Jasenovac III (approximately 2 kilometers or 1 mile east of the town of Jasenovac), while the elderly, sick, and weak were either killed immediately or left to die in the abandoned camps. Of the 3,000 to 4,000 prisoners held in the Krapje and Bročice camps at the time they were dissolved, only approximately 1,500 arrived in Jasenovac III.

SOURCES Some of the most important secondary works describing Jasenovac I and II are Alexander Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs Massengewalt der Ustaša gegen Serben, Juden und Roma in Kroatien 1941–1945* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013); Tea Benčić, *Jasenovac Memorial Site* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2006); Slavko Goldstein and Ivo Goldstein, *Jews in Jasenovac*, trans. Nikolina Jovanović (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2003); Nataša Mataušić, *Jasenovac 1941–1945: Logor smrti i radni logor* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2003); Nataša Mataušić, *Jasenovac Concentration Camp: Exhibition about the Beginning of the Camp System, August 1941–February 1942* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2002); Radomir Bulatović, *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac sa posebnim osvrtom na Donju Gradinu: istorijsko-sociološka i antropološka studija* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1990); Nikola Nikolić, *Jasenovački logor smrti* (Sarajevo: Oslobođenje, 1975); and Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Stvarnost, 1966).

Primary sources documenting the history of Jasenovac I and II can be found in HDA, available in microform collections at USHMMA (Ustaša Supervisory Office, RG-61.011M and Public Prosecutor's Office, RG-61.017M). Additional Jasenovac I and II documentation can be found in FJCY (available at USHMMA as RG-49.002), JIM-bg (available at USHMMA as RG-49.007), and MmJa (available at USHMMA as RG-61.001M). The ITS also holds documents related to Jasenovac I and II, under collections 1.1.15.1 (Listenmaterial Jugoslawien) and 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), which are available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMA also holds oral history interviews with survivors Mihajlo (or Mihailo) Marić, July 7, 1997 (RG-50.468*0005) and Bozo Svarc, June 1997. Both survivors have also given testimonies to VHA: Mihailo Marić, July 9, 1997 (#47554) and Bozo Svarc, June 24, 1997 (#39236). A propaganda account of the camp is found in *HrNa*. The best-known volume of published primary sources relating to the Jasenovac camps is Antun Miletić, ed., *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941–1945: Dokumenta*, 2 vols. (Belgrade: Narodna knj., 1986). Published testimonies include Egon Berger, *44 mjeseca u Jasenovcu* (Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1966); Vladimir Carin, *Smrt je hodala četvoronoške* (Zagreb: Mladost, 1961); and Ilija Jakovljević, *Konc-logor na Savi* (Zagreb: Konzor, 1999).

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NOTES

1. "Konzentrationslager Jasenovac: Aus dem Protokoll der Kreiskommission zur Feststellung von KriegsverbrechenVerhör dem vereidigten Langfelder, Otto, aus Osijek, Rückkehrer aus dem Lager Jasenovac," June 12, 1946, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 5, Doc. No. 82204832.

2. *HrNa*, August 23, 1941, reproduced in Miletić, ed., *Jasenovac*, 1: 75–76.

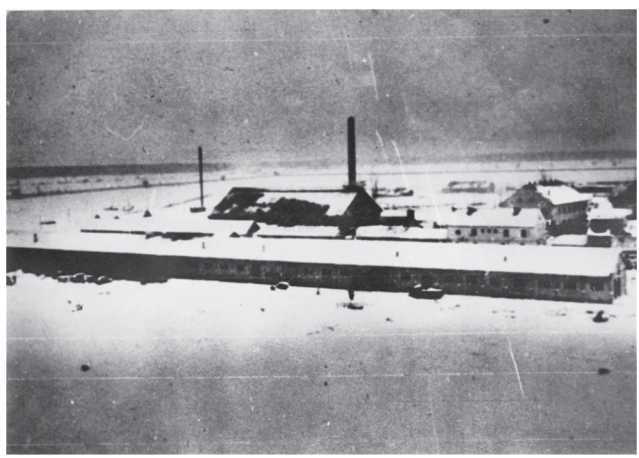
3. E. Kvaternik telegram to Stožer, Stozeru Domobranstva, Zagreb, September 11, 1941, reproduced in Miletić, ed.,

Jasenovac, 1: 81.

4. “Konzentrationslager Jasenovac,” June 12, 1946, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 5, Doc. No. 82204832.

JASENOVAC III

The Directorate for Public Order and Security (*Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost,* RAVSIGUR) of the Internal Affairs Ministry (*Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova*, MUP) founded Jasenovac III in October 1941 following the takeover of the Bačić & Co. industrial complex, located 2 kilometers (1 mile) east of the town of Jasenovac. Jasenovac is 100 kilometers (62 miles) southeast of Zagreb. Called the "Labor Service of the Ustaša Defense Detention Camp No. III" (*Radna služba Ustaške obrane sabirni logor Br. III*), Jasenovac III was more commonly known as the "Brickyard" (*Ciglana*). It was the largest, longest lasting, and deadliest of the five Jasenovac concentration camps.



View of the Jasenovac III concentration camp at Ciglana. USHMM WS #67090, COURTESY OF MILAN BULAJIC.

The camp was constructed on the left bank of the Sava River. With the incorporation of the Bačić & Co. property, the camp occupied a total area of approximately two square kilometers (494 acres). A brickyard, chain factory, sawmill, electrical power plant,

and approximately 24 other smaller plants and workshops were located inside the camp. Six large wooden barracks were surrounded by high barbed-wire fences and guard towers. In the spring of 1942, a brick wall several meters high was constructed on three sides of the camp; the fourth side faced the Sava River. A small road and railroad line allowed transit through the camp under tight security.

Led by Vjekoslav Maks Luburić, Bureau III of the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška nadzorna služba*, UNS) oversaw the camp until January 1943, at which point RAVSIGUR took over. The camp's administration had three divisions: security, labor, and health. The 1st and 17th Ustaša companies, and Ustaša Defense (*Ustaška obrana*)—1,500 troops in all—served as guards. The commandant (*zapovjednik logora*) and labor services commandant (*zapovjednik radne službe*) administered the camp. In succession, the commandants were Jozo Matijević, Ivica Matković, Miroslav Filipović-Majstorović, Ivica Brkljačić, and Dinko Šakić. The first labor service commandant was Ljubo Miloš, and his successor was Dominik Hinko Picili. An inmate with the title of "camp officer" (*logornik*) served as camp elder. The first logornik was Bruno Dijamantstein, and his successor was Ladislav Wiener.

The first prisoners arrived in Ciglana in late October 1941. They consisted of healthy prisoners from Jasenovac I (Krapje) and Jasenovac II (Bročice) who were ordered to build the camp. In mid-November 1941, 1,500 additional prisoners from the Krapje and Bročice camps arrived after those two camps were closed. (In total, approximately 2,500 prisoners from the first two Jasenovac camps were transferred to Ciglana in November 1941. Those prisoners not sent to Ciglana were murdered or starved to death.) The exact number of prisoners who passed through Ciglana is impossible to determine because of the large waves of arrivals, departures, and mass killings. The apex of new arrivals and of mass killings took place in 1942. In May and June 1942, at least 10,000 Roma arrived in the camp, most of whom were murdered or starved to death in the deadliest section of Ciglana, section IIIC. In June and July, 2,400 to 3,200 Jewish women and children arrived from the Đakovo camp. In July, August, and September, tens of thousands of people, mostly Serb civilians, arrived

following Ustaša ethnic cleansing operations in the Kozara region of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The number of new arrivals decreased significantly in 1943 and remained relatively low until the camp's dissolution. At the same time, there were also large departures of prisoners; tens of thousands of prisoners were transferred to other Croatian or German camps. In August 1942 and in May 1943, the Croatian authorities permitted the transfer to Auschwitz of most Jews not needed for labor in the Jasenovac camp complex.

The constant turnover ensured that the camp population varied considerably in size and composition. On average, between 3,000 and 4,000 prisoners were held in the camp at any given time. In his postwar trial, Miloš testified that Luburić ordered that there should always be around 3,000 prisoners in the camp to satisfy labor needs.[1] Miloš also testified that whenever the number of prisoners exceeded camp labor requirements, the "surplus" prisoners were either transferred elsewhere or wiped out in mass murders that usually took place in nearby forests or on frequently used killing sites in Limani, Granik, and Donja Gradina. Prisoners were marched in columns to the killing sites where they were shot, stabbed, and clubbed to death by guards. The corpses were thrown into mass graves and into the Sava River. The Jasenovac Memorial has estimated that at least 57,000 people lost their lives in Jasenovac III.

Forced labor details ranged in size from a handful to several hundred. Under the direction of labor services command, prisoners were selected to manage the work groups. A group leader was called the *grupnik*; units of 100 were led by a *stotnik* and units of 10 by a *desetnik*. Most of the goods manufactured were used to support the Ustaša war effort.

In Ciglana, the living conditions were abysmal. Prisoners suffered from chronic malnourishment, inadequate clothing, lack of sanitation, various diseases, exhaustion, and regular abuse by the guards. The two or three daily meals consisted mostly of warm water with small amounts of potatoes, beans, cornmeal, cabbage, or turnips thrown in. One survivor, Eduard Sajer, recalled food being so scarce that at one point his nails and hair stopped growing.[2]

As news spread about the horrible conditions at Jasenovac, the

Pavelić regime attempted to misrepresent its purpose in propaganda accounts and staged visits. At the Zagreb Fair-grounds in late 1942, a photograph appeared in a display, showing forced laborers at the brickyard mixing lime with the caption, "One Year of Work in Transit Camps." Indeed, the only times that conditions materially improved were before and during the visits of the International Commission in early 1942 and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in June 1944. In the days before the delegations' arrival, the barracks were cleaned and rations improved. Once the delegations left, the conditions reverted to their dreadful state. Kvaternik arranged for the 20-member International Commission to visit Jasenovac III in early 1942. In preparation, new beds for the barracks arrived from Zagreb, and there were new bedclothes for the hospital, in which relatively healthy and less exhausted prisoners were placed to "act" as patients, while the sick and exhausted were killed so as not to mar the visitors' good impression. Not long after the International Commission's two-hour visit, an article appeared in the Ustaša newspaper, *Narodne novine*, titled "Jasenovac is neither a place of torture nor a sanatorium."[3]

Prisoners at forced labor in the Jasenovac III concentration camp brick-yard mixing lime in large troughs, June 1942. USHMM WS #13943, COURTESY OF MEMORIJALNI MUZEJ JASENOVAC.

As the Yugoslav Partisans approached, Ustaša personnel began closing down the camp in late April 1945. Realizing that they would most likely be killed, some prisoners devised an escape plan. The breakout took place at 10:30 A.M. on April 22, 1945. The escapees stormed the doors of the workshop where they were confined and overpowered the guards. As soon as they started running for the gates, the guards fired in all directions. During the breakout, the prisoner electrician Sajer cut the telephone wire to disrupt Ustaša communications.[4] Of the roughly 600 escapees, only about 70 to 80 managed to escape from the camp and hide until the Partisans arrived. Among the few survivors was Otto Langfelder, who, unable to swim across the Sava River, fled to the forest with his comrades.[5] The guards shot the prisoners remaining in the camp and razed Ciglana in early May 1945.

SOURCES Two of the most important secondary sources describing the persecution of the Roma in Jasenovac III are Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, *Genocid nad Romima: Jasenovac 1942* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2003) and Dragoljub Acković, *Roma Suffering in Jasenovac Camp* (Belgrade: Museum of the Victims of Genocide, 1995). A book that describes the trial of Dinko Sakić, the last Jasenovac III commandant and the last camp commandant to be tried for war crimes, is Milan Bulajić, *Jasenovac na sudu: sudenje Dinku Sakiću* (Belgrade: Muzej zrtava genocida, 2001).

Primary sources documenting Jasenovac III can be found in HDA, available in microform collections at USHMMA (Ustaša Supervisory Office, RG-61.011M and Public Prosecutor's Office, RG-61.017M). Additional documentation can be found in FJCY (available at USHMMA as RG-49.002), JIMbg (available at USHMMA as RG-49.007), and MmJa (available at USHMMA as RG-61.001M). The ITS also holds documents related to Jasenovac III, under collections 1.1.15.1 (Listenmaterial Jugoslawien), 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), and 1.2.4.3 (Service Watson), available in digital form at USHMMA. Among the testimonies at VHA by Jasenovac III survivors are Cedomil Huber, July 7, 1997 (#35878); Eduard Sajer, June 28, 1997 (#48709); and Savo Petrovic, July 12, 1997 (#40070). The best-known volume of published primary sources regarding the Jasenovac camps is Antun

Miletić, ed., *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941–1945: Dokumenta*, 2 vols. (Belgrade: Narodna knj., 1986). There are a number of published testimonies on Jasenovac III, including Egon Berger, *44 mjeseca u Jasenovcu* (Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1966); Vladimir Carin, *Smrt je hodala četvoronoške* (Zagreb: Mladost, 1961); Ilija Jakovljević, *Konc-logor na Savi* (Zagreb: Konzor, 1999); Đorde Miliša, *U mučilištu-paklu Jasenovac* (Belgrade: Politika, 1991); Boško Jugović, *Moj put kroz Jasenovac* (Banja Luka: Vaso Pelagić, 2000); Čadik I. Danon Braco, *The Smell of Human Flesh: A Witness of the Holocaust*, trans. Nedežda Obradović (Belgrade: Slobodan Masić, 2002); and Ilija Ivanović, *Witness to Jasenovac's Hell*, ed. Wanda Schindley, trans. Aleksandra Lazić (Mt. Pleasant, TX: Dallas Publishing, 2002). A collection of testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Jasenovac camps can be found in Dušan Sindik, ed., *Sečanja Jevreja na logor Jasenovac* (Belgrade: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1972).

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NOTES

1. Miloš affidavit, 1946, reproduced in Miletić, *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac*, 2:1015.

2. USHMMA, RG-50.468*0003, Eduard Sajer interview, 1997.

3. *NarNo*, January 10, 1942.

4. USHMMA, RG-50.468*0003, Sajer interview, 1997.

5. "Konzentrationslager Jasenovac: Aus dem Protokoll der Kreiskommission zur Feststellung von KriegsverbrechenVerhör dem vereidigten Langfelder, Otto, aus Osijek, Rückkehrer aus dem Lager Jasenovac," June 12, 1946, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 5, Doc. No. 82204836.

JASENOVAC IV

In late January 1942, Bureau III of the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška nadzorna služba*, UNS) founded Jasenovac IV as a concentration camp dedicated to leather production. It was located within the town of Jasenovac, which is 100 kilometers (62 miles) southeast of Zagreb. Officially named the "Labor Service of the Ustaša Defense Detention Camp No. IV" (*Radna služba Ustaške obrane sabirni logor Br. IV*), Jasenovac IV was more commonly referred to as "Leatherworks" (*Kožara*). It was the smallest and most highly specialized of the five Jasenovac concentration camps.

The camp included tanning and leather processing plants, storage facilities, two buildings that housed prisoners, and offices for camp administrators. High barbed-wire fences and guard towers surrounded the camp. A few roads permitted transit through the camp under heavy guard.

Overseeing Jasenovac IV was the Central Command Post for all Jasenovac Assembly Camps (*Zapovjedništvo sabirnih logora Jasenovac*), based in Jasenovac and supervised by the Directorate for Public Order and Security (*Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost*, RAVSIGUR) and Ustaša Defense (*Ustaška obrana*). A camp commandant (*zapovjednik logora*) administered the camp, and units from the 1st and 17th Ustaša companies and members of the Ustaša Defense served as guards.

The first groups of prisoners were brought to the tanning and processing plants in November 1941. They had worked as tanning and leatherworks laborers in Jasenovac III where they produced leather goods for the Croatian war effort. In January 1942, the industrial plants and a few surrounding residential buildings were cordoned off with barbed-wire fencing and guard posts and converted into the concentration camp, Jasenovac IV. On average there were between 150 and 200 prisoners in the camp, all male; most were Jews skilled in tanning and leatherwork.[1] The leather goods were essential to the Croatian war effort and included

clothes and accessories used by Ustaša and Croatian Army (*Domobrani*) soldiers and officials. Because of the prisoners' technical expertise and the importance the Ustaša authorities placed on the goods they produced, mass murders did not take place in the camp, although the guards regularly beat and occasionally killed prisoners for poor work performance or alleged violations of camp rules.

Prisoners were assigned to various work groups that specialized in aspects of tanning, leather processing, and storage; the size of the groups ranged from a handful to several dozen prisoners. The prisoners labored from early morning until late evening, only receiving a short break for lunch. Certain prisoners were selected to manage the work groups. Groups were led by a leader called the *grupnik,* and large groups were further subdivided into 10-man units led by a *desetnik*. The prisoner-managers received their work assignments from the camp labor services command.

Living conditions in the Kožara camp were substantially better than in the other four Jasenovac camps, but were still harsh. According to Otto Langfelder, who was a survivor of all five Jasenovac camps, "The food ration was better and we had an exceptional kitchen and also got bread."[2]

In late April 1945, as Yugoslav Partisans approached, the Ustaša began preparations for dissolving the camp. On April 22, alarmed by gunfire and blasts heard coming from Jasenovac III (where an escape attempt was taking place), the prisoners in Jasenovac IV devised their own escape plan. That evening 125 prisoners stormed the doors of the buildings where they were confined and charged the camp gate.[3] The guards, on alert after the Jasenovac III breakout, immediately shot the prisoners, killing most of them; no more than 10 escapees managed to survive, hiding in nearby forests until the Partisans arrived. The guards destroyed some of the camp's workshops and most of the remaining documents before dissolving the camp in early May 1945.

SOURCES Some of the most important published secondary sources describing Jasenovac IV are Alexander Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs Massengewalt der Ustaša gegen*

Serben, Juden und Roma in Kroatien 1941–1945 (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013); Tea Benčić, *Jasenovac Memorial Site* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2006); Slavko Goldstein and Ivo Goldstein, *Jews in Jasenovac*, trans. Nikolina Jovanović (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2003); Nataša Mataušić, *Jasenovac 1941–1945: Logor smrti i radni logor* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2003); Nataša Mataušić, *Jasenovac Concentration Camp: Exhibition about the Beginning of the Camp System, August 1941–February 1942* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2002); and Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Stvarnost, 1966).

Primary sources documenting the Jasenovac IV camp can be found in HDA, available in microform collections at USHMMA (Ustaša Supervisory Office, RG-61.011M and Public Prosecutor's Office, RG-61.017M). Additional Jasenovac IV documentation can be found in FJCY (available at USHMMA as RG-49.002), JIM-bg (available at USHMMA as RG-49.007), and MmJa (available at USHMMA as RG-61.001M). The ITS also holds documents related to Jasenovac IV, under collections 1.1.15.1 (Listenmaterial Jugoslawien), 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), and 1.2.4.3 (Service Watson), available in digital form at USHMMA. The best-known volume of published primary sources regarding Jasenovac camps is Antun Miletić, ed., *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941–1945: Dokumenta*, 2 vols. (Belgrade: Narodna knj., 1986). Published survivor testimonies include Egon Berger, *44 mjeseca u Jasenovcu* (Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1966); Vladimir Carin, *Smrt je hodala četvoronoške* (Zagreb: Mladost, 1961); and Ilija Jakovljević, *Konc-logor na Savi* (Zagreb: Konzor, 1999). A collection of testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Jasenovac camps (including Kožara) can be found in Dušan Sindik, ed., *Sečanja Jevreja na logor Jasenovac* (Belgrade: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1972).

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NOTES

1. See Kožara references in ITS, 1.2.4.3, Jasenovac, 1944, Doc. Nos. 12847111–12847122.

2. "Konzentrationslager Jasenovac: Aus dem Protokoll der Kreisskommission zur Feststellung von KriegsverbrechenVerhör dem vereideten Langfelder, Otto, aus Osijek, Räckkehrer aus dem Lager Jasenovac," June 12, 1946, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 5, Doc. No. 82204834.

3. "Popis zatočenika Kožare," April 22, 1945, JIM-bg, reg. 2368, k. 25-511/4, reproduced in Miletić, ed., *Jasenovac*, 2: 892–893.

JASENOVAC V/STARA GRADIŠKA

In the former Austro-Hungarian garrison town of Stara Gradiška, located 124 kilometers (almost 77 miles) southeast of Zagreb and 30 kilometers (18 miles) southeast of Jasenovac proper on the Sava River, the Ustaša established the Jasenovac V camp at the end of 1941. The camp was in a former fortress and principally held women and children. Beginning in May 1941, the Ustaša police imprisoned political and "racial" persecutees from the surrounding communities in the garrison barracks. A November 1941 edict issued by Ustaša supreme leader (*Poglavnik*) Ante Pavelić, "Legal Provision on Deporting Undesirable and Dangerous Persons to Enforced Detention in Assembly and Labor Camps," formed the basis for the imprisonment of Serbs and Jews in Croatian camps, including Stara Gradiška.[1] Toward the end of 1941, Stara Gradiška was incorporated into Jasenovac as camp V. The prison was subsequently moved to Hrvatska Mitrovica (today: Sremska Mitrovica). As part of the Jasenovac system, the camp was relatively self-contained and communicated independently with Bureau III of the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška nadzorna služba*, UNS).

The first commandant of Stara Gradiška was Nadsatnik Ante Vrban. From 1942 on, Nadporučnik Dinko Šakić served as the deputy commandant. Šakić achieved international notoriety when he was extradited from Argentina to Croatia in 1999. He was condemned to 20 years' imprisonment for crimes against humanity perpetrated in the Jasenovac complex. Nadsatnik Miroslav Filipović-Majstorović, another Ustaša commandant in 1942 and 1943, was known for his brutality. He was condemned to death for war crimes on June 29, 1945, in Zagreb. Both male and some female Ustaša served as guards.

The camp held prisoners from diverse ethno-religious groups: Serbs, Jews, Croatians, Roma, and Muslims were deported to the camp for political or racial reasons or a combination of both. Inside the camp were several women's and men's subsections,

which in turn were separated along ethno-religious lines. Political prisoners were isolated in garrison cell blocks. Initially, women were lodged in the fortress tower (*Kula*), the keep of the former fortress. This building was dark, dank, and derelict; its 59 large cells were filled with the heavy stench of centuries of neglect. Initially all the female prisoners were held together, but in March 1942 the Croatian women were moved to new premises that came to be called the Croatian women's camp. A small gate led from the tower through the fortress wall to the graveyard, through which groups of Jews, Serbs, and Roma (both men and women) were often taken out at night to the killing sites at Sava, Mlaka, Jablanac, Uskočke šume, and Međustrugove.

Forced labor in Stara Gradiška consisted mainly of craft-work such as carpentry, pottery, and tailoring, in small groups; some prisoners also engaged in farming. Many of the women were occupied with supporting internal camp operations.

The number of prisoners varied continually because, again and again, groups of prisoners were transferred or released. For example, there were 118 prisoner admissions in the 10-day period between March 19 and March 29, 1944.[2] As a skilled worker, Otto Langfelder was imprisoned in every camp in the Jasenovac complex, including in Stara Gradiška in 1942 and 1943.[3] The high proportion of women and children in the camp differentiated Stara Gradiška from other Ustaša camps. Some male children and youths were forced into a unit where they were indoctrinated as Croatian mercenaries.

Mothers and children imprisoned in the “Kula” (tower) of the Stara Gradiška concentration camp. USHMM WS #90182, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

The conditions for the children in the camp were particularly appalling and prompted repeated humanitarian interventions. For example, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp in June 1944, which led to the removal of some young prisoners. The Ustaša ensured that the delegates were given a highly misleading tour of the camp, as evidenced by a series of photographs showing cleaned-up prisoners at forced labor and seemingly friendly chats between Ustaša and ICRC representatives.[4]

Stara Gradiška housed a number of prominent prisoners. Ilija Jakovljević was a Catholic publicist who was released in 1942. The journalist Mirko Peršen, who subsequently published a history of Jasenovac, was held in Stara Gradiška from 1943 to 1944. Vlado Singer was a former Ustaša activist of Jewish background, who was murdered in the camp in November 1943.

A diary and an artifact help document some of the coping mechanisms used by the prisoners at Stara Gradiška. One prisoner, Andrea Hrg, struggled with the agonies of starvation by secretly writing a recipe book. The book opened with the following lines:

Since I wasn’t proclaimed a national hero, these notes are not

> in any museum. But I have children, for whom I wish them [these notes] to be preserved. They were written in January and February 1942, when we were not eating at all [the 3rd to the 26th of January 1942], and during February of the same year when only one meal [per day] of thin gruel or thin bean soup was received …. Cornmeal biscuits: 30 dkg [dekagrams] cornmeal, 10 dkg bread flour, 15 dkg sugar, 15 dkg butter, lemon peel, a little baking soda. Mix all ingredients and roll out a little thicker, make shapes and bake.[5]

Another prisoner, Radmila Radenović, embroidered cloth hearts for her fellow inmate, Parica Bobinac.[6]

Historians of the Yugoslav communist regime inflated the estimated number of victims at Stara Gradiška, with one claim reaching 75,000. These assertions did not withstand the first serious investigation. In 2007, investigators furnished the Jasenovac Memorial with data documenting the deaths of 12,790 prisoners. In the camp's vicinity, there were many mass graves, which were investigated by the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission after the war.

Yugoslav Partisans liberated Stara Gradiška on April 23, 1945.

SOURCES A secondary source describing Jasenovac V is Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade, 1957). On the persecution of Roma, see Dragoljub Acković, *Roma Suffering in Jasenovac Camp* (Belgrade: Museum of the Victims of Genocide, 1995) and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, *Genocid nad Romima: Jasenovac 1942* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomenpodručje Jasenovac, 2003). A useful source on child victims at Stara Gradiška is Dregoje Lukić, *Bili su samo deca: Jesenovac grobnica 19,432 devojcice i decaka* (Belgrade: Muzej zrtava genocida, 2000).

Primary sources on Jasenovac V can be found in HDA, available at USHMMA (Ustaša Supervisory Office, RG-61.011M and Public Prosecutor's Office, RG-61.017M); AJ; MmJa (available in microform at USHMMA under RG-61.001M); and

ITS, collections 1.1.15.1 (Listenmaterial Jugoslawien) and 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), the latter available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMA holds a small collection of postcards from Stara Gradiška and Lepoglava: Alralej-Steruberg postcards (Acc. No. 2002.205.1). Under RG-60.3873, USHMMA holds a film, *Camp Stara Gradiška*, originally from MmJa. USHMMPA has numerous photographs, including 11 photos from the ICRC inspection and others from MmJa. The best-known collection of published primary sources relating to the Jasenovac camps is Antun Miletić, ed., *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941–1945: Dokumenta*, 2 vols. (Belgrade: Narodna knj., 1986). Thirty-three survivor testimonies can be found in VHA. There are a number of published testimonies by Jasenovac V survivors: Egon Berger, *44 mjeseca u Jasenovcu* (Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1966); Vladimir Carin, *Smrt je hodala četvoronoške* (Zagreb: Mladost, 1961); Ilija Jakovljević, *Konc-logor na Savi* (Zagreb: Konzor, 1999); Čadik I. Danon Braco, *The Smell of Human Flesh: A Witness of the Holocaust*, trans. Nedežda Obradović (Belgrade: Slobodan Masić, 2002); Ilija Ivanović, *Witness to Jasenovac's Hell*, ed. by Wanda Schindley, trans. Alek-sandra Lazić (Mt. Pleasant, TX: Dallas Publishing, 2002); Boško Jugović, *Moj put kroz Jasenovac* (Banja Luka: Vaso Pelagić, 2000); and Đorde Miliša, *U mučilištu-paklu Jasenovac* (Belgrade: Politika, 1991). A collection of testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Jasenovac camps can be found in Dušan Sindik, ed., *Sečanja Jevreja na logor Jasenovac* (Belgrade: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1972). The suffering and rescue of children in the Stara Gradiška camp are documented in *Dnevnik Diane Budisavljević 1941–1945* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomenpodručje Jasenovac, 2003). This source excerpts the diary of Diana Budisavljević, who was widely credited with rescuing children from Stara Gradiška.

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Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. "Zakonska odredba o upućivanju nepoćudnih i pogibeljnih

osoba na prisilni boravak u sabrine i radne logore," November 25, 1941, NDH, k. 202, reg. br. 32/6, reproduced in Miletić, ed., *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac*, 1:98–100.

2. Zetočenici, Koji su se javili iz Stara Gradiška, March 29, 1944, ITS, 1.1.15.1, folder 1, Doc. Nos. 478209–478210.

3. "Konzentrationslager Jasenovac: Aus dem Protokoll der Kreisskommission zur Feststellung von KriegsverbrechenVerhör dem vereideten Langfelder, Otto, aus Osijek, Räckkehrer aus dem Lager Jasenovac," June 12, 1946, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 5, Doc. No. 82204834.

4. USHMMPA, WS #13966, Stara Gradiška prisoners at work in a sewing workshop, 1943 (Courtesy of CICR).

5. USHMMPA, WS #N11711.04, ed. recipe book, January to February 1942 (Courtesy of MmJa).

6. USHMMPA, WS #N08121, textile hearts made in 1943, in the Stara Gradiška camp (Courtesy of MmJa).

JASTREBARSKO

Jastrebarsko was a concentration camp holding mainly Jewish and Serb prisoners, which Bureau III of the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška nadzorna služba*, UNS) operated in the summer of 1941; in July 1942 part of it became a camp for children that was in service until November 1942. Jastrebarsko is a town 31 kilometers (19 miles) southwest of Zagreb on the railway line from Zagreb to the coast.

In the summer of 1941, UNS evacuated the concentration camps around Gospić in western Croatia because of the impending occupation of the region by the Italian army.[1] In great haste, Ustaša guards killed many prisoners and deported the rest to prevent their liberation by the Italians. The Ustaša also constructed several new camps in the part of the country that was within the German sphere of influence and was therefore safe from Italian intervention.[2] Jasenovac was the centerpiece of this new camp system. It served as an internment camp for evacuated Serb and Jewish prisoners and as a prison for Jews arrested in August and September 1941.[3] Most of the 1,500 Jewish prisoners were sent directly to Jasenovac after its construction was completed in September 1941.

In July 1942, a manor house and a Franciscan monastery in Jastrebarsko were converted into an internment camp for children. Later, some barracks used by the Italian army were incorporated into the camp, which was officially part of the Jasenovac camp complex under the supervision of the Ustaša general and official Vjekoslav Maks Luburić. Its purpose was to house children and juvenile prisoners transferred to Jastrebarsko from other camps such as Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška. The first transport of 566 children arrived at the camp on July 11, 1942. Many of the underaged prisoners were ill or in poor physical condition, and a good number died during the transport or shortly after arrival in the camp. In its several months of operation, up to 3,000 children were held prisoner at Jastrebarsko, some of whom suffered from

typhoid fever (they were deported from the Gornja Rijeka camp in August 1942). The majority of the children in the second phase of the camps were Serbs. It is not entirely clear why the Ustaša camp administration decided to concentrate children in the Jastrebarsko camp, but its use as a children's camp coincided with military campaigns against partisan-held territories, such as Operation Kozara, after which the surviving population was deported. It was also a response to popular and diplomatic criticism of the situation in the camps. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) gained access to Jastrebarsko and was indeed able to improve the children's living conditions. Neighbors and individuals from Zagreb also tried to support the children by providing them medicine and food. Despite this civilian access to the camp, reports suggest that the treatment by Ustaša guards and the nurses who were in charge of the camp was generally brutal. A nurse called Berta was reportedly the camp's director.

Children sit on the floor of a barracks in the Jastrebarsko concentration camp, summer 1942. USHMM WS #01149, COURTESY OF LYDIA CHAGOLL.

On August 26, 1942, a partisan detachment attacked and liberated the camp. They evacuated the majority of the prisoners, incorporating some into their ranks and transporting others to the liberated territories. The Croatian Caritas took care of those children who could not be evacuated and had to stay behind. They were not transferred to another camp, but came into the custody of

Catholic institutions or private families. The camp was officially dissolved in November 1942. The last unit in operation was the hospital with 300 ill children, most of whom stayed there until the end of the war.

SOURCES Jastrebarsko is briefly discussed in most studies that either deal with the Holocaust or with the history of political persecution in the NDH: Jaša Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije 1980); Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Globus 1990); Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the Inde pen dent State of Croatia," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 89–101; Ilija Jakovljević, *Konclogar na Savi* (Zagreb: Konzor 1999); Božo Švarc, "Kako sam preživio," *H-K* 69/70 (2001): 5; and Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2001). For information about camps for female prisoners, see Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Prilog proučavanju terora u NDH: Ženski sabirni logori, 1941–1942," *Popr* 4 (1985): 1–38. For an overview of the Croatian camps, see Alexander Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs: Massengewalt der Ustaša gegen Serben, Juden und Roma in Kroatien 1941–1945* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the Jastrebarsko camp can be found in YVA, collection M70, and ZkuzonpH.

Alexander Korb

NOTES

1. Statement of Oskar Mohr, October 16, 1945, ZkuzonpH.
2. Pisarovina district to RAVSIGUR, July 9, 1941, YVA, M.70/1, p. 1
3. Društvo Crvenog Križa NDH to RUR ŽO, August 22, 1941, YVA, M.70/15, p. 3.

KERESTINEC

Located approximately 15 kilometers (just over 9 miles) southwest of Zagreb, Kerestinec was a prison that was originally used for the internment of political prisoners in the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Immediately after the declaration of the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH), the Ustaša took over its administration and, on April 19, 1941, set up a collection camp (*sabirni logor*) there. The Zagreb police assumed responsibility for the camp's operation. The Kerestinec camp commandant was Mladen Horvatin, and the guards were Ustaša members. Political and ethnic persecutees of both sexes were imprisoned in the camp. In addition to confining Serbs and Jews, Kerestinec served principally as a concentration camp for former Yugoslav officials as well as for leftist opponents.

It was common practice in the Ustaša camps to segregate prisoners of different ethnicities. The first 60 prisoners were brought into the "Serbian-Yugoslav" section of the camp on April 21, 1941, and approximately 200 were lodged there by the end of the month. On May 1, 1941, 79 Jewish lawyers from Zagreb were hauled off to Kerestinec; a "Jewish" area of the camp was created to house them. Among the Jewish detainees were about 140 men, women, and children transported from Samobor on May 27; around 150 from Zagreb; and about 400 refugees from Nazi Germany. Beginning on May 22, members of the left-wing intelligentsia, such as publicist Zvonimir Richtmann and poet August Cesarec, were detained. This group of prisoners formed the "communist" sector of the camp. In total, there were as many as 900 inmates detained at Kerestinec, with Jews constituting approximately one third of the prisoners. In addition, many of the imprisoned communists had Jewish ancestry.

In June 1941, even as some detainees succeeded in securing their release or purchasing their freedom, camp conditions clearly deteriorated after the German attack on the Soviet Union. That attack marked the beginning of the communist resistance against

the Ustaša. Radio Moscow's July 3, 1941, appeal to European nations to rise up against the fascists inspired resistance in Croatia, and the brutalization and destabilization of the NDH accelerated. Repression of the communists began immediately. On July 10, a military court sentenced to death 10 prisoners of the Kerestinec camp, 6 of whom were Jewish. Their execution and, with that, the existence of the camp were publicized in newspaper stories and posters.

Resistance activities also intensified inside the camp. In consultation with outside communist groups, the communist prisoners planned a mass escape for the night of July 13. Six guards were killed in the attempt. The number of escapees has been the subject of dispute. The "Incident Report Soviet Union" (*Ereignisbericht Sowjetunion*) of the Nazi SS Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) reported 140 escapees.[1] According to other sources, 89 prisoners participated, almost all of them coming from the "communist" section of the camp. Still other reports found that between 14 and 90 men succeeded in escaping. The guards' answer to the rebellion was mass murder. A bloodbath inside the prison followed the escape, in which at least 31 prisoners were shot to death. On July 17, Ustaša guards killed 44 alleged participants at Dotrščina Park, located north of Zagreb (today: part of Zagreb). Among the victims were well-known personalities such as Ernest Rado, Isak Katan, Hugo Kon, Ljudevit Kon, and Israel Steinberg. In addition, courts-martial labeled up to 300 people as communists in connection with the Kerestinec camp rebellion and sentenced them to imprisonment in a camp or to death. The Internal Affairs Ministry published an announcement about the escape and the meting out of sentences by the flying court-martial.[2]

The Ustaša dissolved the Kerestinec camp on July 16, 1941. Most of the remaining inmates were transferred to the Gospić camp, where the vast majority lost their lives. Because of the mass killings of prisoners, the mortality rate of the Kerestinec camp was about 10 percent.

SOURCES There is extensive literature about the Kerestinec camp, especially about the escape attempt in July 1941: Ivan Jelić,

Tragedija u Kerestincu: Zagrebačko ljeto 1941, foreword by Hodimir Sirotković (Zagreb: Globus, 1986); Zvonimir Komarica, *Kerestinečka kronika* (Zagreb: Globus 1989); Zdravko Dizdar, "Logor Kerestinec," *Popr* 8 (1989): 143–192; Zdravko Dizdar, "Logori na području sjeverozapadne Hrvatske u toku drugoga svjetskog rata 1941–1945," *Čsp* 22 (1990): 83–110; Jaša Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Globus 1990); Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber 2001); Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa LengelKrizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism*, trans. Nikolina Jovanović (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997); and Marija Vulesica, "Kroatien," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*: *Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9: 331–336. Davor Kovačić analyzes the broader context of the prisoner rebellion in "Kominterna i forsiranje antifašističkog ustanka u Hrvatskoj 1941: Slučaj Kerestinec," *Čsp* 3 (2011): 863–880. On the Dotrščina Park memorials, see www.memorialmuseums.org/eng/denkmaeler/view/1469/Dotr%C5%A1%C4%87ina-Park-Memorials.

Primary sources on the Kerestinec camp can be found in AJ, which holds documents of the DK investigation under the Državna collection. It contains detailed information about numerous camps, including Kerestinec. HAD has documents from the ZkuzonpH collection, some of which are reproduced in Jelić. Additionally, there are documents about the Jews in Ustaša camps in JIM-bg. VHA holds three testimonies by Kerestinec survivors. A published testimony on the Kerestinec camp is Zvonimir Komarica, *Kerestinečka kronika: Zapis vojnika I* (Zagreb: Globus, 1989).

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Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. Ereignisbericht UdSSR Nr. 27, 17 July, 1941, JIM-bg, box 21, 2a, 1/13.

2. “Kažnapadaj na stražu u Kerestincu: Uhvačeni komunisti osudjeni na smrt I strijeljani,” July 17, 1941, MUP Nr. 10853-1941, reprinted in Jelić, *Tragedija u Kerestincu*, n.p. (plate).

KOPRIVNICA

On April 15, 1941, the Croatian Interior Ministry and local Ustaša militia founded the first camp in the newly created Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH). It was located in the unused buildings of the Danica chemical factory near Koprivnica, close to the Hungarian border. Koprivnica is more than 77 kilometers (48 miles) northeast of Zagreb. Commonly known as Danica, the camp interned people arrested on ethnic, political, or religious grounds. Common criminals were also detained there. The Serbs formed the largest group of inmates, followed by politically "undesirable" Croats as well as Jews. The Croatian prisoners consisted primarily of members of the prewar political Left.[1] According to historian Anna Maria Grünfelder, some Seventh-Day Adventists were also interned in the camp.

The first camp commandant was Ustaša member Martin Nemec, originally a businessman in Koprivnica who had gone into exile in 1933 and returned in early 1941. At the time, 89 Ustaša members served as guards. Nemec served from mid-April to the end of June 1941. Ustaša member Nikola Herman from Koprivnica then headed the Danica camp until its dissolution in 1942. At its peak operation, there were as many as 100 guards, who were Ustaša militia from the area.

The first prisoners arrived in the Danica camp on April 18, 1941. Ten days later a larger group of 504 people, mostly Serbs from the Grubišno Polje area, arrived.[2] By mid-May the number of inmates exceeded the camp's capacity of 1,000, yet even more prisoners continued to arrive; among them, for example, 165 Jewish youth between the ages of 18 and 21 from Zagreb entered Danica on May 31. By the end of June the camp population had more than doubled to nearly 2,200. From June 30 to July 15, approximately 1,960 inmates were transported to the Gospić camp, whereas only 76 people were released during the same period. In August 1941, the prisoner population peaked at 2,656, after which many prisoners, mostly Serbs and Jews, were transferred to other

camps, initially to Gospić or Jadovno; from December 1941 the men were sent primarily to Jasenovac and the women and children to Stara Gradiška. These transfers were implemented because the camp was seen as insufficiently fortified against partisan activity. By May 1942, Danica was used only to confine common criminals.

A group of interned men in the Danica camp in Koprivnica, 1941.
USHMM WS #06382, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

A few camp inmates were used as forced labor in digging defensive earthworks in the camp's vicinity, as well as in work inside the camp. Nothing is known about the deployment of prisoners as workers in firms from Koprivnica. In her account, Grünfelder makes the point that the Ustaša description of this camp as being for "labor service" was propaganda.

Over the course of the camp's existence, 5,600 people were temporarily detained in Danica. German historian Marija Vulesica estimates that the prisoner population consisted of more than 3,000 Serbs, approximately 1,000 Croats, more than 600 Jews, and about 400 Roma. Most of the Jewish prisoners came from Zagreb, in addition to Bjelovar, Karlovac, Koprivnica, and Sarajevo. Historian Jaša Romano estimated that there were approximately 200 internees murdered in the camp, but recent research by

Vulesica indicates that there were up to 300 dead internees. There was a so-called death barrack in the camp, in which many inmates were tortured and murdered. Some of the prisoners who were seriously hurt by the torture were later shot by the guards.

The Jewish community in Zagreb and Koprivnica supported the interned Jews. Unfortunately, the guards confiscated numerous goods and food sent into the camp, as well as parcels sent from individuals.

The Danica camp was dissolved on September 1, 1942. After the end of World War II, the first commandant, Martin Nemec, was condemned to death and hanged in Danica.

SOURCES The camp at Koprivnica (Danica) is mentioned in a few works about the persecution of the Jews in occupied Yugoslavia: Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade: Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1957); Jaša Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (1966; Zagreb: Globus, 1990); Zdravko Dizdar, "Logori na području sjeverozapadne Hrvatske u toku drugoga svjetskog rata 1941-1945," *Čsp* 22: 1–2 (1990): 83–110; and Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2001). In German, there is some information in Marija Vulesica, "Kroatien," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*: *Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9:317–318; and a more extensive treatment in Anna Maria Grünfelder, *Von der Shoa eingeholt: Ausländische jüdische Flüchtlinge im ehemaligen Jugoslawien 1933–1945* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the Koprivnica (Danica) camp can be found in AS, collection DK. Additional documentation can be found in NDH, collections ZKRZ, and the Ustaša Supervisory Office for the City and District of Koprivnica. The latter

documentation is available at USHMMA as RG-61.014M. Additional material is found in JiM-bg, some which is copied to USHMMA as RG-49.007M. The ITS has a detailed report from the 1970s on the Danica camp, which can be found in collection 1.2.7.23 (Persecution Measures in Serbia). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. VHA holds two testimonies by Danica survivors: Erna Relic, March 30, 1996 (#13014) and Bozo Svarc, February 26, 1998 (#39276).

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Trans. Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Pero Damjanović, ISI, "Das Konzentrationslager 'Danica' in Koprivca," June 24, 1976, ITS, 1.2.7.23, Doc. No. 82205943.

2. Damjanović, "Das Konzentrationslager 'Danica' in Koprivca," ITS, 1.2.7.23, Doc. No. 82205941.

KRUŠČICA

In July 1941, Satnik (later Bojnik and then Pukovnik) Vjeko-slav Maks Luburić, the head of Bureau III of the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška nadzorna služba*, UNS), ordered the Ustaša commissar for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Jure Francetić, to establish a camp for Jews and Serbs in Kruščica. The village of Kruščica is close to the city of Vitez, which is approximately 56 kilometers (35 miles) northwest of Sarajevo in Bosnia and 235 kilometers (146 miles) southeast of Zagreb. The site was a dilapidated estate belonging to the Gutman family, which had previously served as an internment camp for the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Under the direction of the camp commandant, Ustaša Nadporučnik Jozo (Josip) Gesler, 75 imprisoned Serbs from Pale refurbished the camp barracks and erected a barbedwire fence to enclose the camp. The Kruščica camp served as an assembly and transit camp, temporarily absorbing prisoners coming from other dissolved camps, such as from Kerestinec via Sarajevo, and from the Gospić camp complex; it also housed Jewish women from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The first 23 inmates arrived at Kruščica at the beginning of August 1941. Among them were farmers and workers from Željecare, as well as some communists from Zenica. There were also two Croats and one Muslim. Toward the end of August 1941, the camp rapidly filled with Jewish prisoners, primarily women and children transported from Gospić.[1] The first transport arrived from the Pag Island subcamp at Metajna via Slavonski Brod on August 28, 1941. According to historian Jaša Romano, this group consisted of 1,100 people, including children. On September 3, approximately 500 Jewish men, women, and children from Sarajevo were sent to Kruščica. The next group of about 500 Jews from Sarajevo reached the camp on September 9. The Ustaša supervisor from Travnik, Nikola Tursun, claimed that there were only 1,539 people imprisoned in Kruščica in mid-September. This number is most likely too low. According to author Mirko Peršen, there were at least 3,000 prisoners in the camp then, most of whom

were Jewish women, but also including some 300 Serb women brought to Kruščica from Herzegovina. In late September or early October 1941, Jewish males over age 14 were sent from the camp to Jasenovac. Historian Ivo Goldstein places the date of the transfer of these Jewish males as October 1, with a transport of 250 prisoners to Jasenovac. Between October 5 and 7, 1941, 1,200 Jewish women and children in addition to 170 Serbian Orthodox women and children were sent to Loborgrad.[2] In November 1941 the Ustaša emptied the camp.

Luburić appointed Francetić's deputy, Gesler, as the first Kruščica camp commandant. Gesler was a mechanic from Podravska Slatina who had gone into exile. In 1936 he was one of the exiled Ustaša living on Lipari Island in Fascist Italy. Commandant Gesler himself committed a number of homicides at Kruščica. In some cases, he murdered prisoners simply to get their belongings, mainly clothes. In August 1941, Marjan Čilić, a policeman in Travnik, opened an investigation about two Croats and a Muslim brought into the camp. Gesler reacted by shooting a prisoner dead. On the night that the investigation began, 17 prisoners attempting to escape were killed by the guards and by Gesler. After the arrival of additional guards from Travnik and Vitez, the 75 Serb prisoners from Pale, previously tasked with constructing and enlarging the camp, were murdered and then buried in a lime pit. According to other reports, a total of 98 prisoners were murdered on that night. During this series of massacres, a Ustaša guard accidentally shot Gesler, who died of his wounds. Toward the end of September or the beginning of October 1941, some Serb prisoners were murdered in Smrikama near Travnik.

The camp's second commandant, Mate Mandušić, born in Rupe near Šibenik, had also gone into exile in Fascist Italy. After Gesler's death, Nadporučnik Mandušić assumed command of the Kruščica camp, earning a reputation for sadism. The 17th Ustaša Company guarded the camp. Mandušić reinforced this company with 60 additional men from the 13th Ustaša Batallion.

The Jewish community in Sarajevo sent food to the camp, but it is doubtful that any of it reached the prisoners. The Zagreb Jewish community similarly sent about 20 crates containing food that was never distributed among the inmates. In fact, the prisoners suffered

under such terrible conditions that a physician at Loborgrad, Dr. Janko Pajas, described those coming from Kruščica as an "image of misery" ("*slike mizerije*"). Malnourishment rendered them hollow-eyed; their skin was peeling off, their hair was falling out, and they had loose teeth.[3]

The local civilian population was aware of the crimes committed in the camp, and some complained to the Travnik authorities about the prisoners' poor treatment. Additionally, the Italian legation in Travnik investigated whether there were Italian citizens among the prisoners who were eligible for their protection.

At the beginning of October 1941, the Croatian authorities issued an order to close Kruščica.[4] The Ustaša dissolved the camp after the last male prisoners were transported to Jasenovac on October 5 and approximately 1,300 women and children were sent to Loborgrad on October 6.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Kruščica camp are Jaša Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (1966; Zagreb: Globus, 1990); Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade, 1957); Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Prilog proučavanjo terora u tzv. NDH—ženski sabirni logori 1941–1942," *Popr* 4 (1985): 1–38; and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa LengelKrizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 89-101. Additional information on the Kruščica camp can be found in Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Kruščica camp can be found in AS, collection DK; HDA, available in microform collections at USHMMA (Ustaša Supervisory Office, RG-61.011M). Additional documentation on Jews in Kruščica can be found in JIM-bg. ITS holds some documentation on Kruščica in collection 1.2.7.23

(Verfolgungsmassnahmen Ser-bien), available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA holds nine testimonies by survivors of Kruščica.

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NOTES

1. FJCY to CICR, Service international de recherches, December 26, 1966, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 5, Doc. Nos. 82204818–82204819.
2. Židovskoj begoštovnoj opčini aškenaskog obreda Sara-jevo, November 8, 1941, JIM-bg, fond ŽOZ, bez. Reg., br.1.sign., reproduced in Goldstein, *Holocaust u Zagrebu*, p. 345.
3. As quoted in Federation of Jewish Communities, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia*, p. 74.
4. VaB, K-239, reg. broj. 143, 56, 2/1, 1941, as cited in Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije*, pp. 130–131.

LEPOGLAVA

Located just over 25 kilometers (16 miles) southwest of the county seat Varaždin and 44 kilometers (27 miles) north of Zagreb, Lepoglava was the site of a mid-nineteenth-century prison that held political opponents before World War II. The prison's prewar population consisted of communists and Ustaša supporters. After the founding of the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH), at which time the Ustaša members were released, the prison incarcerated political persecutees, principally Serbs, regime opponents, and Jews; some of these prisoners were murdered there. However, there were no mass murders in Lepoglava. From April 1941 until its closure in March 1945, the Ustaša guarded the camp. According to a Yugoslav report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), Lepoglava's commandants were Ljubo Miloš, Miro Natijević, and Nikola Gadjić.[1]

Between April 11 and July 15, 1941, 71 new inmates were added to those already imprisoned, including 40 sent there from the Kerestinec camp. Among the first inmates were Jews who were members of the Yugoslav Communist Party. During this period 16 prisoners—7 Jews and 9 communists—were removed from the prison. On July 18, 1941, some of the communist prisoners were transferred to the Gospić camp, from which they were subsequently sent to Pag Island where they were murdered. The size of the prisoner population fluctuated because of murders, transfers from and to other camps, additional arrests, and releases. Occasionally, individuals were released; for example, the canon from Zagreb, Pavao Lončar, was released toward the end of 1943. In October 1944, prisoners from the Stara Gradiška camp arrived at Lepoglava.

The prisoners performed agricultural work in the local area and produced military supplies.

On the night of July 13, 1943, the Partisans liberated at least 80

inmates during an attack that destroyed the old prison. After this incident, the communist supporters of the Yugoslav National Liberation Movement (*Narodnooslohodilacky pokret*, NOP) were transferred out of Lepoglava. According to the Yugoslav report to ITS, another policy change that followed this raid was the site's formal reclassification as a concentration camp. The Ustaša deployed forced labor from Jasenovac to reconstruct the old prison.[2] According to camp-issued postcards for prisoner use, Lepoglava was designated a labor (*radnog*) camp.[3]

Approximately 1,000 prisoners in Lepoglava were murdered, but most hom i cides did not take place in or near the camp. Some communist prisoners were shot as early as April 1941. Additional murders followed Germany's attack on the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941. For example, Budislav Borjan was brought from the Lepoglava camp to Zagreb, condemned to death by a court on July 8, 1941, and executed the same day. Other prisoners were murdered on July 14 near Varaždin. As late as March 1945, the Ustaša murdered Jewish prisoners, including Dr. Ljudevit Friedländer and Nada Friedländer, after they were transported to Jasenovac.

Corpses in the central courtyard of the Lepoglava prison. USHMM WS #85189, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

Among the communist prisoners, there existed an underground organization that facilitated escape attempts and the provision of

care for sick prisoners. The underground, which already existed under the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, helped Serb, Jewish, and Roma prisoners during the NDH period. Such assistance included the forwarding of small packages and money to prisoners. Additionally, the Jewish community in Zagreb sent clothing, medicine, and food to Jewish prisoners in Lepoglava. Parcels sometimes reached individual inmates, as prisoner Dr. Arnold Sternberg acknowledged in a postcard.[4]

The population of Lepoglava village generally knew about the prison and its conditions. According to historian Jaša Romano, that is why the murder of the prisoners at the time of the camp's liquidation was carried out not at Lepoglava, but at Jasenovac.

At the beginning of 1945, the NDH decided to dissolve the Lepoglava camp. The last transfer to Jasenovac, which included most of the prisoners, took place toward the end of March 1945.

SOURCES There is some information on the Lepoglava camp in three publications concerning the persecution of Jews in Yugoslavia during the Holocaust: Jaša Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije, 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Globus, 1990); and Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2001).

Primary sources on the Lepoglava camp can be found in AS, collection DK. HDA holds a corresponding report for Croatia in its ZKRZ collection. Additional documentation can be found in JIM-Bg. A postwar synopsis of the Lepoglava camp, submitted by ISI, can be found in ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), folder 76, Doc. No. 82205523-82205535 (in French with German translation). This report is available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMA holds the Alralej-Steruberg postcard collection (Acc. No. 2002.255.1), which consists of postcards sent by prisoner Dr. Arnold Sternberg from the Stara Gradiška and Lepoglava camps to Dr. Mosa Alralej. USHMMPA holds three photographs from Lepoglava, including one of the exhumation of murder victims at the camp (WS #85189). VHA has one testimony by a Lepoglava survivor: Simo Klaic (#48848). Zlatko Munkor published a brief

memoir of the camp in *Otpor u žicama: Sećanja zatočenika* 2 (1969): 221–25. Former inmate Vlado Mađarić also published a testimony about his time in this camp, "Sjećanje na ustaški logor u Lepoglava 1941: godine," in Ljubo Boban et al., *Sjeverozapadna Hrvastka u NOB-u i socijalističkoj revoluciji: Zbornik* (Varaždin: Zajednica općina memorijalnog područja Kalnik, 1976), pp. 856–868.

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NOTES

1. "Strafanstalt und Lager Lepoglava," May 17, 1976, ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), folder 76, Doc. No. 82205524.

2. Ibid., Doc. No. 82205526.

3. USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.255.1, Alralej-Sternberg postcard collection, postcard January 5, 1945.

4. Ibid., postcard February 12, 1945.

LOBORGRAD

The Loborgrad concentration camp, in which Serbian and Jewish women and children were imprisoned in 1941 and 1942, was operated by the ethnic German (*Volksdeutsch*) militia. In the summer of 1942, the majority of the prisoners were deported to Auschwitz.

During the summer of 1941, the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška Nadzorna Služba*, UNS) decided to convert Lobor Castle, surrounded by hills and located about 38 kilometers (24 miles) north of Zagreb, into a concentration camp. In September 1941, UNS Bureau III ordered the evacuation of the 300-year-old building and the home for the elderly located there. The Zagreb Jewish community had to finance the conversion at a cost of 1.3 million Kuna (approximately $16,250 in 1941 U.S. dollars). Volksdeutsche members of the mobile staff (*Einsatzstaffel*) of the German Ethnic Group in the Independent State of Croatia (*Deutschen Volksgruppe im Unabhängigen Staat Kroatien*) administered the camp.

In an effort to physically exhaust and further persecute the prisoners, the guards forced the inmates to perform different types of hard labor. They were also forced to do agricultural work in the surrounding area.

On October 6, 1941, a total of 1,370 women and children arrived at the camp. Among them were 1,000 Jewish women from the Kruščica assembly camp. In November Serbian women with children and very old Jewish women were transported to the newly built Loborgrad subcamp at Gornja Rijeka. Despite these transfers, the number of prisoners rose to about 1,700 in December. In 1942, the number of prisoners decreased to about 1,300 in March and 1,057 by June. The decline in size of the camp population had several causes: a typhoid epidemic, prisoner transports to the Jasenovac camp, and the release of some prisoners. Of the 250 children held overall at Loborgrad, only 15 remained in the camp

on February 16, 1942. In August 1942 the remaining children were deported to Auschwitz and murdered.

Children sit on benches outside a barracks in the Gornja Rijeka subcamp of Loborgrad, 1942. USHMM WS #46565, COURTESY OF MEMORIJALNI MUZEJ JASENOVAC.

In addition, women from the part of Croatia annexed by the Italians were released, and in February 1942, some sick prisoners, including Anica Ehrenfreund-Polić, were transported to hospitals in Zagreb. Toward the end of March 1942, 142 Serbian women were sent to Serbia from the camp. In May 1942, the younger Serbian prisoners from the Gornja Rijeka sub-camp were sent to Germany for forced labor, while 73 Jewish women were returned to Loborgrad.

In August 1942, most of the Loborgrad prisoners were deported to Auschwitz in four transports. A small group of Croatian females was sent to the Stara Gradiška camp, while another group of women remained in the camp at Loborgrad to perform exhausting work. In September and October 1942, some Jewish women who had been arrested in Croatia arrived in the camp.

Of the approximately 2,000 women and children who were imprisoned at one time in the camp, probably 200 died. Most died from typhoid, and others from illness caused by the depleted food supplies, mistreatment by guards, and the indescribably

unhygienic conditions, due principally to the extreme overcrowding in the barracks, which were completely lacking in sanitation facilities.

The camp commandant was the ethnic German Karlo or Karl Heger, of the Einsatzstaffel, who was born in 1906 in Osijek. His brother, Willibald Heger, was the deputy administrator. They came from a Catholic family. The Heger brothers treated the imprisoned women and girls with special cruelty. They beat, abused, and insulted them, calling them, among other things, "stinking crooks" (*čifutko* from *čifuti*: serpent or crook, a demeaning word for Jews in Bosnia and Albania). Karl is alleged to have clubbed a child to death with a rifle butt because the child had jostled him.

Other prisoners were beaten to death by the guards. Up to 20 Volksdeutsche from the Einsatzstaffel served as the guards, many of whom were assigned temporarily to Loborgrad. One of the guards named Zuber came from Lobor.

The Zagreb Jewish community sent numerous deliveries of foodstuffs, medicine, clothing, and other items to the camp. Very few supplies actually reached the prisoners, because camp personnel diverted them for other purposes, taking them for themselves or selling them to earn money. The Jewish physician Dr. Milica Band-Kun (1913–1943), a prisoner in the camp, cared for the other inmates as much as possible. Additionally the Zagreb Jewish community was successful in obtaining the release of numerous children from the camp. The children had to leave behind their parents, who after deportation in 1942 were murdered at Auschwitz.

The camp's existence was well known in the environs of Lobor as well as in Zagreb. In addition, the prisoners were able to send postcards to relatives. The Jewish community in Zagreb was informed about conditions inside the camp because it was in charge of the supplies and also was able to send representatives, such as Oskar Kisicky, to visit the camp. Local companies also sold goods to the camp administration.

The camp was dissolved toward the end of October 1942. In the summer of 1943, it was used once again briefly to accommodate 80 Jews from the home for the elderly in Zagreb.

Beginning on April 6, 1960, the Central Office for State Justice Administrations for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes (*Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen*, ZdL) in Ludwigsburg began initial investigations into the murders or the aiding and abetting of murders committed in Loborgrad. The Traunstein District Court (*Landgericht*, LG) in Bavaria was in charge of the proceedings. Former guard Michael Gollick was located and investigated. Gollick was born in 1906 in Veliki Bečkerek, the son of a shoemaker. A tailor, he came to Lobor-grad as part of the Einsatzstaffel. In December 1961, the case against Gollick was closed without conclusion.[1]

SOURCES The earliest publication on the Loborgrad concentration camp is Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade, 1957). Numerous authors discussed this camp in their studies about the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia: Jaša Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Prilog proučavanjo terora u NDH: Ženski sabirni logori 1941–1942," *Popr* 4 (1985): 1–38, Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Globus 1990); and Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2001). German studies on Loborgrad are Carl Bethke, "Das Frauen-und Kinderkonzentrationslager Loborgrad in Kroatien (1941-1942)," *JGKS* 9/10 (2007–2008): 127–140 and, briefly, Marija Vulesica, "Kroatien," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*: *Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9:331–336. In English, there is Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism*, trans. Nikolina Jovanović (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997).

Primary sources on the Loborgrad concentration camp can be

found in HDA, which holds a report dating from 1945–1946 about the camp in collection ZkuzonpH, fond 306. In the same archive are additional supporting documents on this camp and other Croatian detention sites. Some UNS documentation on Loborgrad from HDA is available in microform at USHMMA in collections RG-61.007M and 61.011M. USHMMA holds the bill of indictment, also from HDA, requesting the extra-dition of Ante Pavelić and Andrija Artuković, RG-61.017M, which includes some Loborgrad materials. USHMMPA has five photographs related to Loborgrad that show Jewish children in the camp (WS #68289, 88253–88256). In addition, there are documents on Loborgrad in AS, collection DK. Beyond that, there are documents on Jews in Ustaša camps in JIM-bg. At YVA, there is documentation on Loborgrad in collection M70 (Archives in Yugoslavia). BA-L holds a file that gives a view of the West German investigations in 1960–1961 of crimes committed at Loborgrad. USHMMA holds an oral history interview with Loborgrad survivor Vera Levy (RG-50.120*0089, March 20, 1993). VHA has ten testimonies by Loborgrad survivors.

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Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTE

1. On the investigation, BA-L, Akte B 162/1670.

SISAK I AND II

The German and Croatian authorities operated two camps at Sisak, near the confluence of the Kupa and Sava Rivers. Sisak is located more than 48 kilometers (30 miles) southeast of Zagreb and almost 330 kilometers (205 miles) northwest of Belgrade. The first camp, Sisak I, served as a transit camp for thousands of captured Serbs, Bosniaks, and Roma, who performed forced labor for the Reich. The second camp, Sisak II, was reserved for those taken in German-Croatian "cleansing" operations who were deemed unfit for forced labor. It became a site of catastrophic conditions for Serbian women and children. According to a report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS) by the Republic of Yugoslavia in 1976, the camps had two official, but deceptive names: the "transit camp for refugees" and the "reception center for children and refugees."[1]

Established on August 3, 1941, the camps originally had a joint administration: the German Commissioner in Croatia (*Deutscher Bevollmächtigter General in Kroatien*) and the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH).[2] Ustaša members served as the camps' administrators and guards. The Ustaša commandant was Dr. Antun Nadžer, and the Ustaša guard commander was named Faget. Female Ustaša guards oversaw women and children not deported for forced labor. On behalf of the German Commissioner, the Nazi Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) sent a representative to Sisak, and field gendarmes (*Feldgendarmen*) furnished security outside the camps and along the railway.[3]

Sisak I, the transit camp, consisted of a portion of the defunct Teslić factory, which was surrounded by barbed wire. The site was expanded in 1942 with the addition of seven more barracks. In 1943, it had a capacity of 5,000 prisoners.[4] The German authorities dispatched able-bodied captives from there to the Semlin detention camp (*Anhaltelager Semlin*), located on the Belgrade

Fairgrounds at the border of German-occupied Serbia.[5] According to a sampling of Central Name Index (CNI) cards at ITS, the Sisak prisoners met various fates in Nazi camps: the camps mentioned include Augsburg, Auschwitz, Dachau, Mauthausen, and Salzgitter (Lager Kalbert).[6] Some of the prisoners were sent to German-run camps in Norway. The German authorities ceded control over Sisak I to the NDH in April 1944. The adult camp closed in January 1945, with the remaining inmates dispatched to the Jasenovac camp.

The Ustaša scattered the Serbian children of Sisak II among several sites in the area: the Sisters of Saint Vincent Convent, the former Yugoslav Sokol, the Reis Saltworks, and a primary school in the neighborhood of Novi Sisak.[7] The children were orphans or had parents in forced labor in the Reich; the youngest, three and under, were held in the convent, whereas the four-and five-year-olds were confined to the saltworks. The first 1,200 children arrived from the Mlaka subcamp on July 29, 1942, with successive transfers in August from Jasenovac V (Stara Gradiška) and Jastrebarsko. Of the 7,000 children who passed through Sisak, between 1,200 and 1,600 perished due to a combination of starvation, thirst, typhus, and neglect. A medical doctor in civilian life, Nadžer administered lethal injections to some Serbian Orthodox children. According to a report by NDH official Ante Dumbović, the nuns who cared for the children did not even know their names. He attempted to rectify this situation by issuing metal plates to be worn around the children's necks as a form of identification.[8]

Sisak's horrific conditions shocked some Croatians, including Dumbović and the Croatian Red Cross (*Hrvatski Crveni Križ*, HCK). In 755 photographs taken during an inspection, Dumbović documented the dead and dying, many nearly skeletal, living in makeshift facilities.[9] Some lay naked on top of blankets, bedrolls, or straw beds on the floor. Corpses lay unattended among the living. At the time of his inspection, Dumbović found that 956 children were dead, of whom only 201 could be identified.[10] Three women affiliated with HCK—Jana Koch, Vera Luketić, and Luketić's mother, Dragica Habazin—visited the facilities in September 1942. During their interview with him, Nadžer dismissed allegations of suffering, apart from some "sick"

internees at the primary school.[11]

In some cases, the children were released to their parents or close relatives. Many others ended up in foster care. Either because of the NDH policy of forced conversion or out of expedience, many were baptized into the Roman Catholic Church. One was Zdravka Zorić, then a ten-year-old girl who had already passed through the Mlaka, Jasenovac, and Jastrebarsko camps. During her time at Sisak, she saw at least three children die per day. Sent by truck with her brother to Sunja, Croatia, she was taken in by a Croatian woman whose neighbor likewise adopted her brother.[12]

Young children resting on the floor in a barracks at the Sisak concentration camp for children, ca. 1942–1943. USHMM WS #01146, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

The children's camp at Sisak closed on January 8, 1943, with the remaining inmates sent to Zagreb.[13]

SOURCES A brief description of the Sisak camps can be found in Birgit Mair, "They Survived Two Wars: Bosnian Roma as Civil War Refugees in Germany," in Alexander von Plato, Almut Leh, and Christoph Thonfeld, eds., *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe* (New York: Berghahn, 2010): 177–187. A media report on this camp is Paul

Watson, "The Heirs to Kindness in Croatia," *LAT*, July 24, 2000, reproduced at www.balkanpeace.org/index.php?index=article&articleid=13814.

Primary sources documenting the camps at Sisak can be found in AJ, available in microform at USHMMA as RG-49.003*01, Records relating to crimes against Serbs, Jews, and other Yugoslav peoples during World War II; and ITS, collections 0.1 (CNI) and 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. USHMMA holds 11 oral history interviews with Sisak survivors and witnesses, including one by Zdravka Zorić (RG-50.585*0023, September 28, 2007). USHMMPA holds 49 photographs, many of which appear to originate from the Dumbović album. Published primary sources documenting the Sisak camps can be found in Antun Miletić, ed., *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941–1945: Dokumenta*, 2 vols. (Belgrade: Narodna knj., 1986).

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NOTES

1. Pero Damjanović, ISI, "Le Camp de Sisak," ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 7, Doc. No. 82205313.
2. Hauptmann Wallner, DBK, "Aktenvermerk über eine Besprechung im der Angelegenheit der zu gewärtigenden Gefangenen am 16. Januar 1943," ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 7, Doc. No. 82205311.
3. "Aktenvermerk über eine Besprechung im der Angelegenheit der zu gewärtigenden Gefangenen am 16. Januar 1943," Doc. No. 82205311.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Milk B. (DOB September 15, 1927), Doc. No. 51958104; Dusan B. (DOB April 8, 1922), Doc. No. 52640267; Dusan B. (DOB September 27, 1925), Doc. No. 50932513.

7. Damjanović, “Le Camp de Sisak,” Doc. No. 82205314.

8. Dumbović, “Iszještaj o razmještaju djece I brojnom staniu u privatilištu ua dan 25. Rujna 1942,” September 25, 1942, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 7, Doc. No. 82205230; for the identification numbers, Contact sheet in ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 7, Doc. No. 82205319; and “Contact sheet of numbered portraits of infants at the Sisak concentration camp for children,” USHMMPA, WS #88259 (Courtesy of SANU).

9. See, for example: “A group of emaciated children lie on the ground at the Sisak concentration camp,” 1942, USHMMPA, WS #81364 (Courtesy of NARA); Dumbović report summarized in Damjanović, “Le Camp de Sisak,” Doc. No. 82205315.

10. Dumbović, “Iszještaj o razmještaju djece I brojnom staniu u privatilištu ua dan 25. Rujna 1942,” Doc. No. 82205230.

11. Damjanović, “Le Camp de Sisak,” Doc. No. 82205316.

12. USHMMA, RG-50.585*0023, Zdravka Zorić, oral history interview, September 28, 2007.

13. Damjanović, “Le Camp de Sisak,” Doc. No. 82205316.

SLAVONSKA POŽEGA

In July 1941, the Ustaša opened a transit camp for Serbs and Slovenes at Slavonska Požega (today: Požega), located 143 kilometers (89 miles) southeast of Zagreb and nearly 227 kilometers (141 miles) northwest of Belgrade. The establishment of this camp followed a massive population transfer agreement between the German authorities and the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH), signed on June 4, 1941. NDH agreed to admit Slovene expellees from German-occupied territory in Slovenia, while at the same time expelling Serbian inhabitants from NDH territory to German-occupied Serbia. Consequently, Slavonska Požega was substantial in size: a report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS) in the 1970s conservatively estimated that nearly 9,500 detainees passed through it.[1] The fragmentary Ustaša documentation on which this estimate was based, given the murder of prisoners inside and en route to the camp and the passing through of unregistered Serbian expellees, belies that estimate.

The camp consisted of military structures built by the Royal Yugoslav Army, including barracks, a former arms depot, and a military vehicle park surrounded by a wall and barbed-wire fence. The accommodations were inadequate to handle the throngs of expellees, creating disastrous overcrowding.

The commandant, Satnik Ivan Stiper, and his adjutant, Nadporučnik Emil Klajič, oversaw a guard force that consisted of the 14th Ustaša Company. The company's strength varied between 130 and 223. A few Slovene prisoners worked in the camp administration.

The conditions in this camp were grim. Medical treatment was nonexistent, food inadequate, and illness rampant. Although Slavonska Požega was ostensibly a transit camp, the Ustaša guards took the opportunity to torture and, in many instances, kill prisoners. They committed many homicides, including the mass shooting of 785 prisoners from Derventa and Bosanski Brod (both

located today in Bosnia-Herzegovina) on August 26, 1941. One former prisoner recalled his family being sent to Slavonska Požega after refusing to convert from Serbian Orthodoxy to Catholicism. They were eventually deported to Serbia.[2] A Slovenian child prisoner passed through Slavonska Požega with his family, but was subsequently confined to the Ustaša camp at Tenje, nearly 87 kilometers (54 miles) northeast of Slavonska Požega.[3]

The Slavonska Požega camp closed on October 22, 1941. The Ustaša administration continued to process loot taken from the expellees until mid-November 1941.

SOURCES A secondary source describing the Slavonska Požega camp is Miodrag Bjelić, *Sabirni ustaški logor u Slavonskoj Požegi 1941. godine* (Belgrade: Muzej žrtava genocida, 2008).

Primary sources documenting the Slavonska Požega camp can be found in VaB and ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien). USHMMA holds a number of testimonies by former Serbian and Slovenian prisoners of Slavonska Požega, including RG-50.586*0129, oral history interview with Mirko Sekulić, August 14, 2010; RG-50.592*0015, oral history interview with Leon Bratina, February 26, 2009; and RG-50.586*0046, oral history interview with Tomo Lučić, July 7, 2007.

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NOTES

1. ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 7, Pero Damjanović (ISI), "Le camp de rassamblement de Slavonska Požega," April 29, 1976, Doc. No. 82205300.
2. USHMMA, RG-50.586*0046, Tomo Lučić, oral history interview, July 7, 2007.
3. USHMMA, RG-50.592*0015, Leon Bratina, oral history interview, February 26, 2009.

TENJE

In April 1942, on the orders of the local administrator, Stjepan Hefer, the Ustaša erected a camp in Tenje (or Tenja), a small village located approximately 7 kilometers (more than 4 miles) southeast of Osijek and 218 kilometers (136 miles) east of Zagreb. The camp was built on the site of the Mursa Mill factory, which formerly belonged to Žiga Mautner and Žiga Wolner (or Volner). Tenje served exclusively to hold Jews from Osijek and its environs. It was often called the Jewish settlement in Tenje (*židovsko naselje u Tenji*) and was occasionally described as a "ghetto."[1]

The chief of the Ustaša police in Vinkovci, Ivan Tolj, appointed Ustaša Poručnik Franjo Apel as the commandant of the Tenje camp. From mid-June 1942 until its dissolution more than two months later, a Ustaša unit from Osijek guarded the camp under the command of Poručnik Mirko Appelt. Dorojnik Ljudevit Čapić served as Appelt's deputy.

The first Jews were sent to the camp in May 1942. Approximately 200 men and women, members of a Jewish work brigade, erected the camp's first buildings, including the kitchen and an office for their overseers. By mid-June, the majority of Jews from Osijek and other communities in Slavonia (Croatian: Slavonija) were brought to the camp, which by then was surrounded by barbed wire. The prisoners performed various kinds of labor, which initially had to do with construction of the camp. At first, Jews regarded as important to the Osijek economy were exempt from imprisonment at Tenje, but were forced to live in Osijek in a factory building in prison-like conditions.

By June 1942, 2,000 Jews had been dispatched to Tenje. At the beginning of July an additional 1,000 were brought to the camp from various cities in Slavonia, including at least 118 from Vitrovitica and 81 from Donji Milhoja. The camp's population reached at least 3,000.

The prisoners elected Žiga Wolner—the owner of the factory on which the camp was built and a former member of the council of the Osijek Jewish community—as camp leader. The chief of the labor brigade was a veterinarian, Lew Kister. The architect Hinko Bauer headed the "internal police" in Tenje.[2] In addition, there was a kind of welfare organization in which Milan Feliks from Donji Miholjac, Bela Strauss from Podravska Slatina, and Maks Kohn from Đakovo were active. After arriving in the Tenje camp on July 19, Dragutin Glasner from Đakovo also assisted in the aid organization. These prisoners occupied an elevated position in the camp.

For as long as possible, the Jewish community in Osijek supported the prisoners in Tenje. Yet, despite this aid, the living conditions continued to be appalling, given the large number of prisoners and the guards' brutality. The population of Osijek and the surrounding area knew about the Tenje camp's existence.

On July 27, 1942, Slavko Klain (or Klein) and Julio Sternberg, from the executive committee of the Osijek Jewish community, were notified that Tenje was to be dissolved and the prisoners deported to Nazi Germany as forced labor. The first of two transports from Tenje to Auschwitz took place on August 15, 1942. The transport included 1,000 prisoners, of whom 600 were children. According to historians Jaša Romano and Zlata Živaković-Kerže, the labor service commandant of Jasenovac III (Ciglana), Ljubo Miloš, arrived at Tenje in August 1942 and requested specialists. Miloš promised that they and their relatives would not be deported. A few hundred applied and were sent to the Jasenovac camp on August 18, where they were murdered shortly afterward. On August 22, 1942, the second transport from Tenje was dispatched to Auschwitz; it included some Jews from the Loborgrad camp. The Ustaša closed the camp at the end of August 1942.

As far as is known, Jews were not murdered in Tenje. Instead, it served as a transit camp for the transport of prisoners to Auschwitz and Jasenovac. However, very few of the prisoners survived the killing centers. One of the few who did so was Dragutin Glasner, who wrote a detailed testimony after being liberated from Dachau.[3]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Tenje camp are Zlata Živaković-Kerže, "Od židovskog naselja u Tenji do sabirnog lagora," *ScSl* 6 (2006): 497–514; Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade: N.P., 1957); Jaša Romano: *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Ucešnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Narcisa LengelKrizman, "Prilog proučavanju terora u tzv. NDH: ženski sabirni logori 1941-1942. godine," *Popr* 4 (1985): 1–38; and Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (1966; Zagreb: Globus, 1990). The Tenje camp is briefly mentioned in Marija Vulesica, "Kroatien," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*: *Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9:331–336. An older report on Tenje is Ravijojla Odavić, "Sabirni logor Tenje," Martin Kominski, ed., *Slavonija u narodnooslobodilačkoj borb* (Slavonski Brod: Historijski institut Slavonije, 1967), pp. 209–211.

Primary sources documenting the Tenje camp can be found in AS, collection DK; HDA, collection ZKRZ; JIM-bg; and AŽOO, which contains a report by survivor Dragutin Glasner, "O logoru Tenje i o logoru u Đakovu" (1945). ITS has a brief report on the Tenje camp in 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. FJCY to ITS, "Tenje bei Osijek, März 1942–Sept. 1942," March 13, 1946, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 5, Doc. No. 82204863.

2. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Hinko Bauer (DOB 1908), Doc. No. 1420017.

3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Dragutin Glassner [sic Glasner], (DOB September 24, 1905), Doc. No. 22363955.

Soviet men, women, and children leave a concentration camp in Petrozavodsk (Äänislinna), circa 1944. USHMM WS #79141, COURTESY OF THE RUSSIAN STATE DOCUMENTARY FILM & PHOTO ARCHIVE.

FINLAND

During World War II, Finland fought against the Soviet Union, first alone in the Russo-Finnish War of 1939–1940 (the Winter War) and then as a German ally between 1941 and 1944 (the Continuation War). From 1944 to 1945, Finland fought against the German forces deployed in Northern Finland (the Lapland War), pursuing the retreating German troops into Norway.

Finland was long part of the Swedish Empire, but Russia incorporated it as a Grand Duchy after the Russo-Swedish War of 1808–1809. With the collapse of the tsarist regime, Finland declared independence in December 1917. A civil war took place in 1918 between the radical wing of the Finnish Social Democratic Party (*Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue*, SDP), called the

Reds, supported by Soviet Russia, and the bourgeois establishment, the Whites, aided by the army of Imperial Germany. The war ended in a victory for the Whites, and Finland became a parliamentary republic, with emphasis on the rule of law. Nevertheless, throughout the interwar period Finland remained an embattled democracy riven with unresolved conflicts. The Finnish radical nationalists considered the national awakening incomplete without both a definitive crushing of the Far Left and the creation of a Greater Finland to incorporate all the Finnic nationalities into a single state. The Far Left, in contrast, was able to tap into powerful feelings of resentment that the experience of the civil war and Soviet backing helped create. Both of these extremist positions enjoyed considerable support and at times destabilized moderate mainstream politics. Finland also suffered from its exposed position as a neighbor to the Soviet Union, with which it shared a 1,300-kilometer-long (nearly 808 miles) border. Throughout the interwar period Finland and the Soviet Union viewed each other with much suspicion and hostility.

The most difficult domestic political problem facing inter-war Finland was the incomplete process of reconciliation with the losing side in the civil war. The Finnish Communist Party (*Suomen Kommunistinen Puolue*) was founded in Moscow in 1918, and with support from the Soviet Union and organizations of immigrant Finnish workers in the United States, it participated in Finnish politics throughout the 1920s under several different cover organizations. The republic fought back with increased police control, charges of treason, and legislation designed to curtail the personal liberties of those suspected of subversive activities. On the basis of such legislation, the communists were forced out of the political arena, as the government banned almost all kinds of leftist-oriented organizations in 1930. With the escalation of the European crisis into war in 1939, such legislation also enabled the government to take several hundred people into "preventive detention" because it considered them security risks for one reason or another, usually for suspected communist activities or sympathies. The government even went so far as to try to force leftist detainees to fight Soviet forces in the autumn of 1941 (see the entry on Detached Battalion 21).

ENTRY INTO THE GERMAN ALLIANCE

By the 1920s Finnish secret cooperation with the Estonian General Staff had made it possible for the heavy Finnish and Estonian coastal batteries to close the Gulf of Finland from north and south from the passage of Soviet war ships. From 1935 on, both the Finnish and Estonian general staffs implemented secret intelligence cooperation with the German OKW/Abwehr. In August 1939, however, the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact (Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact) awarded Finland to the Soviets. When the Finns refused Stalin's demands for concessions, the USSR invaded in late November. In the ensuing Russo-Finnish War, Finland was able to check the Soviet assault at first, but was eventually forced to sue for peace. The resulting Moscow Peace Treaty of March 12, 1940, stripped Finland of large tracts of its eastern territories and gave the Soviet Union the right to build a naval base in the town of Hanko on the southern coast. An uneasy peace followed, with the Finns embittered and suspicious of Soviet motives and intentions. Finland therefore reacted quickly and favorably to Nazi Germany's overtures for closer relations in the spring of 1940.

Gradually, Finland was drawn into the plans for Operation Barbarossa, becoming in due course "the only democracy to fight for Hitler," as the German propaganda rhetoric stated. In September 1940, Finland granted Germany the right to use Finnish territory for troop transports between the Reich and German-occupied northern Norway. Next, the Germans sounded out Finnish military and political leadership for their willingness to participate in military action against the Soviet Union. By June 1941, when Operation Barbarossa began, the Finnish leadership was fully committed to fighting the Soviets and mobilized the Finnish armed forces. Starting in July 1941, the Finnish Army enthusiastically joined the German offensive against the Soviet Union. To achieve a more efficient allocation of forces, the two allies divided the Finnish-Soviet border into two operational sectors—Finnish and German—with the Finnish Army operating across the southern half of the border and German troops under the Army Command Norway (*Armeeoberkommando Norwegen*) manning the northern half. Even though the northern half was under German operational control and a minor part of the Finnish

forces were subordinated to German command, the Finnish civilian administration also continued to function in this area.

The new conflict was quickly named the Continuation War, implying that it was nothing more than a resumption of the hostilities started by the Soviet Union in 1939 and that it was being fought for the same purposes: to reclaim Finland's lost territories and to make it safe against further Soviet aggression. By the end of 1941, the Finnish troops had reclaimed the areas lost in the Winter War and, supplied with German fuel and equipment, pushed deep into Soviet Karelia. The front-line became established on the outskirts of Leningrad, running from there along the Svir (Syväri) River between Lakes Ladoga (Laatokka) and Onega (Ääninen), and toward the north between the northernmost tip of Onega and Lake Seesjärvi. North from there, the Germans took over the front all the way up to the shores of the Arctic Ocean.

FINNISH CAMPS FOR SOVIET CIVILIAN INTERNEES

Between 1941 and 1944, Finland became an occupying power and had to deal with substantial numbers of enemy civilians. With the advance of Finnish troops into Soviet Karelia in the fall of 1941, about 85,000 Soviet civilians remaining in the area came under the authority of the Finnish occupation administration. Prewar planning had already envisaged the separation of these civilians according to ethnicity. In late 1941, as ideas about the area's permanent annexation came to seem realistic, the Finnish leadership contemplated a postwar deportation of the "non-national" population from the area. The Finnic nationalities (Karelians and Vepsians) were considered both more trustworthy and more suitable postwar inhabitants for the area, and so were allowed to remain in freedom. Those deemed unreliable and unwanted (Russians and other non-Finnic Soviet nationalities), numbering about 26,000, were placed in thirteen concentration camps (*keskitysleiri*) in an effort to pacify the area and reduce security risks. Six concentration camps for Soviet civilians were located in Äänislinna (Petrozavodsk), and additional concentration camps were located at Alavoinen (Il'inskiy), Kinnasvaara, Kolvasjärvi (Kolvasozero), Miehikkälä, and Pyhäniemi.

Äänislinna and Vilga housed labor camps for detained Soviet citizens; Kinnasvaara also had a prison that held Soviet detainees. The concentration camps for civilians continued to operate until the end of the Finnish occupation.

In Äänislinna, the inmates were housed in relatively good buildings, which eventually were surrounded with barbed wire fences. The rations in the camps were meager although they were sufficient to keep the inmates alive. However, the clothing and health care were substandard. A total of 4,279 (18.1 percent) of the inmates perished in the camps in the occupied territory in Karelia between 1941 and 1944, primarily due to disease. The death rate soared in July 1942, probably as a result of infected drinking water in a couple of the camp wells. The total number of inmates shot dead was 18. In response to particularly negative attention in Switzerland and Sweden and among the Western Allies, the occupation administration changed the name of the camps to transit camps (*siirtoleiri*) in 1943. However, this was merely a gesture and had no substantial meaning.

In the Miehikkälä camp, the conditions were better. Only 138 (0.6 percent) of the internees perished.

Some Finnish authorities initially developed ideas to deport the Russian population in the occupied territory to areas further east after the expected collapse of the Soviet Army and government. However, at no point was there any authoritative and coherent transfer plan, but merely suggestions. According to these whims the cleansed areas in Karelia would then be populated by Finland's Ingrian protégés from the area south of Leningrad, which was occupied by German forces. Due to diverging views among the Front Commanders, supply difficulties, a lack of transportation capacity, and Soviet perseverance, these plans were never carried out. The accumulating German military setbacks also increasingly made the Finnish General Headquarters careful about and more susceptible to Allied signals. Thus the original transfer intentions were quietly shelved.

As Soviet forces advanced in the summer of 1944, Finnish units withdrew entirely from the occupied territory in Karelia. They left the internees with some food in the abandoned camps. In Soviet and Russian literature the Finnish occupation administration in

Soviet Karelia between 1941 and 1944 has regularly been described in a quite hostile manner. However, although the basic needs of the internees were largely neglected and the camp administrations often adopted an indifferent and harsh attitude to the detainees, they did also provide scarce supplies and an opportunity to stay alive in a war-torn area. The Finnish authorities also eventually made at least some efforts to improve the living conditions in the occupied territory, although no noteworthy improvements were made in the camps. Soviet citizens in the region were categorized into two main groups. The "national" groups with a Finnic background, including those loyal to Finland, benefited to some degree from Finnish support. Meanwhile, a considerable portion of the local population continued to hold Soviet views, although they lived in miserable conditions and among growing Finnish suspicion. Still, there is no commonly accepted consensus on the occupation 65 years after its end.

FINNISH CAMPS FOR PRISONERS OF WAR

The Finnish administration of POWs had been established during the Winter War, and the lessons learned then served as the model for prisoners' treatment during the Continuation War. However, almost immediately the system to house and feed the prisoners proved obsolete and underresourced. During the Winter War only a modest number of prisoners—not exceeding 6,000—fell into Finnish hands, and prisoner mortality stayed at a low level, roughly 2.3 percent. In the new conflict Finnish troops took the offensive and so captured prisoners in much greater numbers. The camp system, planned to house some 25,000 prisoners, was flooded with well over 50,000 by late 1941. The Finns placed some POWs into POW companies and other field units, while others went into twenty-nine camps and seven military hospitals between 1941 and 1944.

Most of the POW camps, numbered 1 to 24, 31 to 34, and 51, were located inside Finland's 1940 borders. Some of the camps were transferred from one site to another, and others were merged. A multiple place name for a camp indicates its movement. Where applicable, the Russian name is given in parentheses: 1: Köyliö; 2: Karvia; 3: Huittinen, Ruokolahti, and Laihia; 4: Säräisniemi; 5: Orimattila, Soutjärvi (Shyoltozero), Jessoila (Essoila), Äänislinna

(Petrozavodsk), and Kitee; 6: Tuusula and Viipuri; 7: Karkkila, Lohja, Mustio, and Hanko; 8: Kolosjoki, Jäniskoski, Ivalo, Köyliö, and Säkylä; 9: Ajosaari and Hanko; 10: Värtsilä; 11: Valkeakoski; 12: Kurkijoki; 13: Kirvu; 14: Isokyrö, Sortavala, Helylä, and Riitasensuo; 15: Peräseinäjoki and Suomussalmi; 16: Impilahti, Matkaselkä, and Ilmajoki; 17: Rautalampi, Koveri, and Aunus (Olonets); 18: Kälviä; 19: Kiuruvesi and Oulu; 20: Paavola and Räisälä; 21: Liminka, Aholahti, and Riitasensuo; 22: Pori; 23: Orivesi; 24: Riitasensuo, Vaasa, and Mustasaari; 31: Karhumäki (Medvezhyegorsk); 32: Vuolijoki; 33: Muolaa; 34: Valkjärvi; and 51: Latva. The military hospitals, numbered 28, 58, 63 to 66, and 69 were 28: Kokkola; 58: Kannus and Raudaskylä; 63: Valkeala; 64: Viipuri; 65: Lappeenranta and Raudaskylä; 66: Äänislinna (Petrozavodsk); and 69: Helylä.

Problems in the camps mounted quickly. Accommodations were insufficient, and the conditions were crowded and often below minimum standards, as the headquarters initially expected merely a summer or at the most also an autumn campaign. During the summer months this situation was still bearable, but the onset of winter brought a high number of prisoner deaths caused by exposure to the elements and unsanitary conditions. The practice of using prisoners as forced laborers in often hazardous work, such as logging, without adequate gear, clothing, or proper rations, made the situation worse. The worst problems, however, were created by inadequate nutrition, harsh treatment, and general stress. The rations issued to the prisoners were sufficient only on paper as the internal food distribution was uneven in practice, in large part because the camp officers, truck drivers, and guards continually stole from the food deliveries. The result was a process of slow and steady exhaustion and malnutrition, which contributed to the onset of illnesses. Typhoid fever, dysentery, and influenza claimed many prisoners. The bulk of the POWs perished due to such diseases. In a fifth of the cases the cause of death was malnutrition. The daily rations that the Finnish headquarters issued were sufficient for survival, but within the POW community the strong, smart, and unscrupulous stole some of the other inmates' rations, and as a consequence the weak, submissive, and apathetic POWs tended to perish.

In total, Finnish troops captured roughly 70,000 prisoners, with

the vast majority taken in the early phase of operations, before the fall of 1942. At least 19,085 died, primarily because of disease, accidents, starvation, and violence between the prisoners. Some 1,200 prisoners were shot dead in various incidents; their deaths were usually reported as "shot while attempting escape." Thus, the overall mortality rate of POWs in Finnish custody nearly reached one third. In a practice already during the Winter War, however, the Finns divided the prisoners into categories according to nationality. This categorization had consequences: the Finnic prisoners received the most lenient treatment, and the ethnic Russians suffered the worst, with a mortality rate higher than 33 percent. The period from the fall of 1941 to the early fall of 1942 was the time of the worst suffering. After 1942, the situation in the Finnish camps improved markedly, when the conditions started to attract international attention, and confidence in an ultimate German victory in the war began to fade.

GERMAN PRISONER OF WAR ADMINISTRATION IN FINLAND

The agreement between the Finns and Germans regarding the division of Finnish territory into Finnish- and German-controlled theaters of war resulted in the introduction of German POW administration into Finnish territory by the summer of 1941. The German Army operated two POW camps in the operational area of AOK Norwegen, out of which the AOK Lappland was cut in February 1942 and renamed AOK 20 in the summer of 1942. The main camp (*Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschafts-Stammlager*, Stalag), Stalag 322, was established on Norwegian territory in Elvenes, just across the Finnish-Norwegian border (today: Norwegian-Russian border). The smaller German-run camp, Stalag 309, became operational in July 1941 in Salla, Finland, after the area was retaken from the Soviets.

The German war effort in the North was characterized by its failure to achieve similarly impressive territorial gains as in the southern sectors of the Eastern Front. The German advance soon bogged down in the face of dogged Soviet resistance, extremely difficult terrain, nonexistent infrastructure, and harsh climate. As a result, the German troops in the North took only an estimated

9,000 prisoners throughout the conflict and failed to occupy any significant population centers. Prisoner labor, however, proved to be vital for the maintenance of the army in Arctic conditions, so much so that the Germans brought 21,000 Soviet POWs to the north from camps elsewhere in German-occupied Europe. The Finnish and German authorities also exchanged numerous smaller contingents of POWs as the former claimed Finnic POWs who were in German hands and the latter in particular wanted Volkdeutsche, Balts, and Jews in Finnish custody. This practice had direct consequences on prisoner treatment, because the prisoners formed a source of labor too valuable to be wasted by reckless or outright murderous treatment. Overall, the mortality rate of Soviet prisoners in German custody in Finnish Lapland and northern Norway may have reached 20 percent, thus clearly lower than found elsewhere in German-dominated territory in the East or in Finnish camps.

The locally maintained principle of conserving the prisoner workforce did not extend to those prisoners branded by the Nazi regime as ideological or racial enemies, however. The German takeover of military operations in Finnish Lapland also meant the introduction of both the German Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo) and the secret military police (*Geheime Feldpolizei*, GFP) into the area. In addition, in late June 1941 the Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, RSHA) complemented the killing squads (*Einsatzgruppen*) destined for the Eastern Front with a similar unit designed to handle the ideological and racial war of extermination in the far north. The official but unwieldy name given to this unit was the "Deployment Command of the Security Police and SD with Army Command Norway, Headquarters Finland" (*Einsatzkommando der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD beim Armeeoberkommando Norwegen, Befehlsstelle Finnland*); the name was soon shortened in unofficial contexts to Einsatzkommando Finnland.

FINNISH COLLABORATION WITH THE RSHA AND PARTICIPATION IN THE HOLOCAUST

At the outbreak of the war in 1939, Finland had a Jewish population of roughly two thousand people. Finnish Jews were an urban minority, concentrated in the three largest cities of Helsinki, Viipuri, and Turku. The new Finnish republic extended citizenship rights to Jews in 1918, after which the Jewish minority quickly became naturalized. The Finnish Jews were generally engaged in the retail trade and most spoke Swedish as their native language. Although antisemitism was present within right-wing circles in Finland, the small size of the Jewish community and its near exclusive concentration in a few cities did not give antisemitism traction as a nationwide political theme.

Shortly before the outbreak of war, the small Finnish Jewish community grew, when several hundred Central European Jewish refugees from German-controlled areas were allowed into Finland (with some reluctance); most came after the German annexation of Austria in 1938. Their existence was much more precarious than that of the Finnish Jews. As aliens, they faced the risk of deportation should they attract the attention of the authorities responsible for the control of foreigners in Finland, most importantly the Finnish security police (*Valtiol-linen poliisi*, Valpo). Finnish legislation regarding deportation and the right of asylum was vague, contradictory, and nonbinding, giving the authorities wide leeway in enforcing the law. Another factor that made the situation of these Jewish refugees even more precarious than that of non-Jewish aliens was that the Valpo had cultivated a close relationship with the German security police since 1933. In 1942, the Valpo deported twelve people identified as Jews to the custody of the German security police, either in Germany or in German-occupied areas. The deportees were, however, not formally handed over on ethnic grounds, but as suspects and minor criminals. Also a few family members, wives and children, chose to voluntarily join their deported husbands. Nine of these people lost their lives, two survived the war in German concentration camps, and the fate of one is unknown.

Valpo officials cooperated secretly with the Einsatzkommando Finnland until this unit was disbanded in late 1942. The Finnish military authorities also turned over a total of 521 POWs suspected of being active communists to Einsatzkommando Finnland, among whom at least 47 prisoners were identified as Soviet Jews.

Although documentation is fragmentary, the most likely fate for all the prisoners in this group was that they perished in one way or another.

According to orders sent out by the RSHA in late June 1941, specific units (*Kommandos*) were to be set up to examine the prisoners entering German camps and ferret out those considered to be the mainstays of the Soviet state and system: Soviet officials, active communists, Red Army political commissars, and any and all Jews. Such work became the main occupation for Einsatzkommando Finnland. An exact count of its victims is not possible, given the lack of documentation. Available eyewitness statements describe "hundreds" of killings in the vicinity of Stalag 309. Extant con temporary photographic evidence from the site shows two open, partially snow-covered mass graves containing approximately 15 victims each.

The surviving evidence in the Valpo archives makes clear the way in which security police officials in both Helsinki and Berlin saw the world, as well as the nature of the conflict that Germany and Finland were fighting against the Soviet Union. The most conspicuous shared feature between the Finns and their colleagues in the RSHA was anticommunism, expressed in their mutual readiness for radical solutions not only to suppress the communists in their respective countries but also to bring about the destruction of the Soviet regime using any means necessary. Their correspondence reveals many instances of the officials' acceptance of the propagandistic explanation of a Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy behind the Soviet regime. Insofar as Jews could be considered an active mainstay of this conspiracy, they could and should be annihilated. Yet antisemitism itself cannot be demonstrated to have been a primary driving factor in the actions of the Finnish security police. There is no evidence that the Finns shared the exterminatory vision of genocide held by their colleagues in the RSHA, and the death rate of the Jewish Soviet POWs in the Finnish camps was 19.5 percent, that is, lower than the general toll. One of the reasons for this was that the Jewish parishes were allowed to support their compatriot inmates with some food and clothing deliveries.

POSTWAR JUSTICE

Finland signed an armistice with the Soviet Union in September 1944 and thereafter, at the Allies' request, fought a campaign to drive the retreating German troops from Finnish Lapland. The armistice treaty also stipulated that an Allied Control Commission be set up in Finland to oversee the fulfillment of the armistice terms. The Finnish leadership feared that this commission, headed by Joseph Stalin's close aide Andrey Zhdanov, would form a conduit for large-scale Soviet meddling into Finnish affairs. To prevent such Soviet encroachment, the Finnish government set up a governmental body to investigate war crimes for subsequent prosecution. Three thousand investigations were opened and about 1,400 cases tried by Finnish courts, resulting in roughly 700 jail sentences. The charges almost exclusively concerned killings or mistreatment of POWs, with imprisonment being the typical sentence. Soviet pressure nevertheless led to a parallel judicial process in which members of the 1941–1943 Finnish government were tried for "crimes against peace," that is, for instigating an offensive war against the Soviet Union. The charges and verdicts reflected the Nuremberg Main Trial rhetoric. However, members of the Finnish security police and military authorities were never investigated for their collaboration with Einsatzkommando Finnland. The whole matter was successfully buried in the archives, and the only Valpo official to stand trial was wartime chief Arno Anthoni for his part in deporting Jews from Finland. Anthoni was subsequently acquitted and was given generous compensation for his detention time, thereby concluding the Holocaust-related public reckoning in Finland.

SOURCES Recent works useful for understanding the historical context of Finland during World War II, the Finnish camp systems, Finland's relations with Nazi Germany, and Finnish complicity in the Holocaust are Laura K. Ekholm, *Bound aries of an Urban Minority: The Helsinki Jewish Community from the End of Imperial Russia until the 1970s* (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2013); John Gilmour and Jill Stephenson, eds., *Hitler's Scandinavian Legacy: The Consequences of the German Invasion for the Scandinavian Countries, Then and Now* (London: Blooms-bury, 2013); Tiina Kinnunen and Ville Kivimäki, eds., *Finland in World War II: History, Memory,*

Interpretations (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Simo Muir and Hana Worthen, eds., *Finland's Holocaust: Silences of History* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Oula Silvennoinen, *Geheime Waffenbrüderschaft: Die sicherheitspolizeiliche Zusammenarbeit zwischen Finnland und Deutschland 1933–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010); and Oula Silvennoinen, "Finland, the *Vernichtungskrieg*, and the Holocaust," in Marie Louise Seeberg, Irene Levin, and Claudia Lenz, eds., *The Holocaust as Active Memory: The Past in the Present* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), chap. 8. On POWs and interned Soviet civilians, see Lars Westerlund, ed., *POW Deaths and People Handed over to Germany and the Soviet Union in 1939–55: A Research Report by the Finnish National Archives* (Helsinki: Kansallisarkisto, 2008); Lars Westerlund, ed., *Sotavangit ja internoidut: Kansallisarkiston artikkelikirja/ Prisoners of War and Internees: A Book of Articles by the National Archives* (Helsinki: Kansallisarkisto, 2008), which includes a contribution by Reinhard Otto, "Soviet Prisoners of War on the German Lapland Front 1941–44," pp. 64–113; and Lars Westerlund, ed., *Talvi-, jatko-ja Lapin sodan sotavanki-ja siviilileirit 1939–1944: Käsikirja—The Finnish POW and Internee Camp Handbook, 1939–1944* (Helsinki: Kansallisarkisto, 2008).

Primary sources documenting the POW and civilian internment camps under Finnish direction can be found in various collections of KA, as found in the following two entries.

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[*Editor's note:* The *Encyclopedia* does not generally cover prisoner of war camps run by regimes aligned with Nazi Germany, because those regimes usually did not persecute prisoners of war on ideological grounds. So, despite the fact that conditions in the Finnish camps for Soviet POWs were harsh, and the death rates high, the editors decided not to include individual entries on Finnish POW camps.]

Camps in Finland
Arctic Ocean
Norway
Lake Enara
Kolosjoki
Ivalo
Sweden
Räisälä
ROVANIEMI
Finland
White Sea
Front Line (1944)
Gulf of Onega
OULU
Suomussalmi
Paavola
Liminka
Matkaselkä
Säräisniemi
Vuolijoki
Kokkola
Raudaskylä
Kannus
Kälviä
Jäniskoski
Kiuruvesi
Gulf of Bothnia
Mustasaari
Isokyrö
VAASA
Laihia
Ilmajoki
Peräseinäjoki
KARELIA
Karhumäki
Rautalampi
JOENSUU
Kovero
Värtsilä
Kitee
Riitasensuo
Aholahti
Kangasjärvi
Säämäjärvi
Lake Onega
Karvia
Helylä
Äänislinna
Baltic Sea
PORI
Orivesi
Kurkijoki
Ajosaari
Sortavala
Impilahti
Soutjärvi
Huittinen
Ruokolahti
Köyliö
Valkeakoski
Lappeenranta
Koveri
Lake Ladoga
Aunus
Säkylä
Orimattila
Valkeala
Muolaa
TURKU
Karkkila
Soviet Union
Lohja
Jalkala
Riihisyrjä
Hartonen
Tuusula
Viipuri
Mustio
HELSINKI
Metsäkylä
Hanko
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BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

ÄÄNISLINNA

Äänislinna (today: Petrozavodsk, Respublika Kareliya, Russian Federation) was the site of six concentration camps (*keskitysleiri*) and one labor camp (*työleiri*) during the Finnish occupation of Soviet Karelia. Äänislinna is 538 kilometers (more than 334 miles) northeast of Helsinki and almost 300 kilometers (186 miles) northeast of Leningrad (today: Saint Petersburg). Each concentration camp was assigned an Arabic numeral, 1 through 6, and all had alternative Finnish or Russian names, which reflected the names of the sites later converted into camps. In numerical order, they were "Rooster Hill" (*Kukonmäki*); "Northern" (*Severnaja*); "Ski Factory" (*Suksitehdas*); Golikovka; "Red Village" (*Punainen kylä*); and Perevalochnaya. The Finnish authorities used these concentration camps and the labor camp, also numbered 1, to hold Soviet citizens of occupied Karelia during the period from the Finnish invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 to their withdrawal during the Soviet counteroffensive of June 1944. Collectively, the Äänislinna camps held as many as 25,000 Soviet citizens during the war. As a propaganda measure, the Finnish authorities reclassified these and other Karelian concentration camps as "transfer camps" (*siirtoleiri*) in 1943.[1]

The East Karelia Military Administration Headquarters (*Itä-Karjalan Sotilashallinnon Esikunnalle*) oversaw the Äänislinna and other Karelian concentration camps. The Äänislinna camps had a succession of commandants and guard commanders, all Finnish Army officers. The first commandant was Luutnantti T. A. Mäntykivi; he was soon followed by the Äänislinna city commandant, Kapteeni M. Simojoki. Among the later commandants was Majuri, later Everstiluutnantti Rolf Schildt (December 1942 to March 1943). From the time of Schildt's reassignment until the camp's evacuation, the commandant was Kapteeni J. E. Mättö. Each camp had its own staff, with Finnish Army lieutenants serving as commanders.

Soviet children in a concentration camp (Finnish: Äänislinna) with a sign that reads: “Entrance to the camp and conversation with the children prohibited under threat of being machine-gunned.” 1944
USHMM WS #70209, COURTESY OF THE IMAGE WORKS.

The inmates were housed in relatively habitable buildings, which the Finns eventually surrounded with barbed wire. Several of the Äänislinna camps held children. One of those child prisoners was Tat’iana Kiseleva (née Mironova), who was born in camp 3 in 1943 and who provided testimony from her mother about her life in the camp.[2] Some imprisoned families lived together in the Äänislinna camps, as was the case for Valentina Andreyeva, whose grandparents died in captivity.[3] As recounted by historian Gunnar Rosén, medical facilities were woefully inadequate in the Äänislinna camps.

Based on a fragmentary survey of Finnish archival holdings, there were at least 3,635 deaths recorded in Äänislinna concentration camps 1 through 6. The survey was unable to determine a specific camp in 152 death cases. For the remaining 3,482, there were 127 deaths at camp 1, 227 at camp 2, 824 at camp 3, 266 at camp 4, 1,250 at camp 5, and 788 at camp 6. Among the confirmed cases, at least nine deaths were attributable

to shootings (*ammuttuja*) by guards.[4]

After the Red Army overran the Äänislinna complex in June 1944, Soviet war photographers took a number of propaganda photos of the inmates, particularly the children.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camps at Äänislinna are Jukka Kulomaa, *Äänislinna: Petroskoin suomalaismiehityksen vuodet 1941–1944* (Helsinki: Suomen historiallinen seura, 1989); Gunnar Rosén, *Suomalaisena Itä-Karjalassa: Sotilashallinnon ja Suomen Punaisen Ristin yhteistoiminta 1941–1944* (Helsinki: Suomen historiallinen seura, 1998); and Lars Westerlund, ed., *Talvi-, jatko-ja Lapin sodan sotavanki-ja siviilileirit 1939–1944. Käsikirja—The Finnish POW and Internee Camp Handbook, 1939–1944* (Helsinki: Kansallisarkisto, 2008).

Primary sources documenting the camps at Äänislinna can be found in KA, collections I-Kke; IK-s (T 2926/7, T 5659/124 to 139, and T 9727); and SPRSo. Additional documentation can be found at USHMMPA, which holds several photographs from one of the Äänislinna camps. VHA holds a testimony by a child survivor of Äänislinna camp 3. A published testimony is available in Jussi Konttinen, "Former Detainee Laments Lost Childhood," *HelsSan*, January 23, 2005.

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NOTES

1. For the signage, see USHMMPA, WS #70207, Soviet children in a concentration camp, 1944 (Courtesy of Novosty Press Agency).
2. VHA #27353, Tat'iana Kiseleva testimony, February 8, 1997.
3. Konttinen, "Former Detainee Laments Lost Childhood," *HelsSan*, January 23, 2005.
4. Westerlund, ed., *Talvi-, jatko-ja Lapin sodan sotavanki-ja siviilileirit 1939–1944*, pp. 237–246.

DETACHED BATTALION 21

As part of the preparations for the Finnish offensive against the Soviet Union, the Finnish government interned approximately five hundred communists, members of the Finnish-Soviet Union Peace and Friendship Society (*Suomen-Neuvostoliiton rauhan ja ystävyyden seuran*, SNS 1), leftist dissidents, and other people of the political Left in May and June 1941. Most of the internees were men, with only a few women. A similar detention policy had been carried out earlier during the Winter War of 1939–1940. The interned leftists were neither prosecuted nor tried, and were initially placed in different prisons under "preventive detention" (*turvasäilö*).

Of the interned leftists, 288 men were drafted into a new frontline unit, Detached Battalion 21 (*Erillinen Pataljoona*, Er.P) Er.P 21, in September 1941. Led by right-wing, unscrupulous, and brutal commanders, this unit was created to deploy the leftists in combat against Soviet units—their ideological compatriots. The ultimate intention was instructional in a political sense, because the leftist soldiers might have to shoot at and kill their putative Soviet comrades out of pure survival instinct. Thus, they would be forced to make an impossible choice in light of their political convictions and would suffer and become morally confused. It seems clear that the Finnish General Headquarters and the Finnish government supported and encouraged this strategy. Er.P 21's commander was Ever-stiluutnantti Nikki Pärmi.

The deployment of the unit in the fall of 1941 to the front at Onkamus (today: Onga-Muksa), northwest of Lake Onega, was unsuccessful. Although some of the leftist soldiers were killed in action, approximately 80 of them took the opportunity either to defect to the Soviet side or desert from the unit. What is known is that 42 of the deserters and defectors ended up in Soviet custody. After the Finnish commanders realized that their original intentions had failed, the remaining 200 leftists were hastily transferred to a labor company in a fortification construction

battalion (*Linnoitusrakennuspataljoona*, Lin.RP). This company or parts of it passed through a set of miserable camps in occupied Soviet Karelia in the remaining years of the war. The main camps, of which little information is available, as the camp archives were destroyed in 1944, were Kangasjärvi (today: Kangasyarvi), Säämäjärvi (today: Syamozero), Koveri/Kovero (today: Kovera), Hartonen, Jalkala (or Yalkala; today: Il'ichevo), Riihisyrjä (today: Krasnoznamenka), and Metsäkylä (today: Molodezhnoye). The camps at Hartonen, Jalkala, Riihisyrjä, and Metsäkylä were located in the Kivennapa township (today: Pervomayskoye, Leningrad-skaya oblast').

At the end of September 1941, the disarmed members of the battalion were transported to Kangasjärvi, a small border village in occupied Karelia (Finnish: Suojärvi), located 352 kilometers (219 miles) northeast of Helsinki and more than 225 kilometers (140 miles) north of Leningrad (today: Saint Petersburg). They were housed in a ramshackle and crowded farmhouse in an impoverished town. The conditions were harsh, characterized by poor rations, insufficient clothing, cold weather, and severe discipline. The Kangasjärvi camp operated from September 26, 1941, until January 8, 1942, when the battalion was transferred eastward to Säämäjärvi, about 55 kilometers (34 miles) west of Äänislinna. The poor rations reduced the prisoners to eating frogs, snakes, lizards, cats, dogs, and horses.

In mid-September, the men were transferred to the Koveri camp, located about 18 kilometers (11 miles) north of Aunus (today: Olonets). This site housed lumberjacks before the war, but about 200 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were held in the camp during the Finnish occupation. Approximately 170 detainees of Er.P 21 were initially confined to Koveri, but members of the battalion who had previously been separated from the unit on labor details were sent to this facility as well. Koveri proved to be the harshest and longest lasting camp, closing only after the Finnish withdrawal from Soviet Karelia, on June 18, 1944. One of the Koveri internees, Viljo Suutari, published a novel based on his camp experiences, which dramatized the harsh living conditions in the Er.P 21 camps, principally Koveri. As a union official and radical leftist, he had been taken into custody by Finnish police authorities in the war years and had been dispatched to Er.P 21.[1]

In September 1941, 25 internees were separated from the others and transferred to the Isthmus of Karelia to dig graves and clear mines near the southern part of the front. These men were held in custody in Puhtola, Kellomäki, and Pero in the fall of 1941. In November, the men were sent to Hartonen, and in December they went to Jalkala. The camp in Metsäkylä was open for about six months in 1942, and the men were transferred there in the summer. Finally, the detainees rejoined their comrades in the Koveri camp in September 1944.

The Finnish authorities withdrew from occupied Soviet Karelia in June 1944. At Koveri, the guards burned the barracks and force-marched the inmates 260 kilometers (almost 162 miles) northwest to Värtsilä, Finland. From there they were taken by train to Parkano, located almost 388 kilometers (241 miles) west of Värtsilä, and marched to the Karvia prison. With a few exceptions the men were released when the armistice between Finland and the Soviet Union was declared.

The camps for leftists and other suspects did not have the formal status of a concentration camp (*keskitysleiri*). They were more like an unconventional penal unit operating in the field. Nevertheless, the camp inmates regarded these detention sites as oppressive concentration camps because of the very poor living conditions, heavy labor, political persecution, and ruthless administration. After the war, the first camp commander, Kapteeni Arvo Kartano, was sentenced to prison for a few months. The second commander, Luutnantti Kosti-Paavo Eerolainen, eventually fled to Sweden out of concern for his personal safety.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the internment camps affiliated with Detached Battalion 21 are Eeva-Kaisa Ahtiainen, *Mies ja pirut: Nikke Pärmin elämä* (Helsinki: Otava, 2005); Pentti Koivumäki, *Monumenddaalinen Nikke Pärmi* (Kuopio: Kustunnuskiila, 1988); Jussi Niinistö, *Suomalaisia vapaustaistelijoita* (Helsinki: Nimox, 2003); and Jussi Nuorteva, *Suomen vankeinhoidon historiaa Osa 4: Vangit—vankilat—sota. Suomen vankeinhoitolaitos toisen maailmansodan aikana* (Helsinki: Valtion painatuskeskus, 1987).

Primary sources documenting the Detached Battalion 21

internment camps can be found in KA, grouped in several collections: EK-Valpo (ko 578–584); Er.P 21 war diary (6843–6863); personal archive of Finnish President Juho Kusti Paasikivi, folio v: 55; records of Lin.RP (T-13274–13276); and Lin.RP war diary (18478–18484). At KanArk there are several relevant collections, including documentation on political detention (Poliivan, 1919–1944, folder 3 E); assistance from the Social Affairs Ministry (SM, folder 4); compensation documentation for political prisoners and political detainees (Pvtkk, folder 5); and an unpublished manuscript by former internee Väinö L. Sievänen, "Kivikkoinen tie. Käsikirjoitus" (1985). KuKau holds T. Ahlo, "Pärmin pirujen sotatie. Erillinen Pataljoona 21: vaiheet jatkosodassa vv. 1941–1944" (unpublished MSS, early 1970s). As far as is known, the archives of Kangasjärvi, Säämäjärvi, Koveri, and other internment camps were destroyed in the fall of 1944. There are several testimonies and a novel published by former Er.P 21 internees: Allan Asplund, *Upplevelser i finska koncentrationsläger* (1949; Helsinki: Suomen Rauhanpuolustajat, 2012); Nestori Parkkari, *Suomalaisessa keskitysleirissä vv. 1940–1944* (Helsinki: Kansankulhuuri Oy, 1955); Viljo Suutari, *Leiri: Kertomus pienistä ihmisistä, jotka taistelivat elämästään* (Helsinki: Söderström, 1967); Taito Tiihonen, *Mielipidevanki vuosimallia 1904: Suomalaisesta keskistysleiristä yhteiskunnalliseksi vaikuttajaksi: Muistelmat* (Helsinki: Vavo, 1990); and Harry Vuorinen, *Myrskyn silmässä: Poliittisen vangin päiväkirja jatkosodan ajalta 1941–1944* (Helsinki: Suomen rauhanpuolustajat, 2006).

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NOTE

1. Suutari, *Leiri.*

Barracks at the Gurs internment camp, 1941–1942. USHMM WS #24845, COURTESY OF RENE KARSCHON.

FRANCE/VICHY

Following the military defeat and Armistice of June 22, 1940, French president Albert Lebrun appointed World War I hero, Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain, as president of the Council (*Président du Conseil*). On July 10, 1940, the two chambers of the French Parliament vested full power (*les pleins pouvoirs*) in Pétain, voting 569–80 in favor, with 20 abstentions. The Third Republic was dead, and the Vichy regime was born. A few weeks later, the German authorities promulgated their first ordinance against the Jews; French measures soon followed in the form of decrees and laws to intern foreigners in general and Jews in particular. But internment camps on French soil were not solely the result of German occupation. The German occupation, together with the implementation of antisemitic policy by the new collaborationist Vichy regime, transformed the country once famed for human rights into a territory where Jews, Roma (*nomades* or "Gypsies"), foreigners, political opponents, and resisters were considered enemies. As a result, more than 76,000

Jews were deported from France to killing centers in the East (including more than 11,000 children) and over 86,000 resistance fighters and political prisoners were sent to German concentration camps during the war. Before being deported, they were gathered and interned in various, mostly French-run, detention sites.

THE "NATIONAL REVOLUTION"

The Vichy regime's ideological program was called the "National Revolution" (*Révolution Nationale*), and it largely combined far-right ideas with a personality cult centered on Pétain. As historian Robert O. Paxton highlights in his book, "the National Revolution was not Hitler's project."[1] It departed from most republican values, replacing the old republican motto of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" (*Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*) with "Work, Family, Fatherland" (*Travail, Famille, Patrie*). The new motto better reflected the Vichy regime's desire to return to traditional values.

The National Revolution also aimed to restore a traditional morality based on social order and Catholic values. Family stood among its pillars. Glorifying motherhood and providing financial incentives to fathers of large families were means to halt the already declining French birthrate. Of course, nobody would have dared point out the hypocrisy in the support given by Pétain, the childless husband of a divorcée, to this family policy.

A large propaganda apparatus was developed to portray the persona of Marshal Pétain in every way: his likeness was placed on posters, stamps, sculptures, coins, brochures, and leaflets. In approximately two weeks, the Propaganda Center of the National Revolution (*Centre de Propagande de la Révolution Nationale*) printed 510,000 posters and 10 million postcards.[2] At school, French children learned a new song that glorified the new leader: "Marshal, we are here!" ("*Maréchal, nous voilà!*").

The National Revolution challenged the power of the French Parliament and rejected the multiparty system. Its program repudiated the Third Republic and former premier Léon Blum's socialist government, the Popular Front (*Front populaire*). The Vichy regime perceived France as morally decadent because of the political choices it made over the previous de cade that supposedly

led to military defeat.

Economic depression and military defeat stimulated xenophobia. In 1930, foreign workers made up only 7 percent of the French population, but during the 1930s a large flow of refugees sought asylum in France for various reasons.[3] Such refugees included Spanish Republicans seeking asylum after the victory of Francisco Franco in the Spanish Civil War; Jews from Eastern Europe fleeing antisemitic persecution; and starting in 1933 and increasingly after 1938, Jews from Central Europe. The Vichy government and its National Revolution program used the large immigration flows to stoke discontent and anger and focused on finding scapegoats, which included "parliamentarism," the Left, cosmopolitanism, foreigners, and, above all, the Jews. The Vichy government promoted an exclusionist state policy that led to the promulgation of the first Statute of the Jews (*Statut des Juifs*), on October 4, 1940. It is important to note that the Germans never had to pressure the Vichy government into implementing the National Revolution program.

Vichy leader Marshal Henri-Philippe Petain (right) greets Prime Minister Pierre Laval, November 1, 1942. USHMM WS #22790, COURTESY OF KLARSFELD ARCHIVES.

THE "UNDESIRABLES": TARGETS OF VICHY PERSECUTION

One of the features of the French camp system during the long period of its existence (1939–1946) was that internment came by administrative decree, not by a court judgment. The "undesirables" (*indésirables*) who were the targets of Vichy persecution included Spanish Republicans, Germans and Austrians (including Jews) considered as "enemy aliens" after September 1939, Jews from

elsewhere, Roma, and, even later, collaborators. Resisters and political prisoners (including many communists) constituted a separate category of internees. Soon after the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact of August 23, 1939, the first to be arrested were communists, who were sent to some of the Third Republic camps, followed soon by British and French prisoners of war (POWs) after the Fall of France. Those deemed political enemies by the German and Vichy authorities, or as enemies under circumstances of war, were followed by others who were targeted simply because of who they were.

Before the war, the Jewish population in France was estimated at between 300,000 and 350,000 people. Half of that population consisted of French Jews and the other half of recent immigrants. Between March 1942 and August 1944, approximately one-third of the Jews who lived in France were deported—a large majority from Drancy after spending from a few days to several years in what became a transit camp. Before being deported, many had lived in one or several internment camps or facilities after being arrested either by the German authorities or the French police. Jews were not the only targeted group because of who they were, but in France they were the only victims of Nazi genocidal policy planned with the active political collaboration of the Vichy regime.

The Roma were also sent to French camps. Because the Roma traveled and sometimes crossed borders, the French authorities could not easily keep track of them until the law of July 16, 1912, mandated that the Roma carry an anthropometric card (*carnet anthropométrique*) that showed their distinguishing features.[4] Although they were marginalized and sent to camps by Vichy authorities in France (where some remained until May 1946), a systematic genocidal policy was not implemented against them, either by Vichy or the German authorities, in contrast to actions and policies in Eastern Europe.[5] And, unlike in other occupied countries in Western Europe, the Auschwitz Decree (*Auschwitz Erlass*) of December 16, 1942, was not implemented in France. The French Roma who were arrested in former French territory of the departments of Nord and Pas-de-Calais were deported to Auschwitz from territories governed by the German authorities in Belgium. Convoy Z (*Zigeuner*: German for "Gypsy") left the German-run Mecheln (Malines) camp in Belgium for Auschwitz

on January 15, 1944.[6] The main internment camp for Roma in France opened in Montreuil-Bellay on November 8, 1941. According to historian Marie-Christine Hubert, approximately 6,000 to 6,500 Roma (men, women, and children), accounting for most of the Roma population in France, were interned in 30 different French camps between 1940 and 1946.[7]

French police lead a column of Jewish men during a deportation action, May 14, 1941. USHMM WS #70740, COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL RESISTANCE. MUSEUM (CHAMPIGNY-SUR-MARNE).

THE OCCUPYING AUTHORITIES AND THE CAMPS OF FRANCE

With German occupation came the division of France into two zones: the Occupied Zone (*Zone occupée*, ZO) and the Southern Zone (*Zone nonoccupée*, ZNO). French camps in the Occupied Zone, even those administered by the French police, were under strict German control from the outset. For example, it was at the Germans' behest that the French police established the camps for Roma. In contrast, Vichy exercised autonomy in the operation of camps in the South until November 1942.

Soon after the Armistice, the Germans ordered a canvass, beginning in July 1940, of camps throughout France by the Kundt Commission. The task of this Franco-German commission, chaired by the German diplomat Ernst Kundt, was not only to repatriate those who wished to return to the Reich but also to identify potential arrest targets for the Nazi regime. A journal kept by a French member of the commission gives a survey of Third Republic camps already in existence at the time of the Armistice.[8] Because the Vichy regime closed many of these camps and reorganized others, most of these sites are not covered in this volume. Only those camps that continued to exist under Vichy, such as Gurs, are covered in separate entries here. An exception is the camp at Château du Sablou, a site that closed at the end of 1940, with its inmates scattered among other Vichy camps in France and French North Africa.

After the Fall of France, under the legal pretext that the belligerents had not yet signed a peace treaty, the German authorities used the large number of French prisoners of war as hostages to secure good behavior among the French. One of the side effects of this situation was a labor shortage in France, which helped drive Vichy's deployment of foreigners, Jewish and non-Jewish, as unpaid labor. In the summer of 1942, Vichy premier Pierre Laval negotiated the partial repatriation of French POWs in exchange for the deployment in the Reich of conscripted civilians, the Obligatory Labor Service (*Service du Travail Obligatoire*, STO). In Vichy propaganda this policy was called the Relief (*Relève*). The German authorities set a ratio of three civilian conscripts for labor service in the Reich in exchange for the repatriation of one French POW. The drafting of Frenchmen into the STO, as well as the concomitant transfer of many non-Jewish prisoners from Vichy camps into the STO, proved unpopular and helped stimulate support for the French Resistance.

In the Occupied Zone, the German authorities ran their own networks of camps. The Wehrmacht had set up temporary POW camps (*Frontstalags*) in 1940 and 1941. On behalf of the Wehrmacht, a network of labor camps was established under Organisation Todt to erect the Atlantic Wall. These sites are covered in later volumes of this series. Except for the Natzweiler (Struthof) concentration camp in German-annexed Lorraine, the

Nazi SS and police ran the other camps on French soil. Compiègne-Royallieu or Royallieu, a barracks built in 1913, was used by the SS police as the principal camp for the transfer of French resisters and political prisoners to camps in the Reich. Initially called Frontstalag 122, it remained in existence as a police detention camp (*Polizeihaftlager*) for the transit of Jews until 1944.

In the Occupied Zone, the German authorities exercised close supervision over the French police and, after November 1942 in the Southern Zone, the French-run camps. It was common for a departmental prefect to seek permission from the commander of the local German field headquarters (*Feldkommandantur*, FK) to secure armaments for camp guards. It was very common for an FK to demand that a French camp hand over a certain number of prisoners as hostages to be shot in reprisal for resistance activities.

In some instances, the German authorities temporarily took over French camps and ran them as transit camps (*Durchgangslager*). Such was the case during critical phases of the deportations of Jews from Drancy, Beaune-la-Rolande, and Pithiviers. The German phases of these camps' histories are covered in a subsequent volume of this series.

In the wake of Operation Torch in November 1942—the combined British-U.S. invasion of French North Africa—the Germans and Italians expanded their occupation of France into the Southern Zone. Fascist Italy occupied southeastern France, mainly the departments of Basses-Alpes (today: Hautes-Alpes) and Alpes-Maritimes, including the strategically important city of Nice. Vichy considered the expanded Italian occupation an affront to French sovereignty, and the local French police meticulously documented Italian-run sites on their soil. The Italian-run network of camps and residential assignment centers continued despite Vichy opposition. These camps are covered in the section on Italy in this volume. After Italy's Armistice with the Allies in September 1943, these sites were closed, and the German authorities conducted round-ups of Jews in these departments, especially in Nice.

THE VICHY CAMP SYSTEM

Today, our knowledge of French camps is continually being enriched by new publications made possible by expanded access to French archival collections related to the Holocaust. Interest in this topic dates back to the 1970s. Over the last 20 years, many monographs have been published about major camps in France. The expanded access of the archives also coincided with the historic statement by French president Jacques Chirac on July 16, 1995, acknowledging the Vichy regime's responsibility in the Holocaust. Two years later, the French government created the Study Commission on the Spoliation of the Jews of France under Jean Mattéoli (*Mission d'Étude sur la Spoliation des Juifs de France*, *Mission Mattéoli*). Divided into research teams, the commission studied the seizure of Jewish property in France. Two teams focused on French camps and published final reports.[9] More recently, our knowledge has been deepened and our understanding of the multiple facets of the camp system more accurate due to the opening of the International Tracing Service (ITS) collection.

Some preliminary remarks are necessary when studying French camps. First, the French internment camp apparatus did not start with World War II or with the German occupation. The history of camps in France must be studied over a longer period because "continuity" is the keyword. The complexity of the camp system in France resided mostly in its long-term existence. Some sites hosted various categories of inmates over the years without changing the camps' administrative status.

Second, a very broad definition of "camp" is necessary to understand the entirespectrum of the internment system. Camps in France ran the gamut from the "classical" internment camp to temporary detention sites, such as a stadium, the latter including sporting complexes in or near Paris (Colombes Stadium, Roland-Garros, and the Vélodrome d'Hiver or Vel d'Hiv). Such sites served as convenient detention centers for very brief periods of time. Documenting such temporary facilities can be most challenging. In between those extremes were many categories, such as groups or groupings of foreign workers *Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs), confinement centers (*Centres de Séjour Surveillés*, CSS), and centers of assigned residence (*Assignation à résidence*). Less common forms of detention sites also existed, such as the detention of former French political

leaders in a disused fort in the Pyrenees Mountains and a secret prison for certain political prisoners deemed particularly dangerous.

The process of internment did not begin with the Vichy regime, and many camps did not close after Liberation, but instead remained open under the Provisional Government (*Gouvernement Provisoire*). Nevertheless, the basic postulate when studying the history of the French camp system is that the political motivations and the policies of the late 1930s must not be compared with the repressive policy under Vichy. Just because camps existed under the late Third Republic, the Vichy regime, and the Provisional Government did not mean that those camps were identically administered or, above all, used for the same purposes.

The government of Radical Socialist Édouard Daladier used administrative decrees (*décrets-lois*) that facilitated the expulsion of foreigners to create various "concentration camps" to canalize and above all control the influx of such "undesirables." The most significant decree was issued on November 12, 1938. It provided for the internment of undesirables for national security reasons in specialized centers (*centres specialisés*). The first internment camp in France opened in February 1939 in Rieucros.[10] Among the first foreigners to be interned in France were "enemy aliens" taken into custody after the declaration of war on September 3, 1939. Germans and Austrians, even antifascists and anti-Nazis, were interned, together with the large wave of Spanish Republicans who crossed the border with France at the beginning of 1939.

Vichy did not need to modify the Third Republic internment law for the control of refugees, but expanded it.[11] For example, the law of September 27, 1940, on "the situation of excessive numbers of foreigners in the national economy" (*la situation des étrangers en surnombre dans l'économie nationale*) led to the creation of the GTE grouping. Foreign men aged 18 to 55 were subject to obligatory labor in GTEs for as long as circumstances required, if they met two criteria: they were unemployed and were unable to return to their country of origin. The law's primary objective was to use available and conscriptable laborers, mostly in agriculture,

forestry, and industry. Given the labor shortage, the GTEs furnished a cheap solution to labor shortages. They replaced the "companies of foreign workers" (*Companies de Travailleurs Étrangers*, CTE) created after the law of April 12, 1939, that stated that refugees, who benefited from the right of asylum in France, were obliged to perform labor service equivalent to military service.

It is difficult to estimate the number of GTEs under Vichy; it could be as high as one thousand. Very often the available documentation, scattered among French departmental and local archives, indicates only the name of a town or village, unit number, unit strength, and economic function. There was a distinction between a group of foreign workers and groupings of foreign workers—the former referred to the individual labor unit, whereas the latter was an agglomeration of such units answerable to the regional and departmental prefects. The coverage of the GTEs in this chapter is therefore selective.

The administration of GTEs reflected some continuity between the policies of the Third Republic and of the Vichy regime toward foreigners, refugees, and aliens. In terms of labor deployment, the camps operated under the auspices of the Industrial Production and Labor Ministry (*Ministère de la Production Industrielle et du Travail*), but the prefects who depended on the Interior Ministry for food and supplies decided what categories of people to intern.[12] In 1941, Vichy transferred men, mostly Jewish and Spanish, from internment camps to GTEs. Some such forced labor battalions were entirely Jewish and were often labeled "Palestinian" (*Groupements Palestiniens des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GPTEs). The status of GTEs radicalized when Vichy allowed the Germans to use some laborers in Organisation Todt (OT). During the summer of 1941, both Jews and non-Jews were recruited for OT, but in August the Jews were sent back to camps in the Southern Zone.

There were major differences among the GTEs. The living conditions depended mostly on location but also on the camp administration. Some prisoners received a small salary, whereas others were never paid, but received a "bonus." In GTE No. 828 in Tombebouc (Lot-et-Garonne Département), the internees worked

in a quarry, whereas in GTE No. 664 in Mauriac (Cantal Département), some of the internees worked on bridges and roads and others for the water and forests administration (*Eaux-et-Forêts*).[13] The Mauriac case shows how a single GTE often served multiple, simultaneous functions. Indeed, some GTEs operated over a wide territory with multiple worksites.

Under the Third Republic, the War Ministry oversaw the GTE camps. This arrangement continued until October 1940 when the camps were brought under the authority of the Interior Ministry. In theory, the camp system depended on multiple administrative layers: the General Directorate of the National Police (*Direction Générale de la Police Nationale*, DGPN) within the Interior Ministry, the regional and departmental prefects, and the General Inspectorate of Camps (*Inspection générale des camps*, IGC).

Not all camps were in place when the war broke out; some were built soon thereafter. Construction of a camp fell under the responsibility of the department in control. Most likely, local construction workers such as builders, plumbers, and bricklayers were hired in the nearby area. This situation raises the question of the extent of local awareness of the French camps. The camps were not hidden and were difficult to ignore by the French population, who did not really protest against the incarceration of men who were foreign or stateless or were considered enemies. The public's perception started to change, however, when entire Jewish families were rounded up during the summer of 1942.

The camp system in France changed over time, adapting to the evolving political situation, territorial occupation, and makeup of the incarcerated populations. The camps and facilities handled different, sometimes overlapping, categories of prisoners and served varying purposes. Over the course of the war, some camps harbored different categories of people, and their administrative status changed accordingly, depending on who was targeted due to political circumstances. In most cases, the camp regime got harsher when Jews were held as prisoners.

For example, the camp of La Lande located in Monts was first a reception camp for foreigners (*camp d'accueil pour étrangers*) and then gradually evolved into an internment camp for Jews before that status became official. After the major roundups in the

summer of 1942, La Lande served as a transit camp. From October 1942 to January 1944 it was transformed into a camp for female political prisoners.[14]

The Vichy authorities reopened Les Milles (Bouches-duRhône Département) in November 1940 and designated it as the only camp for men attempting to immigrate overseas, whereas women who wanted to leave France had to stay in two hotels in Marseille (Le Bompard and Le Terminus du Port).[15] After the United States entered the war, immigration became almost impossible, and in the summer of 1942 Les Milles became an internment camp for Jews who were eventually deported via Drancy.

Gurs was another example of a camp whose population changed over the years. It was not only a way station before deportation to killing centers in German-occupied Poland but was also considered a concentration camp. The inmates suffered from atrocious living conditions that facilitated epidemics; more than 1,100 Jews interned there died of contagious diseases.[16]

The administrative internment camps (*camps d'internement administratif*) were camps that interned various categories of prisoners as decreed by administrative measures taken by the Vichy regime. The generic appellation of such camps and arrest categories changed over time, covering a large variety of facilities, including confinement centers (CSS), special collection centers (*Centre Spécial de Rassemblement*), accommodation centers (*Centre d'hébergement*), internment camps, and concentration camps. The German authorities ruled these camps in the Occupation Zone, and Vichy ran those in the Southern Zone.

The "collection camps" (*camps de rassemblement*) were not always camps, but sometimes remote facilities whose structure provided an accessible venue to gather people for short periods of time before transferring them to a real camp. Such locations could be stadiums like the aforementioned Colombes, the disused military installations around Fréjus (Var Département), or the abandoned factory at Montluçon (Allier Département).[17]

When there was no camp immediately available to house internees, prisons were used to house inmates before their transfer. Such was the case in Pau and Foix, to cite only two cases. When

prisoners were too sick to remain in a camp, they were sometimes sent to hospitals; some elderly internees were transferred to retirement homes. For Jews, however, such accommodations did not mean that they were free or no longer subject to deportation.

There were approximately 30 centers of assigned residence in the Southern Zone, which were created at the end of 1940 after the October 4, 1940 Statute of the Jews. Prefects were responsible for identifying and assigning eligible Jews to residence centers. To qualify for residence, the inmates had to be able to support themselves financially. If not, they were assigned to labor battalions. Those confined to such centers were not allowed to leave the territory and remained under police control. There were two categories of people in those centers: those previously free and those in GTEs or camps who had sufficient means to pay for their upkeep. Hotels not used in wartime very often served as residential centers. Some people from the Gurs camp were sent to hotels in the Creuse region.[18]

The French internment system obviously changed greatly after war began. Once the United States entered the war, emigration from Europe became virtually impossible. This situation directly affected the Vichy regime because Jewish prisoners hitherto expected to emigrate from France were no longer able to do so. Thus Vichy had to deal with the Jews already interned in camps in the Southern Zone. In early December 1941, representatives of the local police, the camp administration, the Police of Territory and Foreigners (*Police du Territoire et des Étrangers*), and several dignitaries in charge of foreigners and immigrants in the Southern Zone met. The goal of this meeting was to develop policies to implement measures toward Jews who entered French territory after January 1, 1936, and who were to be sent to GTEs or other camps.[19]

Liberation did not put an end to the camp system. The Provisional Government continued to use camps extensively to punish collaborators or those who organized or benefited from the black market.[20] The Roma remained in detention until well into 1946.

VICHY COLLABORATION IN THE "FINAL

SOLUTION”

The structure of the “Final Solution” in France was complex because it was implemented both by the Germans and the Vichy regime. Pétain and his acolytes were so convinced that the German Reich would ultimately triumph that they chose to do every thing possible to position France in a prominent place in the future German-led Europe: collaboration was considered an effective path to that goal.

The administrative division of French territory reflected the division of labor between German and French authorities. The Occupied Zone fell under the German military commander-in-chief in France (*Militärbefehlshaber in Frank-reich*, MBF) whose headquarters was established at the Majestic Hotel in Paris under General der Infanterie Otto von Stülpnagel, whereas the Vichy government had the responsibility for the Southern Zone. However, German ordinances were applicable only in the Occupied Zone, whereas decrees and laws promulgated by Vichy applied to both zones on condition that they did not contradict German ordinances. The administrative roles were thus well defined on paper, and the presence of Otto Abetz as German ambassador gave the illusion that the Reich treated France with some political respect, as opposed to a defeated and occupied territory. Yet very quickly, the Germans replicated and adapted the whole structure to implement the “Final Solution of the Jewish Question” in France. Most “experts” relating to the Jewish Question who had played an early role in Nazi Germany came to occupy key positions in France. For example, SS-Standartenführer Helmut Knochen of the Security Police and Security Service (*Sicherheitspolizei Sicherheitsdienst,* Sipo-SD) represented Reinhard Heydrich in Paris in 1940 within the Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, RSHA). Herbert Hagen and Kurt Lischka were Knochen’s assistants. SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker represented Adolf Eichmann (who also answered to Heydrich in the RSHA).[21] As early as 1940, an SD office led by Knochen opened in Paris and was placed directly under Heydrich. Dannecker was appointed head of the Department IV J (Jewish Affairs) of the Sipo-SD in Paris from 1940 to 1942 and became the principal architect of the

Jewish Question until his replacement by Heinz Röthke in the summer of 1942. As one of Eichmann's trusted lieutenants, Dannecker went on to oversee deportations of Jews from occupied Greece and elsewhere.

In a little over a week in the autumn of 1940, the German and Vichy authorities determined the fate of the Jews in France. When the German authorities promulgated the first anti-Jewish ordinance on September 27, 1940, imposing a Jewish census in the Occupied Zone, they also targeted foreigners (mostly Jews) who found refuge in France. From that moment on, any foreign male aged between 18 and 55 was subject to deployment in a GTE. A few days later the first French Jewish law—the October 4, 1940, Statute of the Jews—was promulgated, which began the exclusion of Jews from French life. The following day, Vichy issued a decree that authorized the internment of foreign Jews in special camps and made it applicable in both zones—sending a clear message to the Germans regarding Vichy's intentions toward foreign Jews. The Vichy regime's eagerness to gain control over refugees, with the intention of their eventual expulsion, and its aversion especially to foreign Jews escalated anti-Jewish policy, both Vichy and German.

At the request of the German authorities, the Vichy government created the General Commissariat on the Jewish Question (*Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives*, CGQJ); the Germans saw this agency as instrumental to implementation of the "Final Solution." Its task was to prepare and implement antisemitic policy, and it played a major role in the "aryanization," the seizure of Jewish property. When the CGQJ began operation in March 1941, Xavier Vallat became its first general commissar. Vallat, a member of the far-right and monarchist French Action (*Action Française*) party, was notorious for making this statement when Blum became premier in 1936: "for the first time this ancient Gallo-Roman land will be governed by a Jew."[22] Despite his antisemitic beliefs, Vallat, a World War I veteran, did not hesitate to criticize German policy toward French POWs, and thus tensions existed with the German authorities. The even more ferocious antisemite, Louis Darquier, replaced him in May 1942.

Xavier Vallat (left), April 19, 1941. USHMM WS #07456, COURTESY OF THE ETABLISSEMENT DE COMMUNICATION ET DE PRODUCTION AUDIOVISUELLE DE LA DEFENSE.

The persecution and, later, the deportation of Jews required the silencing of public opposition, if not favorable public opinion. To convince the French of the necessity of removing Jews from their territory, propaganda was crucial. To that end, the German propaganda staff requested in May 1941 the creation of a propaganda apparatus: the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question (*Institut d'Étude des Questions Juives*, IEQJ). Financed by the German Embassy and Dannecker's office, the IEQJ's main task was to disseminate antisemitic propaganda, and its major accomplishment was the organization of the exhibit,

"The Jew and France" (*Le Juif et la France*), that opened in Paris in September 1941.

The first roundup of foreign and stateless Jews took place in Paris on May 14, 1941. The French police issued a summons for the Jews to report to one of five locations for a "status check" (*examen de situation*). Those who still believed that France was a country of asylum and human rights obeyed the order, and they ended up being held in five facilities: the Napoléon Barracks (4th arrondissement); the Minimes Barracks (3rd arrondissement); 52 Édouard-Pailleron Street (19th arrondissement); 33 Grange-aux-Belles Street (10th arrondissement); and Japy Gymnasium (11th arrondissement). On that day, 3,430 Polish, 157 Czech, and 123 stateless Jews were arrested and sent from the Austerlitz train station to the French-run internment camps of Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande.[23] Between that first roundup and the ones that followed, there were some long periods without a hostile raid that gave the Jewish population some room for hope and a period of adjustment. The fact that until July 1942 only foreign Jewish men were arrested may have led members of the French public to believe that there might have been some reasons for these arrests, especially in the context of strident antisemitic propaganda that demonized Jews as the worst enemy and blamed them for the country's defeat and economic collapse.[24]

Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, May 1942. USHMM WS #07444, COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE.

France was the only country in Western Europe where Jews were deported from a zone not under direct German occupation. When the deportations started in 1942, Karl Oberg implemented Heydrich's orders as Higher SS and Police Leader (*Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer*, HSSPF). In June 1942, the General Secretary of Police (*Secrétaire général à la Police*), René Bousquet, reached the decision to hand over to the Germans 10,000 stateless Jews from the Southern Zone.[25] Oberg negotiated with Bousquet to organize the roundups, while the French gendarmes were in

charge of the camp at Drancy. The "Bousquet-Oberg Accords" in August 1942 aligned the French police with the German authorities and gave them broad autonomy. Those accords represented the peak of French police collaboration with the enemy.

In the late summer of 1942, Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, then head of the CGQJ, reminded Premier Pierre Laval that the French authorities had agreed to hand over 32,000 Jews to the Germans. But the July roundup in Paris and its surroundings had come up short. To fulfill the quotas, Darquier proposed the arrest of stateless Jews in the Southern Zone and, if necessary, the denaturalization of all Jews who acquired French citizenship after January 1, 1927.[26] Laval went even further: on July 4, 1942, he proposed that during the arrest of Jewish families in the Southern Zone, children under 16 be taken as well. Evoking "humanitarian considerations," Laval's argument was that "children should remain with their parents."[27]

On August 7, 1942, the first transport of 1,003 German Jews from Gurs in the Southern Zone arrived at Drancy. Three days later, all of these Jews were deported to Auschwitz (convoy 17).[28] Only one person from that convoy was alive in 1945.[29] More transfers from the Southern Zone followed: on August 9, 1942, 1,106 Jews from Gurs, Le Vernet d'Ariège, Récébédou, and Noé arrived at Drancy.[30] On August 12, an additional 782 Jews from Récébédou, Noé, Rivesaltes, and Les Milles arrived there.[31] On August 14, 538 Jews from Les Milles arrived at Drancy,[32] and on August 25, 1,184 Jews from the GTEs in the Pyrénées-Orientales, Récébédou, and Noé arrived there.[33] Those transfers emptied the camps in the Southern Zone of most foreign Jews before the major roundup of August 26, 1942, the counterpart of the infamous Vel d'Hiv roundup in the Occupied Zone on July 16.

The last transport of Jews (convoy 77) departed Drancy on July 31, 1944, and the camp was liberated in August 1944, when it still housed 1,386 prisoners.[34] Approximately 3,000 Jewish people died in French internment camps, mostly in the Southern Zone.

SOURCES Important general studies on the Vichy regime and the Jews include Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard*

and New Order 1940–1944 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Michael Robert Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (New York: Basic Books, 1981); Diane Afoumado, *L'affiche antisémite en France sous l'Occupation* (Paris: Berg International, 2008); Vicki Caron, *Uneasy Asylum: France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933–1942* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999); and Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during the Second World War* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press; published in association with USHMM, 2001). On CGQJ, see Laurent Joly, *Vichy dans la "solution finale:" Histoire du Commissariat Gé-néral aux Questions Juives 1941–1944* (Paris: Grasset, 2006). Over the years, the number of secondary sources describing Vichy camps has multiplied, especially publications that explore individual camps using the rich collections found in local archives. For studies on individual camps, please refer to the following essays. The most comprehensive and general study of French internment camps is the Ph.D. thesis by historian Denis Peschanski, later published as *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002). Additional useful studies are Christian Eggers, *Unerwünschte Ausländer: Juden aus Deustchland und Mitteleuropa in französischen Internierungslagern 1940–1942* (Berlin: Metropol, 2002); Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.-Apr. 1995): 7–75; and Jean-Marc Dreyfus, "Indésirables—indesiderabili: Les camps de la France de Vichy et de l'Italie fasciste," *ChrAll* 15:1 (2011): 144–146. The Mattéoli Commission reports can be found at www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/MnR-matteoli.htm. On the Kundt Commission, see Christian Eggers, "Le périple de la mission Kundt: Les camps du midi de la France d'après le Journal de voyage de Jubitz (juillet–août 1940)," in Jacques Grandjonc and Theresia Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944: Exil et internement d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dans le sud-est de la France* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1990). In addition to Grandjonc and Grundtner, important regional studies of French camps

include Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); Anne Grynberg, *Les camps de la honte: Les internés juifs des camps français (1939–1944)* (1991; Paris: Poche, 1999); Paul Lévy and Jean-Jacques Becker, eds., *Les réfugiés pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Confolens, France: CERHIM, 1999); and Vincent Giraudier, *Des indésirables: Les camps d'internement et de travail dans l'Ardèche et la Drôme durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Valence, France: Peuple libre, Notre temps, 1999).

In general, the publications of Serge Klarsfeld are required reading when studying the persecution of Jews in France. Among his books, the following is one of the main resources for French camps: *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001). In the earlier cited Cohen, Malo, and Arnoldson anthology, see also Klarsfeld's essay, "La livraison par Vichy des juifs de zone libre dans les plans SS de déportation de juifs de France," pp. 133–154. Another important study by Klarsfeld is *Vichy-Auschwitz: Le rôle de Vichy dans la solution finale de la question juive en France, 1942* (Paris: Fayard, 1983).

On the GTEs, a useful article is Sarah Farmer, "Out of the Picture: Foreign Labor in War time France," in Sarah Fishman, ed., *France at War: Vichy and the Historians*, trans. David Drake (Oxford: Berg, 2000). Other studies focus on the Roma in French internment camps. See Emmanuel Filhol, *Un camp de concentration français: Les Tsiganes alsaciens-lorrains à Crest, 1915–1919* (Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 2004); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes En France: Un Sort à Part, 1939–1946* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Emmanuel Filhol, *La mémoire et l'oubli, l'internement des Tsiganes en France, 1940–1946* (Paris: Centre de recherches tsiganes; Harmattan, 2004); Marie-Christine Hubert, "L'internement des Tsiganes en France 1940–1946," *ChrAll* 12:3 (2008): 153–163; and Denis Peschanski, Marie-

Christine Hubert, and Emmanuel Philippon, *Les tsiganes en France, 1939–1946* (Paris: CNRS, 2010). On anti-foreigner legislation, see Danièle Lochak, "Les étrangers sous Vichy," *Plein droit*, 29–30 (November 1995), available at www.gisti.org/spip.php?article3834. On the IEQJ, see Joseph Billig, *L'Institut d'étude des questions juives, officine française des autorités nazies en France: Inventaire commenté de la collection de documents provenant des archives de l'Institut conservés au CDJC* (Paris, CDJC, 1974); and Stéphanie Dassa, Valérie Germon, and Cédric Gruat, "L'Institut d'étude des questions juives: Raison d'État et passion antisémite franco-allemande sous l'Occupation," *MJ* 179 (2003): 120–176.

One general primary source collection of importance for documenting French camps gathers inspection reports by the French National Police from AN (Police Générale), available at USHMMA as RG-43.016M. Most of the French departmental archives collections contain primary documentation on camps. USHMMA has collected copies of most of those collections in microform or digital form. All start with the reference RG-43 followed by additional numbers. They are cited in the notes of the following essays. In addition to local French sources, the ITS is invaluable not only for those who are searching for information about the fates of individuals but also for anyone who is interested in gaining a broader picture of the camp system. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM.

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NOTES

1. Paxton, *Vichy France*, p. 142.
2. Afoumado, *L'affiche antisémite en France sous l'Occupation*, p. 71.
3. Paxton, *Vichy France*, p. 169.
4. Peschanski, *La France des camps,* p. 195.
5. Filhol and Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France.*

6. Letter from Ministère de la Santé Publique et de la Famille, Administration des Victimes de la Guerre, Brussels, ITS 1.1.24.1 (Mecheln/Malines), folder 9, Doc. No. 1270043.

7. Hubert, "L'internement des Tsiganes en France 1940–1946," *ChrAll* 12: 3 (2008): 159.

8. Eggers, "Le périple de la mission Kundt," in Grand-jonc and Grundtner, eds., *Zones d'ombres 1933–1944*, pp. 213–226.

9. Klarsfeld, Delahaye, and Afoumado, eds., *La spoliation dans les camps de province*; *Les biens des internés des camps de Drancy, Pithiviers et Beaune-la-Rolande*.

10. Peschanski, *La France des camps*, p. 15.

11. Lochak, "Les étrangers sous Vichy."

12. Farmer, "Out of the Picture," p. 252.

13. Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes," p. 25.

14. Klarsfeld and André Delahaye, et al., *Fiches typologiques par lieu d'internement*, p. 48, available online at www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/.

15. Ibid., p. 13.

16. For lists of deceased Jews buried at Gurs, ITS, 1.1.9.11, folder 1, Doc. Nos. 11186770–11186975.

17. On Montluçon, VHA #22210, Simon Grinbaud testimony, November 5, 1996; and Eggers, *Unerwünschte Ausländer*, p. 180.

18. Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes," p. 51.

19. Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs en France 1940–1944*, pp. 167–168.

20. Peschanski, *La France des camps*, p. 16.

21. Joly, *Vichy dans la "solution finale*," pp. 110–111.

22. Ibid., p. 53.

23. Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs en France 1940–1944*, p. 69.

24. Afoumado, *L'affiche antisémite en France sous l'Occupation*.

25. Klarsfeld, "La livraison par Vichy," pp. 132–154.

26. Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, p. 130.

27. Ibid., p. 108.

28. For the complete list of those transported in the convoy, see ITS, 1.1.9.1, List Material B.d.S. France, folder 32, Doc. Nos. 11180464–11180496; ITS, List Material Drancy, 1.1.9.9, folder 4, Doc. Nos. 11187973–11188030.

29. Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs en France 1940–1944*, p. 392.

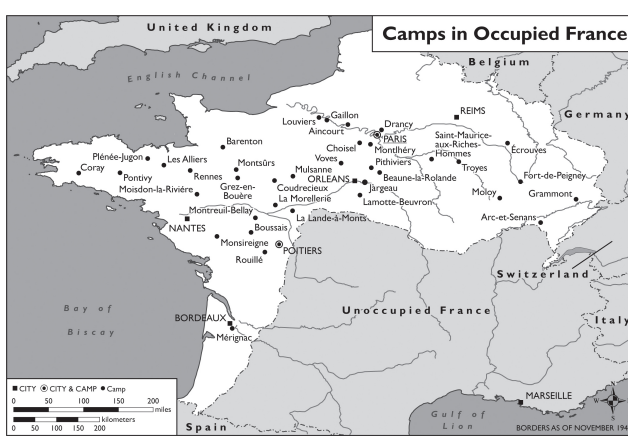
30. Ibid., p. 394.

31. Ibid., p. 398.

32. Ibid., p. 401.

33. Ibid., p. 436.

34. Ibid., p. 1090.



Camps in Unoccupied France
Occupied France
Switzerland
Italy
Spain
Mediterranean Sea
Bay of Biscay
NANTES
POITIERS
BORDEAUX
Douadic
Évaux-les-Bains
Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux
Séreilhac
Nexon
La Meyze
Saint-Germain-les-Belles
Le Mont-Dore
La Bourboule
Saint Nectaire
Soudeilles
Egletons
Château du Sablou
Château du Roc
Rabes
Château-Doux
Chaudes-Aigues
Catus
Puy-l'Evêque
Cassenueil
Château de Tombebouc
Buzet-sur-Baïse
Caylus
Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe
Villemur-sur-Tarn
Gaillac
Château de Bégué
Montech
Brens
Castres
Récébédou
Lacaune-les-Bains
Lamalou-les-Bains
Masseube
Rivel
Noé
Audaux
Gurs
Lannemezan
Nay
Le Vernet d'Ariège
Bram
Fort du Portalet
Cauterets
Eaux-Bonnes
Bagnères-de-Luchon
Aulus-les-Bains
Rivesaltes
Perpignan
Le Barcarès
Saint-Cyprien
Argelès-sur-Mer
Port-Vendres
Collioure
Agde
Frontignan
MARSEILLE
Saliers
Miramas
Les Milles
Chibron
Fréjus
Reillanne
Sisteron
Montélimar
Loriol
Rieucros
Mallavielle
Le Cheylard
Chabanet
Tence
Saint-Georges d'Aurac
Alboussière
Valbonnais
Prémol
Fort-Barraux
Montmélian
Modane
Annecy
Savigny
Sallanches
Ruffieux
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La Guiche
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BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

AGDE

The Agde camp was situated in the northeast part of the city of Agde (Hérault Département, Languedoc-Roussillon region in the Southern Zone) on National Road 110, at the present site of the René-Cassin school.[1] Agde is about 47 kilometers (29 miles) southwest of Marseille. The facility was built in 1939 by military engineers on land belonging to the Agde municipality to serve as a receiving center for Spanish Republican refugees. Intended for 15,000 to 20,000 people (though 24,000 internees were admitted in July 1939), the camp included close to 200 wooden barracks spread over approximately 30 acres near the Mirabel military installation. After the Fall of France, many of these Spanish refugees requested permission to travel to Marseille where they could then emigrate to Mexico, whereas others requested repatriation to Francisco Franco's Spain. From September 1939 to June 1940, the Agde center also housed a thousand Czech volunteers stationed on French soil to fight the Germans. In June 1940, it became the 16th center for recruitment of the Belgian Army, receiving more than 4,000 soldiers under the command of Colonel Burck. After Belgium's capitulation on May 28, 1940, the recruits were interned until August 1940.

Under the Vichy regime, Agde held almost 6,000 civilian detainees of 30 different nationalities, of whom 1,000 were Jews.[2] In November 1940, some German Jews were directed "provisionally" to Agde and Montelimar, rather than to Gurs in the Pyrénéés-Atlantique Département. According to administrative documents, as of the end of November 1940, the majority of these Jews had come to Agde via Belgium.[3]

After the Armistice, some 4,000 demobilized soldiers from French territories in North Africa were stationed at the camp in Agde, awaiting repatriation. In September 1940, the First Legion of Indochinese Workers, under Labor Ministry control and headed by Commandant Gérard, was based at Agde.[4]

Group portrait of prestataires (voluntary civilian foreign laborers) in the Agde internment camp. Most are Indochinese, with the exception of Karl Mayer, an Austrian Jewish refugee, June 19, 1941. USHMM WS #27643, COURTESY OF EDITH MAYER CORD.

As of early 1940, Agde was divided into four camps. Camp I housed a group of 4,000 foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE) from Indochina; Camp II held demobilized Czech volunteers; Camp III held GTE No. 227 of Spanish workers (about 200 people) and included a parking lot; and Camp IV detained civilians, with a maximum capacity between 5,000 and 5,200 prisoners.[5] Camp IV was further divided into four subcamps: Camps 1 and 2 held women and children younger than 12, and Camps 3 and 3a held men. Each subcamp had a commander, most of whom were army lieutenants. Commandant Bena oversaw the camp's overall administration along with its director, Capitaine Tassart (or Tassard).[6]

At first, French military authorities under Général Menard ran the camp with the support of the French police from its headquarters of Hérault. By 1940, Menard was attached directly to the Hérault headquarters. On October 25, 1940, Agde's administration was transferred to the Vichy Interior Ministry, and

the camp assumed the title of "reception center for foreigners" (*Centre de rassemblement des étrangers*).

Conditions were harsh. The camp's barracks had leaky roofs, and an Interior Ministry report noted that in inclement weather the beds inside certain barracks became covered in snowdrifts.[7] Clothing supplies were insufficient, and many detainees continued to wear the ragged clothes and worn-out shoes in which they arrived.[8] The camp's finances were often tight, to the point that detainees occasionally went without food because contracted suppliers were not paid.[9]

Camp IV, the civilian camp, was evacuated on the order of the War Ministry on March 15, 1941. Under Commandant Gérard, the Indochinese workers of Camp I guarded it and provided labor for renovations.[10] More GTEs (Nos. 311, 317, 318, and 321) were sent to the camp during this period, including multiple groups of Spanish workers, 40 or so Belgians, and one group of German deportees, 60 percent of whom were Jewish.[11] GTE No. 430 was also attached to the camp from 1941 to 1943. As of May 3, 1941, there were 3,376 foreign workers at Agde.[12] Discipline was much more lax.[13]

Escapes were a consistent problem for Agde's administration. A set of reports from February 18 to 23, 1941, lists 21 escapees, most of whom either dis appeared during the night or never returned to camp from authorized trips outside.[14] In a letter from the previous month to the Interior Minister, the prefect noted that the camp's guards were "powerless to stop this exodus."[15]

At least several dozen detainees were held in contravention of the law of December 9, 1941, which forbade the detention of foreigners and stateless Jews residing in France before 1936. Two survivor testimonies mentioned the efforts of the general secretary of the Hérault Prefecture, Camille Ernst, to make these detainees aware of their rights and to obtain their legal release.[16] A January 8, 1941, letter from an Interior Ministry representative to the sub-prefect of Béziers raised additional concerns that women with French citizenship who were married to foreigners were wrongly detained with their spouses.[17]

After the Jewish roundups of August 26, 1942, the reopened camp served provisionally as a transit camp before deportation.

After the Germans occupied the city of Agde on November 13, 1942, the camp was no longer active. The last prisoners were sent to Rivesaltes, Noé, and Drancy. In the autumn of 1943, the camp was dismantled, and in August 1944 its infrastructure was totally destroyed after the German retreat.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Agde camp start with Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000). See also Irène Dauphin, "Le camp d'Agde (1939–1943)," in Jean Sagnes, ed., *Agde: 2600 ans d'histoire* (Toulouse: Editions Privat, 2006), pp. 118–119; and Michaël Iancu, "Le camp d'Agde" and "Les demandes de libération des Juifs internés au camp d'Agde," in *Vichy et les Juifs: L'exemple de l'Hérault* (Montpellier: Presse universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2007), pp. 145–183.

Most of the archival sources dealing with the Agde camp are held in ADH under the following classifications: 12W5, 12W6, 12W123, 12W124, 12W225, 12W754, 12W755, 12W772 (for the sub-headquarters of Béziers), 363W262-264, and 2W619–2W624. Some of this documentation is available at USHMMA under RG-43.103M, mostly focusing on the period from 1940 to 1941. Regarding the German Jews at Agde, see the internal note from DGSN to the vice president of the Council, Secretary of State Minister of Foreign Affairs (political supervision—Europe), November 28, 1940, at AN F7 15105. USHMMA holds two oral history interviews with Agde camp survivors: Fred Loewy (RG-50.030*0501) and Arnold Einhorn (RG-50.030*0306). VHA has 46 survivor testimonies that mention the Agde camp, including those by Joseph Benesch (#10567), Sigi Hart (#232), and Michael Taylor (#19695).

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NOTES

1. Rapport de l'Architecte Départemental, Objet: "Camp d'Agde," March 5, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M (ADH), reel 2, 2W623, p. 19 (USHMMA, RG-43.103M/2/2W623,

with page); camp map, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.103M/2/2W623, p. 33.

2. "État numérique par Nationalités, des internés du Camp d'Agde, au 15 février 1941," February 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/1/2W620, p. 308.

3. Commissariat de l'Hérault, "Liste comprenant le nombre des étrangers internés entre le 1 octobre et le 15 novembre 1940," November 25, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/1/2W620, p. 356.

4. Rapport de l'Architecte Départemental, Objet: "Camp d'Agde," March 5, 1941.

5. Commissaire Spécial Chef de Service du Camp d'Agde to S-P Béziers, January 5, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/1/2W620, pp. 406–409; on camp IV's maximum capacity, S-P Béziers to Maître des Requêtes au Conseil d'État de P/H, November 24, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/1/2W620, p. 401.

6. Commissaire Spécial du Camp d'Agde to S-P Béziers, January 5, 1940.

7. Ibid.

8. Commissaire Spécial du Camp d'Agde to S-P Béziers, January 8, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/1/2W620, p. 38.

9. Régisseur Comptable du Camp d'Internés d'Agde to P/H, January 7, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103/1/2W620, pp. 31–32.

10. Rapport de l'Architecte Départemental, Objet: "Camp d'Agde," March 5, 1941.

11. Gérard to P/H, May 16, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/2/2W623, p. 44; for the list of GTEs, see Commissaire de Police d'Agde, "Effectif du Camp d'Agde," May 3, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/2/2W623, p. 377.

12. "Effectif du Camp d'Agde," May 3, 1941.

13. Commissaire de Police d'Agde to S-P Béziers, May 3, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/2/2W623, p. 369.

14. Commissaire Spécial du Camp d'Agde to S-P Béziers, January 5, 1940; set of escape reports, February 19–23, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/1/2W620, pp. 361–368.

15. Quotation from P/H to Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur, January 7, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43. 103M/1/2 W620, p. 372.

16. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0501, Fred Loewy, oral history interview, November 30, 2005; USHMMA, RG-50.030*0306, Arnold Einhorn, oral history interview, March 1, 1995.

17. Commissaire Spécial du Camp d'Agde to S-P Béziers, January 8, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/1/2W620, pp. 35–36.

AINCOURT

Established in October 1940, Aincourt was the first "administrative internment camp" (*camp d'internement administratif*) for political prisoners in the Occupied Zone. The French police also classified Aincourt as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS). It was located in the Seine-et-Oise Département (today: Val d'Oise), in a village of about 10 square kilometers (about 4 square miles) about 49 kilometers (30 miles) west of Paris. It was established on the site of a sanitarium that opened in 1933, comprising three pavilions for men, women, and children, which had been set up to cope with a resurgence of tuberculosis. As a detention site, the former men's pavilion, called Adrien Bonnefoy-Sibour, housed communist prisoners.

On October 5, 1940, the French police organized a roundup of syndicalists and former elected communists in the Seine area. Among the arrested were two parliamentary deputies, Pierre Dadot and Fernand Grenier; about 40 municipal advisors; and two veteran politicians responsible for the Unitary General Confederation of Labor (*Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire*, CGTU). The German occupation authorities sent 210 of these political prisoners to Aincourt, marking the beginning of the camp's operation. Resisters were arrested as well, as attested by the arrest on November 21, 1940, of 61-year-old Camille Guillaume, formerly an elected municipal official of Vigneux, who remained imprisoned at Aincourt until his death in February 1942.

When Aincourt was a sanitarium, it had space for 500 sick people, but it was overcrowded after it became an internment camp. The camp's population peaked at 679 prisoners in June 1941, when Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union and the French police accelerated the roundups of French Communist Party (*Parti communiste français*, PCF) members. A total of 1,156 prisoners passed through the camp in 1940 and 1941.

By authority of the Interior Ministry, Police Commissioner

Andrey, hardly 30 years old and with a degree in law from Versailles, became Aincourt's first commander. According to Fernand Grenier, the initial impression that Andrey made on the prisoners at Aincourt was favorable, but it quickly changed with the imposition of collective punishment after the first escape attempt.[1] As one of Andrey's letters attests, he kept meticulous dossiers on the prisoners under his charge. He describes one prisoner this way: "This is one of the most dangerous elements and he possesses a certain ascendancy among all the communists of the region of Saint Cyr and of the Clayes-sous-Bois. His internment, far from diminishing his revolutionary violence, only aggravates it."[2]

Commissioner Andrey encouraged dissension among the prisoners. According to a study by historian Nadia Ténine-Michel, one faction, the "Gittonists," was centered around long-term prisoner Marcel Gitton and was estimated to comprise about 13 percent of the prisoner population in February 1942. This faction consisted of the collaborationist French Workers' and Peasants' Party (*Parti ouvrier et paysan français*, POPF). Another faction, making up 16 percent of the population, was associated with communist prisoner Marcel Capron and was classified as containing "fierce militants" in spite of their time in the camp.[3]

The majority of the prisoners had been living in the Paris suburbs. There were only a few Parisians and 12 Bretons. All were from the world of manual labor and from the metallurgical and building trades. Commissioner Andrey prohibited the prisoners from receiving visits, books, newspapers, and mail. The prisoners worked to keep the camp functioning: they had kitchen duties, handled maintenance work, did the laundry, and cut up firewood. The barracks could not accommodate the large number of arrested prisoners, and it was decided that the young people, ages 17 to 25, would sleep in the dining hall.

On the night of December 8, 1940, a bomb, presumably dropped by a stray aircraft from the Royal Air Force (RAF), broke many windows, forcing the prisoners to build fires nightly to keep warm. According to Grenier, the bomb also wounded two guards and one prisoner.[4] During the course of Aincourt's existence, there were at least three escape attempts, with successful escapes on August 15, 1941, and September 24, 1941. The latter escape prompted

additional collective retaliation: an 11-hour room curfew, exclusive of lunch.

Between 1940 and 1942, the prisoners were transferred from Aincourt to Châteaubriant, Compiègne, and Rouillé. In April and May 1942, all the remaining internees were transferred to Voves. The women evacuated from Châteaubriant were temporarily sent to Aincourt, but were evacuated on September 15, 1942. Aincourt then became a center for training the Vichy paramilitary, the Mobile Reserve Group (*Groupe Mobile de Réserve,* GMR).

SOURCES Secondary sources on Aincourt include Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); Nadia Ténine-Michel, "Le camp d'Aincourt (Seine-et-Oise) 5 octobre 1940–15 septembre 1942," *Le Parti Communiste française de la fin de 1938 à la fin de 1941* (conference proceedings, Paris, October 14–15, 1983); partially reprinted in "Aincourt," in Jean-Pierre Rioux, Jean-Pierre Azéma, and Antoine Prost, eds., *Les Communistes français de Munich à Châteaubriant (1938–1941)* (Paris: Presses de la FNSP, 1987), pp. 183–191; and Roger Colombier, *Ain-court, un camp oublié* (Paris: éd. Le Temps des Cerises, 2009). The Colombier book, by a militant syndicalist and retired railroad worker, is a collection of testimonies and archival holdings on the operation of Aincourt.

The principal archival documentation for Aincourt may be found in ADY in its ASO collection in several record groups: 1W66–67 (repression of communism); 1W70–71 (on Aincourt); 1W72 and 1W74–77 (arrests, releases, transfers); 1W272 (individual dossiers); and 300 W84 (general affairs and escapes). Also see APPP, in the carton, "Parti communiste," signature BA 1928, and in "occupation allemande," signature BA 2374. See also the Lebègue report (IGC) of February 20 1942, AN F7 150107; and the list of communist internees, AN AJ40 882. One may also refer to the writings of the communist deputy, Fernand Grenier, who testified about his time at Aincourt. See, for example, his *C'était ainsi (1940–1945)* (Paris: éd. Sociales, 1970).

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NOTES

1. Fernand Grenier, *C'était ainsi (1940–1945)*.
2. Andrey letter, February 19, 1942, as quoted in Roger Colombier, *Aincourt, un camp oublié*, pp. 70–71.
3. Ibid., p. 78.
4. Grenier, *C'était ainsi*, p. 31.

ALBOUSSIÈRE

Alboussière (Ardèche Département) is located between Valence and Lamastre, approximately 163 kilometers (101 miles) northeast of Montpellier and 190 kilometers (118 miles) northwest of Marseille. The Beauséjour Hotel in Alboussière was the site of an accommodation center (*centre d'hebergement*) operated by the Service of the Supervision of Foreigners or Social Supervision of Foreigners (*Service du Contrôle des Étrangers*, SSCE, or *Contrôle Sociale des Étrangers*, CSE). Its main period of operation extended between May 1943 and February 1944, when up to 100 inmates were registered at the site. The majority of inmates were elderly German Jewish refugees, most of whom had been previously detained at Gurs, Rivesaltes, and other camps in southern France. Fifty-seven of them were arrested on February 18, 1944, and deported to Auschwitz.[1]

The creation of the Alboussière center was the result of the efforts of the head of the SSCE, Gilbert Lesage. In March 1943, he proposed to the Vichy Interior Ministry that old and unfit Jews still interned in camps for "undesirables" be transferred into the care of the SSCE. On March 25, 1943, the Interior Ministry agreed to release elderly, indigent inmates, particularly from Gurs, as soon as the SSCE could absorb and house them.[2]

When the site at the Beauséjour Hotel in Alboussière opened in May 1943, it was designated as SSCE Center 20a. In July 1943, some 100 inmates were registered at the hotel and its annex. In September, there were 60 inmates: 54 Jews and 6 Spaniards. In October, there were approximately 80 inmates, most between the ages of 60 and 85 years old who arrived at Alboussière in ill health after years of detention in other internment camps. Among them was Caroline Strauss (née Wolf), a German Jew born on April 6, 1871, in Oestringen.

After her arrest in Heidelberg in October 1941, she was interned at Gurs and finally at Alboussière, where she died on December

12, 1943.[3]

The Camps Commission of the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF) oversaw the administration of the Alboussière accommodation center.[4] Camp director Louis Chéron lived on site with his wife. Doctors and nurses among the inmates provided medical care. Initially, the camp had the legal status of a public institution and thus received priority in the allocation of supplies. A local baker delivered bread. The loss of this preferential status in the summer of 1943 resulted in food shortages, and the inmates suffered chronic hunger. They also had to endure the cold in the winter because there was a shortage of fuel and only parts of the hotel were heated.[5]

Although most inmates at the Beauséjour Hotel were elderly, there were at least two young inmates registered at the site. Roger Misrahi was 13 years old when he arrived at the hotel along with his mother and his 11-year-old sister Suzanne on August 21, 1943. Their parents, classified by the French authorities as "stateless persons of Turkish origin," had been detained in a number of camps for "undesirables," including Rivesaltes, Gurs, and Masseube. Roger Misrahi later testified that the family's conditions improved significantly at Alboussière. He recalled, for instance, that rations were small, but better than in other camps. According to him, Louis Chéron and his wife treated the residents with decency. The family also enjoyed some freedom of movement within the village, and the children were allowed to attend the local school, where they received extra food.[6]

On February 17, 1944, Gilbert Lesage and other administrators assembled at Alboussière to inspect the camp. The German authorities arrived at the site at 6 P.M. the following evening to place the Jewish inmates under arrest. In addition to 57 Jewish residents of the Beauséjour Hotel, they also arrested two elderly French Jews registered at the Serre Hotel in Alboussière. Among those arrested was Benjamin Braumann, born May 16, 1875, in Unteraltertheim. A German Jew, he was first arrested on October 22, 1940, in Bruchsam. He was sent from there to Gurs, subsequently transferred to a camp at Marseille, and finally to the Alboussière center. From there he was deported on February 18, 1944, to the Drancy transit camp and finally to Auschwitz, where he perished.[7] Similarly, Eisig Rössler, a Polish Jew born in 1878 in

Frystak, was arrested alongside his wife Deborah in Luchon in 1941. They were transferred to the Rivesaltes camp, then to Masseube, and finally to Alboussière. Both are believed to have been deported to the East, where they presumably perished.[8]

Based on Gestapo arrest lists, researchers have been able to establish a profile of the inmates present at the Beauséjour Hotel at the time of the February 1944 roundup. Nearly 70 percent were women. There were two inmates younger than 16, but 45 percent of the inmates were 60 years or older and 25 percent were 70 years or older. More than 65 percent of the inmates were German nationals, but Frenchmen, Turks, Greeks, and one Russian, one Hungarian, and one Romanian were also registered. Those deported from Alboussière represented nearly a third of the 205 victims of deportations from the Ardèche Département.[9]

According to camp director Chéron, approximately seven residents were able to slip out of the Beauséjour Hotel during the chaos of the February roundup and so avoided arrest. Among those who got away were Roger Misrahi and his mother. The Spaniards who still occupied the site were not targeted during this roundup. Only a few Jewish inmates remained at the hotel after the initial roundup, and after Liberation, refugees occupied the site well into 1945.

Although Lesage was honored as a Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem in 1985, the evidence whether he knew about the impending deportation or attempted to warn the inmates about it is inconclusive, according to historian Vincent Giraudier.

SOURCES Several secondary sources mention the Alboussière center. See especially Vincent Giraudier et al., *Des indésirables: Les camps d'internement et de travail dans l'Ardèche et la Drôme durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Valence: Peuple Libre & Notre Temps, 1999); Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2001); and Tal Bruttmann, "'L'Action Brunner' à Grenoble (Fevrier-Mars 1944)," *MJ* 174 (2002):18–43. René Nodot's memoirs detail the March 1943 negotiations between Lesage's representative and the Vichy

Interior Ministry: *Resistance non violente 1940–1944: Mémoires* (N.P.: Centre Régional de Documentation pédagogique, 1978).

Primary sources documenting the Alboussière center can be found at AD-Ard. Selected records of the AD-Ard are available at USHMMA (RG-43.111M), including lists of names of Jews in the Alboussière internment center and records pertaining to the roundup of February 18, 1944, and subsequent arrests. The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several German Jewish and Polish Jewish victims registered at Alboussière; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. Documents pertaining to Lesage's activities can be found in the Fonds Lesage, CDJC. VHA survivor testimonies citing Alboussière as a site of hiding include Marc Breuer, January 23, 1997 (#25024); Betty Factor, née Farb, August 16, 1998 (#46275); Sarah Montard, née Lichtsztejn, November 5, 1996 (#22211); and Renata Roz, née Roz, March 14, 1996 (#12070).

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1. The names of the deported are available in the records of the Prefecture 1st Division 2nd Office available at USHMMA, RG-43.111M (AD-Ard), reel 4. The list of deportees is also reproduced in Giraudir, *Des indésirables*, pp. 435–436.

2. CDJC, Fonds Lesage, as cited in Giraudir, *Des indésirables*, p. 424.

3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Caroline Wolf (verh. Strauss), Doc. No. 52931210.

4. CDJC, Fonds Lesage, as cited in Giraudir, *Des indésirables*, p. 424.

5. Ibid., pp. 426–427.

6. Roger Misrahi testimony quoted in Giraudir, *Des indésirables*, pp. 428–429.

7. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Benjamin Braumann, Doc. No.

52206665.

8. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Eisig Rössler, Doc. No. 50586445.

9. Giraudir, *Des indésirables*, p. 430.

ANNECY

Annecy is located at the northern tip of Lake Annecy in the Rhône-Alpes region of eastern France, about 34 kilometers (21 miles) south of Geneva. It is the prefecture of the Haute-Savoie Département, which borders both Switzerland and Italy. The town was a popular vacation destination and the site of summer camps for youth, including Jewish children, which continued to be operated by charity organizations during the early war years.[1] Eventually, resistance fighters and aid organizations such as the French Children's Aid Society (*Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants*, OSE) organized several children's transports from Annecy and Annemasse to Switzerland. Several hundred children living in hiding in the area or in OSE facilities were saved this way.[2] The total number of camps or other sites of detention located in Annecy is not clear, although there is some evidence suggesting that several detention centers and internment camps for foreign "undesirables" and others operated there. These included an internment camp for a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), a residential center for foreign refugees, and the prison Saint François, among others.[3]

GTE No. 517 operated out of the Marquisats Hotel (*Hotel des Marquisats*) on Crêt-du-Maure Avenue. Nineteen Jews were registered at the site in March 1943 and 21 in May 1943. In May 1943, 63 women came to the site, of whom 53 were Jewish, mostly of German origin. Documentation is scarce and survivors' recollections are often sketchy. Many recall the stay in Annecy as only one in a long line of camps through which they passed.[4]

There were roundups and deportations of French and foreign Jews from the area throughout 1942.[5] The Italian occupation of Haute-Savoie from November 1942 until September 1943 temporarily disrupted these events.[6] However, deportation resumed with a major Gestapo-organized roundup in the area on November 16, 1943. At least four French Jewish children were among those deported to Auschwitz on November 20, 1943.[7] Their

last known address was a so-called reception center (*centre d'accueil*) at a school at Les Marquisats, operated until then by the Office of Social Services for Foreigners (*Service Social des Étrangers*, SSE). Félix Wodowski (age 6), Regine Wodowski (age 11), Marcel Zilberstein (age 7), and Raymond Heger (age 4) were moved from Les Marquisats to an assembly point at Chambery. They were deported from there to Auschwitz on convoy 62 on November 20, 1943.[8] In addition, a significant number of adults, many of them foreign Jews, were arrested during the November 16 roundup and subsequent ones.[9] It appears that the Gestapo used the Annecy school building as a temporary collection center for deportees during this period.[10]

Arrests and deportations of Jews living in Annecy continued throughout the first half of 1944.[11] When French resisters liberated the town that summer, a number of Jews were still living there, many of them having spent years in hiding. In the fall of 1944, several dozen survivors received monetary aid from the Committee for the Protection of Jews (*Comité general de defense de Juifs*, CDJ) and from other aid organizations.[12]

SOURCES A few secondary sources mention detention sites in Annecy, including Serge Klarsfeld et al., eds., *French Children of the Holocaust: A Memorial* (New York: New York University Press, 1996); and Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: l'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

Primary sources documenting various aspects of internment and detention in Annecy are scarce. See UJRE, Fonds David Diamont, available in microform as USHMMA, RG-43.093M, reel 8. Among others this collection includes the names of at least 21 Jewish adults registered in Annecy in October 1944 who received financial aid from the organization; other records relating to refugee care in Annecy are contained in A-ICRC, available at USHMMA as RG-19.045M, reel 9; and UGIF, Commission du Camps, 1941–1943, available at USHMMA as RG-43.025M, reel 9. The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about numerous Jews of various national origins registered at Annecy; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMA holds photos and artifacts of several Jewish refugees who tried to cross the

border at Annecy into Switzerland, some successfully. André Limot's collection (Acc. No. 2005.396). contains references to the family crossing into Switzerland. At least one family member, Renate Hirsch, was arrested and temporarily put into a camp in Annecy before successfully escaping into Switzerland. USHMMA holds oral history interviews with Eva Edmands (RG-50.030*0064, October 18, 1990) and Paula Blue (RG-50.030*0537, August 7, 2009), the latter detailing several instances of hiding and then detention in Annecy, crossing into Geneva, and internment in a Swiss refugee camp. Peter Feigl's interview reveals Annecy as the site of youth summer camps into the early war period (RG-50.030*0272, August 23, 1995). VHA holds important background information on several camps operating in Annecy: Erika Brodsky, July 12, 1995 (#3945); Margot Walton, November 19, 1995 (#6692); Edith Hausman, July 2, 1996 (#16982); Esther Brawerman, May 2, 1997 (#30942); Marie Dora Beinglas, October 6, 1997 (#34773); Inge Nowakowska, August 19, 1997 (#35505); Renee Wiener, September 28, 1995 (#7199); Hanna Charney, December 4, 1995 (#9556); Benjamin Bennoun, December 6, 1995 (#9688); and Suzanne Ringel, October 1, 1996 (#20420).

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0272, Paula Blue, oral history interview, August 7, 2009.
2. VHA #7199, Renee Wiener testimony, September 28, 1995.
3. See photographs in USHMMA, Acc. No. 2005.396, André Limot collection; ITS, 1.2.2.0, folder 4, Doc. No. 82155380; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Joseph Clarens, Doc. No. 51445750.
4. VHA #3945, Erika Brodsky testimony, July 12, 1995.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Frida Stocknopf, Doc. No. 52351138.
6. ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 7, Doc. Nos. 82198102ff.
7. Klarsfeld, ed., *French Children*, p. 1313.

8. Ibid.

9. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Hans Zigmann, Doc. No. 52853255.

10. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Jean Vuachet, Doc. No. 51380117.

11. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Alfred Hanau, Doc. No. 51671271.

12. CAR, Haute-Savoie Bureau, Annecy, February 14-March 2, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.093M (UJRE), box 41, reel 8, pp. 2711–2714.

ARC-ET-SENANS

In the Franche-Comté region in the east of France, the Doubs Département authorities established an internment camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) in the old Royal Salt Works dating from the era of King Louis XVI (eighteenth century) in the big market town of Arc-et-Senans, which is located some 159 kilometers (99 miles) northeast of Lyon. On the 25 hectares (approximately 61 acres) of this property, seven living quarters served as the residences of the interned families, and an additional building housed the staff. In 1938, under the government of Premier Édouard Daladier, Spanish refugees were accommodated in the confines of the salt works, the property of the Doubs Département.

At the end of June 1941, at the request of the German occupation authorities from the southern part of the Forbidden Zone along the Reich border, the French departmental authorities established a camp in Arc-et-Senans for housing the internees then scattered throughout the region (from Moloy, Peigney, and particularly the Chaux forest). Part of this camp was to be a "collection camp" created for "nomads" (*camp de rassemblement de nomade*) from the east of France, which became operational in September 1941.

In November 1942, the registers noted 254 internees; in August 1943, 185 internees were counted. The reports of the prefect inspectors estimated nevertheless the possibility of accommodating 500 Roma in this camp.

Guarding the camp was particularly difficult, because only a wall of little more than 2 meters (6.6 feet) in height protected the property, and the sparse shrubs and bushes made escape possible. Moreover, it was nearly impossible to make modifications to the site because the Royal Salt Works gained the status of a "historical monument" in 1926 (but which was only officially ratified on February 20, 1940). According to historian Laurent Peltier, there

were 127 escapes in all.

The prefecture of Doubs was responsible for the camp's administration; a chief of camp, Vernerey, a retired captain of the gendarmerie named by the prefect, ran the establishment. Assisting Vernerey was a brigadier-chief adjutant of the customs corps, Gravelle. Customs officers of the region guarded the camp, but in statements of regular reports remitted by the prefect of Doubs to Besançon, these ten men, unarmed, seemed not to be strict with the internees.

The dilapidated and poorly constructed facilities, the lack of medicine, and the poor hygiene in the camp resulted in numerous cases of illness (scabies, pharyngitis, infections, and the like), in spite of the establishment of the infirmary directed by Madame Veuve Le Picard. Between July and November 1942, 60 internees were transferred to a local hospital. However, no suspicious deaths were listed.

For the most part the internees worked outside the camp. A large unit of workers did forestry work as part of Organisation Todt (OT) in the vicinity of Champagnole (Jura). Others worked for the metallurgic union of d'Arc-et-Senans, a local soap manufacturer, a tree-cutting business, and a lumber mill. Others were employed at different tasks for maintaining the buildings and the adjoining estate.

On May 15, 1942, the camp officially became an internment camp. Its security was enhanced in response to complaints by inhabitants exasperated by the frequent escapes and what they considered to be the too easily granted leave authorizations.

On September 11, 1943, the camp closed with the transfer of 168 prisoners (of the remaining 190) to Jargeau. After the Liberation, it served as an administrative internment camp (in December 1944, it held 66 internees) before regaining its status as a historical monument and becoming a World Heritage Site.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Arc-et-Senans camp begin with Alain Gagnieux, *Chronique des jours immobiles: Les nomades internés à Arc-et-Senans, 1941–1943,* preface by Jacques Sigot (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2011); Nathalie Lambert,

"L'internement des tsiganes dans les salines d'Arc-et-Senans pendant la seconde guerre mondiale: 1941–1943" (unpublished MA thesis, Université de Franche-Comté, 2000; available at ADD, serial MM 2000/98); Laurent Peltier, "Le camp de nomads des Salines d'Arc-et-Senans; Juillet 1941–Septembre 1943," *ET* 13 (1999): 30–54 (the issue consists of a colloquy held at Arc-et-Senans); Peltier, "Le camp de nomades des Salines d'Arc-et-Senans" (1998; unpublished paper available at ADD, serial BC 1 5871); and Denis Peschanski, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2010).

Primary sources on this camp start with Rapport mensuel du chef de camp d'Arc-et-Senans, AN, AN 72 AJ 119; and ADD, serials 48 W 1–48 W 4. *ET* 13 (1999) includes interviews with former internees Felix Geneviève and a former guard, Brigadier Vienet.

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ARGELÈS-SUR-MER

Located 8 kilometers (5 miles) north of the Spanish border and 20 kilometers (12 miles) southeast of Perpignan, the beaches of Argelès-sur-Mer (Pyrénées-Orientales Département) were the site of a major internment camp for "undesirable" foreigners. Some 100,000 inmates occupied the site between February 1939 and September 1941. Most were soldiers of the Spanish Republican Army and of the International Brigades (Inter-brigades). Civilian refugees from the Spanish Civil War, many of them women, children, and the elderly, were also detained at Argelès. Some 7,500 inmates, including a sizable Jewish minority, were still registered there in September 1941 when the Vichy authorities liquidated the site. For many of the Jews, Argelès-sur-Mer became a way station to extermination camps in Eastern Europe, while thousands of the Spanish Republican internees died in concentration camps in Germany before the end of the war.

The French government opened the concentration camp (*camp de concentration*) at Argelès-sur-Mer to manage the massive refugee crisis resulting from the Spanish Civil War. In January 1939, an emissary of the Interior Ministry visited the Côte Vermeille and confirmed that the wide beaches outside of Argelès were a suitable location. Construction began on February 1, 1939, with the installation of barbed-wire fencing around an area that eventually would enclose 100 hectares (247 acres). There were no barracks or any other shelter when thousands of refugees arrived at the site after their weeks-long journey across the Pyrenees. They slept in holes dug in sand, under overturned vehicles, or in makeshift tents that offered little protection from the rough seaside climate. According to Remei Oliva, who was detained at age 21, the whole area stank of filth and smoke as people burned anything they could find for a little warmth. Many years after the war, Miquel Hijós recalled his bleak first impressions on arriving at Argelès as a 20-year-old: "People in wool caps, some with a blanket wrapped around their necks, desperately sad—they were

like the living dead. There were thousands of people on the ground; you didn't know where to step. The first days were hell."[1]

Some 80,000 people quickly crowded the camp site that lacked even basic amenities. In addition to the cold and deprivation, inmates suffered physical abuse and violence at the hands of mounted soldiers, many of them Senegalese. Local gendarmes also served as guards. Although official figures are not available, mortality rates during the first month were extremely high, as people succumbed to hunger, cold, injury, and disease. A burial ground outside the camp, the so-called Republicans' Cemetery, soon filled with crosses. Luís Martí Bielsa, who was interned at age 19, later recalled, "In the mornings, the Spanish Red Cross came by carrying stretchers and looking around the whole camp for people who had died during the night. They carried them out, one after the other."[2]

Infectious diseases such as dysentery, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and scurvy ran rampant. The camp eventually had five infirmary tents, and there were several doctors among the inmates, but lack of the most basic medical supplies made any effective treatment impossible. Children, the elderly, and pregnant women were particularly vulnerable to illness. In-mates traumatized by war and loss suffered from untreated depression and other mental illnesses. Suicide became endemic among the inmate population as the weeks wore on and despair mounted.[3] Former inmate and Republican soldier Manuel Rausa recalled, "I saw many people die by my side, shot to death, lots of them. It wasn't a shock to see someone commit suicide or die of illness. We were already used to death."[4]

Under the auspices of the French Army, the inmates eventually started building huts and began organizing camp life. The site, which was about two kilometers (over a mile) long, was subdivided into a military section and a smaller civilian section, separated by a river. Each section was further organized into smaller areas. In the civilian section, people formed groups of about 100, each headed by a "company leader" who answered to the French authorities. In the military section, the Republican Army retained its structures and hierarchies, and inmates were grouped by battalions and companies. Soldiers practiced drills, raised flags, and played bugle calls. Many wore their uniforms and

insignia and expressed their Republican pride and activism through participation in reading and discussion groups. Inmates also published two Republican journals that were painstakingly illustrated and copied by hand. There were several notable artists and political activists among the inmates, including Marcel Langer, a member of the Inter-brigade who went on to become a hero of the French resistance in Toulouse before his execution in July 1943. Rubén Ruiz Ibárruri, son of the Spanish communist leader Dolores Ibárruri, was another inmate. He escaped from the camp and died in September 1942 near Stalingrad, fighting for the Red Army. The Yugoslav communist Peko Dapčević was also interned before becoming a hero during the Partisan uprisings in Montenegro as commander of the Partisan troops that liberated Belgrade in October 1944. The writers Diego Camacho, Joaquim Amat-Piniella, and Arthur Adamov and the philanthropist Vincente Ferrer Moncho were among the inmates.

Interior gate at the Argelès-sur-Mer internment camp, 1939–1942.
USHMM WS #62401, COURTESY OF ELIZABETH EIDENBENZ.

Women constituted the majority of inmates in the civilian

section. Their situation was particularly perilous. They endured rampant sexual violence and humiliation at the hands of the Senegalese guards and local gendarmes. Survivors testified after the war that inmates took to carrying rape whistles, which unfortunately provided little protection against the constant threat of sexual assault. An unknown number of pregnancies resulted from these rapes. Many of the children were born at a maternity home in nearby Elna, which was operated by the Swiss humanitarian Elisabeth Eidenbenz with the help of international aid organizations and private donations. According to her, altogether some 300 children were born there to mothers interned in the refugee camps in southern France.[5]

The Argelès camp closed temporarily in July 1939. A number of inmates then returned to Spain, where many were ultimately executed or incarcerated despite the amnesty issued by the Franco regime. Most inmates were transferred to other camps in France, however, only to return to Argelès when the French authorities reopened the site in October 1939. They were now deemed "enemy aliens," a category that included not only Spanish Republicans but also many refugees from Nazi Germany and Austria, including Jews and communists. Ukrainians, Poles, Belgians, and Hungarians were also among the inmates. The guards tended to assign different nationalities to different sections of the camp. One section was reserved for Jewish inmates. Altogether, some 14,000 men, 2,500 women, and 2,500 children were detained at Argelès during this period. They languished there during the extremely cold winter of 1941. Long after the war, many survivors still recalled the blinding sandstorms that made camp life unbearable. Mortality rates spiked once again.[6]

The camp at Argelès-sur-Mer was finally liquidated in September 1941. Many of the remaining Spaniards were transferred to concentration camps in Nazi Germany. An estimated 13,000 "Red Spaniards" (*roten Spanier*) ended up in German camps, where 10,000 died, 7,000 of them at the Mauthausen concentration camp alone. Many of the Jewish inmates were transferred from Argelès-sur-Mer to other internment camps in France before being transferred to camps in Eastern Europe.[7] After the internment camp was closed, the Vichy government used the site as a paramilitary youth camp (*Chantiers de la jeunesse*

française).

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Argelès-sur-Mer camp include Anaya Minguez and Adrián Blas, *Los campos de Argeles, Sant Cyprien y Barcares 1939–1942: Arena, viento, frio, hambre, sudor, soledad y muerte de los republicanos españoles* (Fuenlabrada: Memoria Viva, 2012); and Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002). Several documentaries describe the camp. See especially Dept. Explotació CPA, *Argelès Camp* (2009); and Felip Solé, *Camp d'Argelès* (Kalimago Films, 2010). Online sources include a description and analysis of Felip Solé's *Camp d'Argelès*, www.kalimago.com/camp.html, and of the International Center of Photography at museum.icp.org/mexican_suitcase/gallery_capa2.html, which reproduces some photographs of the famous Hungarian war photographer Robert Capa, who visited the desolate camp at Argelès-sur-Mer in March 1939. Additional online sources include "Die Hölle auf dem Strand/'un infern somber la sorra.' Die französischen Internierungslager von Argelès und Saint-Cyprien 1939–1940," which contains eyewitness accounts, photographs, site maps, and analy sis, and is available at www.floerken.de/cyprien/cyprien.htm.

Primary sources documenting the Argelès-sur-Mer begin with AD-P-O (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.036M). The CNI of the ITS that is available in digital form at USHMMA contains the names of former Argelès inmates; an investigative report issued by the Kingdom of Belgium after the war is available at ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, pp. 455–474. There are also several oral history interviews with former Jewish inmates at Argelès-sur-Mer in VHA, among other archives. See, especially, Alfredo Vorshim, April 24, 1996 (#13865); Dave Korter, May 8, 1996 (#14998); and Egon Gruenhut, April 7, 1998 (#40167). A published con temporary account is Jaime Espinar, *"Argelès-sur-Mer" (campo de concentración para españoles)* (Caracas: Editorial "Elite," 1940).

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NOTES

1. Hijós testimony in *Argelès Camp*.
2. Bielsa testimony in *Argelès Camp*.
3. Oliva testimony in *Argelès Camp.*
4. Rausa testimony in *Argelès Camp.*
5. Eidenbenz testimony in *Argelès Camp.*
6. Oliva testimony in *Argelès Camp*.
7. VHA # 14998, Dave Korter testimony, May 8, 1996.

AUDAUX

The regional prefect of Toulouse, Léopold Chénaux de Leyritz, established a center for residential assignment (*assignation à résidence*) in the Gassion Castle in the village of Audaux at the end of 1941. The village was located in the Basses-Pyrénées Département (today: Pyrénées-Atlantique Département) 9.6 kilometers (6 miles) northwest of Gurs and 169 kilometers (105 miles) west of Toulouse. The detention site was the first of its kind, as defined by a November 1941 bill, which directed regional prefects in the Southern Zone to regroup "certain refugees," mainly foreign Jews, in places where "the people concerned shall bear the cost of their own housing and living expenses."[1] Local gendarmes served as the guards.

Because the extant documentation on the Audaux site is scant, there is little information on the number of detainees interned there.

On August 22, 1942, on an order from the Vichy Interior Ministry, the Toulouse prefect ordered the transfer of all foreign Jews to the much larger camp at Gurs, in preparation for their upcoming deportation to the "Occupied Zone before September 15."[2] As part of the coordinated removal of Jews from the Southern Zone, the Jews at Audaux were then dispatched to the Drancy transit camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the camp at Audaux are Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75; Claude Laharie, *Le Camp de Gurs: 1939–1945, un aspect méconnu de l'histoire du Béarn* (Pau: Infocamp, 1985); and Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994). Some information

on the Audaux camp can be found at the website, Amicale du Camp de Gurs, www.campgurs.com.

Primary documentation on the Audaux camp is scarce. One reference can be found in ADAu 04 6 J, where the site was decreed a center for assigned residence. The center's closure is mentioned in AD-P-A. A published document on the deportation of foreign Jews from the Southern Zone can be found in Jeanne Merle d'Aubigné and Violette Mouchon, eds., *Les clandestins de Dieu: CIMADE 1939–1945* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1989), pp. 210–211, Doc. 2.

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Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTES

1. Bill No. 39, November 3, 1941, ADAu 04 6 J, as cited by Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes," p. 71.

2. Quotation in Ministère de l'Intèrieur, Direction générale de la Police, à MM, les Préfets régionaux, August 4, 1942, reproduced in Merle d' Aubigné and Mouchon, eds., *Les clandestins de Dieu*, 210; see also reprise du rapport no. 1432/RG par le chef de camp (Gurs) au préfet, December 11, 1942, AD-P-A 64, classement provisoire M, p. 500/15.

AULUS-LES-BAINS

Aulus-les-Bains was located in the Ariège Département of the Midi-Pyrénées region, 91 kilometers (57 miles) south of Toulouse. This small spa town was chosen by the department's prefecture to become the location of a new center for residential assignment (*assignation à residence*), as of November 1941, to hold all the foreign Jews who lived in Ariège.[1] As such, it served as a regional center (*centre regional*). From regional-level correspondence from the fall of 1942, it is clear that the residential center at Cauterets (Hauntes-Pyrenées Département) answered to Aulus.[2]

The census noted that 686 Jews were assigned to the resort's hotels or to local homes. According to an undated report, most of these Jews were originally from Poland, who had immigrated to Belgium and subsequently found refuge in the Toulouse area.[3]

Most of the Jews at Aulus were then transferred to the camp at Le Vernet, especially after the roundup on August 26, 1942, when 174 Jews, mostly from Poland, were sent to Aulus. Those 174 Jews were then sent to the Drancy transit camp on September 1, before deportation to Auschwitz II-Birkenau on September 4, 1942, where only 26 survived. In November 1942, the dissolution of the Cauterets residential center brought more Jews into Aulus-les-Bains at the direction of the regional prefect, Léopold Chénaux de Leyritz. Between January 9 and 11, 1943, a second roundup sent 266 Jews via Saint-Girons to Drancy.[4] Those who were not arrested during the roundup were moved to the Creuse Département.

Rabbi Samuel Kapel visited the Aulus center several times. Nehemia Halpern served as the local rabbinical delegate.[5]

A few Jews managed to escape by crossing the nearby Spanish border with the assistance of non-Jews. In 2005, three shepherds from Ariège—Jeanne Rogalle, her husband Jean-Baptiste, and her father Jean-Pierre Acgoua—were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations for saving 13 Jewish refugees,

including the Henle family from the Netherlands, on December 5, 1942.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the assigned residential center at Aulus-les-Bains are Frank Ristorcelli, "Assignés à résidence: Le cas d'Aulus (Ariège)," in Jacques Fijalkow, ed., *Les enfants de la Shoah: Colloque de Laucaune, 17–18 septembre 2005* (Paris: Éditions de Paris, 2006), 79–95; Frank Ristorcelli, *Aulus-les-Bains, Auschwitz* (Portet-sur-Garonne: éd. Empreinte, 2004); Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75; Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); and David Lilienfeld, *La vie quotidienne des Juifs en Ariège, 1940–1945* (Massat: Les 3 Chaises, 2011). Information on the rescuers at Aulus-les-Bains can be found at db.yadvashem.org/righteous/search.html?language=en.

Primary sources documenting the center for assigned residence at Aulus-les-Bains can be found in ADA (collections 5W117 to 120; some of which is available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.052M); AD-C (976W104, some of which is available at USHMMA as RG-43.109M); and AD-H-P (12W67, available at USHMMA as RG-43.131M). Additional documentation can be found in CDJC, file CCXIX-128_001; file CCXIX-122_001; file CCXIX-129_001 (letter from July 14, 1942, sent by Halpern to Kapel); and file CCXIX-101_002. Ristorcelli, "Assignés à résidence," cites a number of survivor and rescuer testimonies in connection with the Aulus-les-Bains center for assigned residence, including those of Larissa Dachevsky and Jeanne Rogalle.

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NOTES

1. Bill No. 39, November 3, 1941, ADAu 04 6 J, as cited by Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes," p. 71.

2. Préfecture Régionale de Toulouse, Cheneux de Leyritz, Objet: "Assignation à résidence au Centre régional d'Aulus d'Israélites se trouvant actuellement au Centre de Cauterets," November 25, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.131M (ADH-P), 12W67, p. 391.

3. On the general situation of 375 Jews assigned to residence in Aulus-les-Bains, n.d., CDJC, file CCXIX-128_001.

4. AD-C, 976W104, as cited in Ristorcelli, "Assignés à résidence," p. 93.

5. Nehemia Halpern, Aulus-les-Bains, to Rabbi Kapel, Toulouse, July 5, 1942, CDJC, file CCXIX-122_001; and sousprefet de Saint-Girons on Nehemia Halpern, "organisation du centre d'accueil des Israélites étrangers d'Aulus-les-Bains," August 13, 1942, CDJC, file CCXIX-101_002.

BAGNÈRES-DE-LUCHON

Bagnères-de-Luchon is located in the Haute-Garonne Département, in the Midi-Pyrenees region adjacent to the Spanish border, 114 kilometers (approximately 71 miles) southwest of Toulouse. Jews like Leo Bretholz, who fled Belgium with his parents, settled in Bagnères-de-Luchon after the 1940 invasion.[1] As early as the beginning of 1941, however, they had to leave the city and move to Bagnères-de-Bigorre (Hautes-Pyrénées Département), where Jews in the region were purportedly sent. The case of the Reicher family confirmed this pattern: The Reichers (Mendel, Liba, and their children Abraham, Moses, Isaac, and Elimelech-Max) had come from Anvers, Belgium, on September 2, 1940, and settled in Bagnères-de-Luchon; they left on February 21, 1941, when they registered their children at the local school in Broût-Vernet.[2]

After November 1941, the town was chosen by the department's prefecture to become a center for residential assignment (*assignation à residence*) for all foreign Jews in the department, who were assigned to the town's hotels. The exact number of assigned Jews is unknown, but there were at least 10 of them in Bagnères, according to a report from March 1942.[3]

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the residential assignment center at Bagnères-de Luchon is Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75.

Primary sources on the Bagnères-de Luchon residential assignment center can be found in CDJC, file XXXIII-11 (minutes of January 15, 1942, from the Carteret investigation, the Inspector to the Investigation and Control Unit in Bagnèresde-Luchon); and USHMMA, RG-50.030*0038, Leo Bretholz interview (July 31, 1989, and September 27, 1989).

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0038, Leo Bretholz interview, July 31, 1989, and September 27, 1989.

2. AFMD, l'Allier, based on ADH-G, 2961W46.

3. CDJC, file XXXIII-11: January 15, 1942, minutes of the Carteret investigation.

BARENTON

Located 83 kilometers (51 miles) northeast of Rennes in the Basse-Normandie region of northwestern France, the town of Barenton (in the Manche Département) was the site of an internment camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports). The camp was located at an abandoned mine; hence the name by which it came to be known, "La Mine." Some 50 Roma were registered at the La Mine camp between April 11, 1941, and October 9, 1942.

A small number of Barenton inmates who were engaged in forced labor outside the camp were able to secure their release from the camp. The forced laborers had to move into segregated and guarded workers' quarters, however. By late 1941 the German authorities began to consolidate several of the smaller internment camps for Roma. After setting up a regional camp at Montreuil-Bellay (Maine-et-Loire), La Mine was closed on October 9, 1942. Its inmates were transferred to Montreuil-Bellay, which soon became the largest internment camp for Roma in the area, housing several hundred inmates.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Barenton camp include Marie-Christine Hubert, "The Internment of Gypsies in France," in Karola Fings, Herbert Heuss, and Frank Sparing, eds., *In the Shadow of the Swastika: The Gypsies during the Second World War*, 3 vols., trans. Donald Kenrick (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999), II: 59–88. Based on extensive archival documentation, Hubert's chapter provides valuable background information as well as detailed analysis and comparison of anti-Roma policies in the occupied and unoccupied zones of France. For a general overview see Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon, *Gypsies under the Swastika* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire, 2009); Denis Peschanski, *Les Tsiganes en France 1939–1946* (Paris: Éditions CNRS, 1994); and *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002), which also mentions the camp at Barenton.

Primary sources documenting the Barenton camp can be found in AD-E-L, collection 16W162; and AD-M, collection 265W2.

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BEAUNE-LA-ROLANDE

The Beaune-la-Rolande camp (Loiret Département) was located in the town of Beaune-la-Rolande in the Southern Zone in the Centre Region, just over 89 kilometers (55 miles) south of Paris. Beaune-la-Rolande was a French-run transit and internment camp and deportation center for Jews (men, women, and children) north of the Demarcation Line and closely associated with the camp at Pithiviers, located almost 18 kilometers (11 miles) northwest of Beaune-la-Rolande. Eigh teen thousand Jews were held in the camp; most of them were transported to Auschwitz, although some were deported to Compiègne and Drancy.

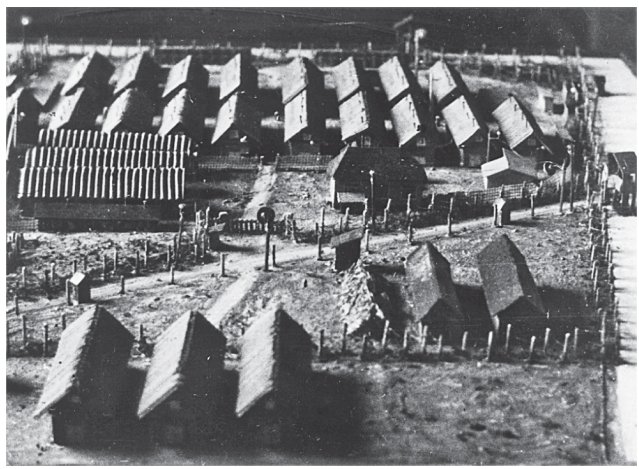
Beaune-la-Rolande was built during the winter of 1939 to receive Canadian troops and, after the Fall of France, was converted into a German camp for French prisoners of war. After March 1941 it became an internment center for Parisian Jews and was administered by the office of the Loiret prefect. The German authorities, under orders from SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker, took over operations at Beaune-la-Rolande in May 1942. The camp was closed in August 1943.

The first Jewish prisoners arrived at Pithiviers and Beaunela-Rolande on May 14, 1941. They had received "green tickets" (*billets verts*) from the Paris police the night before, which instructed them to report for a "status check" on the order of Dr. Werner Best. More than 3,700 men reported as instructed, were immediately arrested, and were taken by train from the Austerlitz railway station (*Gare d'Austerlitz*) to one of the two camps.

The inmates at Beaune-la-Rolande stayed in the Château d'Eau barracks. The camp had two sections: one reserved for the internees and the other for the administrative services (police station, infirmary, administration, and kitchen).

As of October 4, 1941, there were 1,552 internees: 1,341 Poles, 73 Czechs, 26 Austrians, 2 Lithuanians, 1 Portuguese, 1 Saarlander, 1 Hungarian, and 107 French. During its first year of

operation, the camp had at any given time between 1,200 to 1,500 Jews, even with releases, escapes, arriving convoys, and deportations.[1] However, the only prisoners released in 1941 from Beaune-la-Rolande were those who were gravely ill with a contagious disease or a terminal illness. At that time, 23 prisoners were proposed for release.[2]



Scale model of the Beaune-la-Rolande internment camp, by Aba Sztern and another inmate, March 1942. USHMM WS #46160, COURTESY OF WILLY FOGEL.

The French Red Cross (*Croix-Rouge Française*, CRF) brought aid to the families of those interned at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande. This relief was provided by Madames Getting and Gillet.[3] In some cases the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) served as a go-between for the CRF and those in need.[4]

While in Beaune-la-Rolande prisoners performed forced labor both inside and outside the camp. Some of the chores, such as cooking and cleaning, related to the camp's operation.[5] A staff member in 1941 named Mademoiselle Monod was authorized by the commandant to gather together the internees for agricultural work; before they left for the fields she demanded their word of honor that they would not escape.[6] Monod also started the camp's "book hour" and managed the books in the camp's library.[7]

Beaune-la-Rolande had a prisoner theater as well.[8]

According to documentation submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the doctors at Beaune-la-Rolande did a better job providing health care and had better morale than their counter parts at Pithiviers. The "Permanent Assembly of Social Workers of the Camps at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande" deemed the administration at Beaune-la-Rolande superior to that of its sister camp, a fact attributed to the exceptional commandant at Beaune.[9]

According to a 1942 camp report, the leadership of the Beaune-la-Rolande camp comprised the following positions: the camp commandant, the lieutenant of the gendarmerie, the manager Le Cuen, the manager Meuret, the accountant Senoist (in charge of managing the funds of the internees), the head of works Jacquet, and the head chef.[10] Beaune-la-Rolande's security force included 4 officers, 80 gendarmes, 43 customs officers, and 52 auxiliary guards, who were all armed with long guns and pistols.[11] At first Beaune-la-Rolande was an open camp, and the prisoners' families were allowed to visit.

After a few months under German control, the camp in September 1942 reverted to French control under the regional prefect and became an internment facility (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS), primarily for non-Jewish communist prisoners.

SOURCES Secondary sources on Beaune-la-Rolande include Amicale des Anciens Déportés Juifs de France, *Ce fut le commencement … le 14 mai 1941: Pithiviers et Beaune-la Rolande/Azoy hot zikh es ongehoybn … dem 14tn may 1941* (Paris: SIPN, 1951); I. Bachelier and D. Bastidon, *Les camps d'internement du Loiret: histoire et mémoire, 1941–1943* (Orléans, France: Centre de recherché et de documentation sur les camps d'internement et la déportation juive dans le Loiret, 1993); David Diamant, *Le Billet Vert: La vie et la résistance à Pithiviers et Beaune-la-Rolande, camps pour juifs, camps pour chrétiens, camps pour patriotes* (Paris: Éditions Renouveau, 1977); Serge Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz: La "solution finale" de la question juive en France* (1983; Paris:

Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2001); Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002); Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001); Annette Wieviorka, ed., *Les Biens des Internés des Camps de Drancy, Pithiviers et Beaune-la-Rolande* (Paris: La Documentation française, 2000); Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (New York: Basic Books, 1981); and Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994).

Extensive primary documentation on Beaune-la-Roland can be found in USHMMA. Materials available on microfiche include RG-43.016M, AN Police Générale, reel 14; Selected Records from the Fonds Diamant (CDJC, collections CMXXVIIICMXLII), RG-43.082M, reels 8 and 15; and RG-43.012M (AN), Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande index file. USHMMA materials covering Beaune-la-Rolande that are available digitally include AFSC, RG-67.007M, box 72–81, folder 16 of 140; and the ITS. CNI cards for some prisoners interned at Beaunela-Rolande can be found in ITS, 0.1. A large number of ITS records on Beaune-la-Rolande can be found in 1.2.7.18 (Persecution action in France and Monaco) and 2.3.5.1 (Belgian catalog on concentration and forced labor camps in Germany and German-occupied territory). USHMMA's relevant visual art collections include Acc. No. 2003.462, "Internment Camps in France in Art Collection," and RG-10.226, the "Ajke family collection, 1910–1999." VHA holds 56 testimonies that mention internment at Beaune-la-Rolande, including the one cited in this entry: Simon Barenbaum (#43487).

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. "Beaune-la-Rolande," ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370669.

2. "Beaune-la-Rolande qu'a Pithiviers," ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 10, Doc. No. 82198946.

3. Pillon, Directeur Général du Secours National, July 18, 1941. USHMMA, RG-67.007M (AFSC), box 72–81, folder 16 of 140, p. 197.

4. "Madame Getting, Comité d'Entre-Aide aux Internes Civils, Croix-Rouge Française," August 7, 1941, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, box 72–81, folder 16 of 140, p. 210.

5. "VI.—Travail," n.d. 1942, RG-43.016M (AN—Police Générale), reel 14, p. 3324.

6. "Le 'cirage' de l'Exposition," ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 10, Doc. No. 82198954.

7. Ibid.

8. VHA #43487, Simon Barenbaum testimony, May 13, 1998.

9. "Première visite à la Permanence des Assistances sociales des camps de Pithiviers et Beaune-la-Rolande," ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 10, Doc. Nos. 82198945–82198946.

10. "VIX. Personnel," n.d. (1942), RG-43.016M (AN—Police Générale), reel 14, p. 3329.

11. "Le Régime," ITS, 2.3.5.1., folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370670.

BOUSSAIS

In the town of Boussais, a small abandoned chateau, Chatillon, which belonged to the Deux-Sèvres Département, briefly served as an internment camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports). Boussais is located 95 kilometers (59 miles) southwest of Tours. Under the Third Republic, it had served as a reception center for Spanish refugees in 1939 and later for the outflow of refugees after May/June 1940.

From November 1940 the camp contained Roma who stayed either in their horse-drawn carriages or in the chateau's rooms. There was no barbed-wire fence around the chateau, a sign of the freedom permitted to the Roma. Witnesses emphasized that the Roma there enjoyed a modicum of peace and the guarantee of a minimal food ration.

Under the direct authority of the police chief of Deux-Sèvres, the secretary of the mayor of Boussais assumed responsibility for the administration of the camp. The police of the neighboring town of Airvault regularly inspected the camp "as a matter of form."[1]

The transfer of the Roma to Poitiers in December 1940 brought an end to the Boussais internment camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources for the Boussais internment camp may be found in Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–133; and Marie-Christine Hubert, "The Internment of Gypsies in France," in Karola Fings, Herbert Heuss, and Frank Sparing, eds., *In the Shadow of the Swastika: The Gypsies during the Second World War*, 3 vols., trans. Donald Kenrick (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999), 2:59–88.

The testimony of internee Charles Henrique is briefly summarized in Sigot, "Les Camps," pp. 107–108.

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Trans. René Stolbach

NOTE

1. Testimony of Charles Henrique as summarized in Jacques Sigot, “Les Camps,” *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 108.

BRAM

The Bram camp was located in the Aude Département, near Carcassonne about 142 kilometers (92 miles) southwest of Montpellier, on almost 5 hectares (about 12 acres) of requisitioned pasture land belonging to the owner of the Valgros Chateau, near the commune of Montréal. Also called the "camp of Pigny," Bram received an annual allowance of 15,000 francs for its operations starting February 5, 1939 (and conforming with a contract signed May 10, 1940).

Established on February 5, 1939, by prefectural order and completed February 16, the camp consisted of 165 wooden barracks in a trapezoidal shape (337 × 305 meters or 368 × 334 yards in width and length). The barracks were grouped into nine and one-half sections, labeled A through J, in addition to one for kitchen, sanitary, and administrative services on the periphery. A large passageway spanned the entire facility, with a watchtower at its center. A barbed-wire fence, 2.5 meters (eight feet) high, topped the exterior fence enclosing the area. Under the direction of Andre Cazes, engineer of the Ponts-et-Chaussees (bridges and roadways) of Aude, 300 workers, assisted by as many Spanish refugees, constructed the camp.

The original purpose of the Bram camp was to gather up and house elderly people among the Spanish refugees coming from the overcrowded camps of Saint-Cyprien and Argelèssur-Mer in the Roussillon region. In addition, Spanish leftists from the Communist Party of Spain (*Partido Communista de España*, PCE), Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia (*Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña*, PSUC), and Unified Socialist Youth (*Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas*, JSU) were interned there. From February through the end of August 1939, more than 10,000 Spaniards passed through Bram (the population peaked on March 15, 1939, with 15,688 internees). The direction of the camp was in the hands of the Chef d'Escadron Ramel, supported by the mobile guards supervised by various officers of the 41st Infantry

Regiment after May 24, 1939. The director seemed to have a good rapport with the prefectural authorities, and the camp's bud getary management received positive comments.

On July 20, 1940, one month after the Fall of France, the Spanish refugees were given the option of repatriation or continued internment at Bram. As of August 10, 1940, other foreigners in the Aude Département, whose temporary visas could no longer be renewed, likewise faced the choice of repatriation or internment at Bram. Among these foreigners were German and Austrian Jews. They formed a Group of Foreign Workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), whose principal task was maintaining the camp.

On September 23, 1940, after the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) expressed concerns about the poor conditions at Bram, the Minister of the Interior deemed the camp unsatisfactory, writing that Bram and Saint-Cyprien, were "considered the most defective, in view of their complete reorganization from the point of view of sanitary conditions and materiél organization."[1] During an inspection in the fall of 1940, Dr. Limousin, who was given permission by the French authorities to visit internment camps, pronounced Bram's sanitary conditions "mediocre."[2]

During the Bram camp's two years of operation, a total of 224 deaths occurred there, including about 40 children buried at first at the far end of the camp and then in a common grave in the Montréal cemetery. At the beginning of 1941, the camp was shut down for good.

SOURCES The Bram camp is discussed in Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002); and Eric Lagarde, "L'organisation et l'accueil des réfugiés républicains espagnols dans le département de l'Aude" (unpublished MA thesis, University of Toulouse, 1984) (available in ADAu under 19 FI 1-196).

Primary sources on Bram can be found in AN F1a 4523 (inspection générale des services administratifs, compte-rendu des

visites dans le camp de Bram); and F7 15095 (Compterendu de la visite des camps d'internés par le docteur Limousin, December 1, 1940). Detailed documentation can be found in ADAu in several collections: 6M22 (correspondance du commandant, août-novembre 1940); 6M26 (commissariat spécial de Carcassonne/6M165 états statistiques des réfugiés en 1939 etc.). In particular, see ADAu, 6M161 (Rapport du commandant du camp au général commandant la 16e région, Note de service du 23 juin 1940, No. 558/2; Rapport du préfet de l'Aude pour le ministère de l'Intérieur, n.d. [a little later than February 27, according to Peschanski, p. 50]; and états statistiques des réfugiés 1939); 6M340, 6M17 and 6M158: lettre du préfet aux maires du département, 10 août 1940; 6M26 (Etat des dépenses, 28 octobre 1940). Some ADAu holdings can be found at USHMM as RG-43.039M. Brief mention is made of Bram in ICRC documentation, as found in Serge Klars-feld with Jean Levy, eds., *Recueil de documents des archives du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge sur le sort des juifs de France internés et déportés, 1939–1945*, 3 vols. (Paris: FFDJF; New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, [1999]–2005).

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NOTES

1. Ministre secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur au cabinet militaire du chef de l'État, September 23, 1940, as quoted in Klarsfeld with Levy, eds., *Recueil de documents des archives du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge,* I: 71–72; also cited in Peschanski, *La France des camps*, pp. 230–231.

2. AN F7 15086, Compte-rendu de la visite des camps d'internés par le docteur Limousin, December 1, 1940.

BRENS

The camp at Brens was located in the Tarn Département in the Midi-Pyrénées region, 48 kilometers (30 miles) northeast of Toulouse on the edge of the National Road (*route nationale*), near the bridge connecting the small towns of Gaillac and Lavaur. It was situated in an area known as "The Bank" (*Les Rives*) on 2 hectares (4.9 acres) at the edge of the Tarn River requisitioned by order of the prefect. Ten barracks were constructed in October 1939 on each side of a central walkway; sanitary facilities, a kitchen, and a large dining area were built near these barracks. At the western end, eight barracks were added as part of three housing groups, with sanitary facilities attached to each group. Between the two sections of the camp, an infirmary was constructed (finished in May 1942), as well as two administration buildings. The camp, which took the shape of a rhomboid, was gradually enclosed by barbed wire and guarded by three watchtowers and eight surveillance posts.[1]

The camp's capacity was estimated at 500 people. It was supposed to have served as a "receiving center for refugees" (*centre d'accueil pour réfugiés*)—first Spanish and then Belgians and Poles—displaced in the consecutive exoduses at the beginning of World War II.[2] One thousand of these refugees were quickly transferred to this camp, but they had all left by September 1940.

In November 1940, the prefecture of Haute-Garonne and the Jewish Charity Committee of Toulouse (*Comité Juif de bienfaiscance de Toulouse*) decided to transform the receiving camp for refugees into a housing center for Jewish foreigners. The Jewish internees were prohibited from leaving the camp in January 1941 and were then transferred to the camps in Noé and Récébédou before being deported in March 1941. The preceding month, 150 refugees managed to escape from Brens. Sixteen hundred foreign refugees were registered during the whole period, of whom 400 were children. Half of the foreign refugees were

Polish Jews.

According to Jack Hamburg, who was interned as a child at Brens, the accommodations were inadequate in all respects. The internees slept in three-tiered bunk beds, with straw as bedding, in barracks that were cold in winter and hot in summer; each day they received a watery soup and otherwise poor food rations. In the early summer of 1941, the French police ordered the foreign Jews to be evacuated from Brens, giving them only one hour to pack, according to Hamburg's account. The Hamburg family was dispatched to the much larger French internment camp at Rivesaltes.[3]

On December 31, 1941, the prefect of Tarn transformed the site into a "concentration camp for women" (*camp de concentration pour femmes*), the only such camp in the Southern Zone. On February 14, 1942, 319 women and children arrived from the camp in Rieucros (Lozère Département).[4] The number of inmates did not vary much: a peak was reached in July 1943 with 399 women present.[5] In April 1944, the number dropped to 153 women.[6]

The camp was under the administration of the prefect of Tarn, Léopold Chénaux de Leyritz (between June 1940 and January 1944). The prisoners were under the supervision of mobile guards recruited from Lozère complemented by a contingent from the camp at Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe (Tarn). In 1943, 53 guards were on the official roster, but only 30 were active (the others were classified as sick, on leave, discharged, suspended, and, in one case, dismissed).[7]

The prisoners formed a heterogeneous group of 15 different nationalities and careers (militant communists, trade unionists, German and Polish Jews, revolutionary Spaniards from Argelès-sur-Mer, prostitutes, and common law prisoners). According to historian Denis Peschanski, who was able to identify 91 percent of the camp's registrants from that period, 15 percent of the women were communists, 30 percent were political prisoners, 37 percent were designated as common-law prisoners, and 18 percent were miscellaneous cases or were imprisoned for the commission of economic offenses. The proportion of prostitutes increased between September 1942 (with the arrival of 37 prostitutes from

Toulouse) and April 1943, to the point where they comprised one-third of the prisoners. The other two-thirds were foreigners (of whom 14 percent were German, and nearly as many were Spanish and Polish).

Most prisoners were engaged in the trades of the camp: sewing, shoe repair, chair caning, and making artistic buttons, brushes, and brooms; 4 percent volunteered for work in Germany or with the Nazi construction organization, Organisation Todt (OT).[8]

In the camp, one barrack was reserved for cultural activities and leisure, arranged by the Protestant aid and assistance group, Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced (*Comité Inter Mouvements Auprés des Évacués*, CIMADE), and the French Red Cross. Prisoners with expertise taught classes for other prisoners in subjects such as stenography, foreign languages, and drawing, according to a September 1943 report from the camp's director.[9] Elementary school-aged children of both prisoners and camp personnel (about 35 children) attended a school inside the camp.[10]

For the most part, relations between the different groups of prisoners were tense; in November 1942, the "political" prisoners asked to be separated from the other detainees. This request was not granted until March 27, 1943, when they henceforth occupied the five barracks farthest to the east. In September 1943, following the order of Marshal Pétain, the prostitutes were freed.[11]

In effect, the camp was more of a "transit" camp, because Peschanski estimated that, of the nearly 45 percent of the prisoners who were liberated, 23.5 percent chose repatriation and 4 percent escaped without being caught by the authorities.

Although Jewish women formed a minority of the camp population—up to August 1942 only 80 Jewish women were counted among the prisoners—their story left its mark, particularly given the violence that the deportations engendered. Anna Bauer and Paulina Grüber, who were actively engaged with the Jewish Social Committee of the Brens Camp (*Comité Social Israélite du Camp de Brens*), gave testimony and were in direct communication with the Jewish chaplains who were available through the efforts of Chief Rabbi Simon Fuks.

The women prisoners were not able to escape the edicts of the Vichy authorities. Initially three women were sent to the camp at Gurs on August 6, 1942; an additional three were sent to the camp in Récébédou on August 7, 1942, before being deported to Auschwitz five days later.

In the great roundup of August 26, 1942, in the Free Zone, 31 Jewish prisoners from Brens were handed over to the German authorities. The transfer of these prisoners on August 26 was the subject of a vigorous protest in the camp among the other internees, including non-Jews, who were vehemently opposed to the Vichy regime.[12] Fourteen more women were handed over to the Germans on September 21, 1942. With each successive transfer, the witnesses voiced similar anger.

On June 4, 1944, following the German takeover of control of the installations, the camp was closed, and the 150 remaining prisoners were transferred to Gurs.[13] On December 20, 1944, the camp reopened for the imprisonment of 273 female collaborators who were captured after July 1944 and their children.

SOURCES Secondary sources that discuss the camp at Brems include Mechthild Gilzmer, *Camps de femmes: Chroniques d'internées; Rieucros et Brens 1939–1944* (Paris: Autrement coll. "Mémoires," 2000); and Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); the reader's attention is particularly drawn to Diana Fabre, "Les camps d'internement du Tarn: Saint-Sulpice et Brens," in Cohen et al., pp. 71–81; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources on the camp at Brens, on which this essay is based, are found in AN F1a 4589 on the general inspectorate of administrative services for the camps of Brens, Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe, and Castres, as well as the following collections from ADT (also found at USHMMA under RG-43.061M): 495-W-1-71; photographs of the camp by André Jean-Faure, 495-W-47; and ADH-P, archives de la Commission des camps des œuvres israélites d'assistance aux réfugiés, 6J15. The following

testimonies evoke in detail life in the camp in the period when it was a concentration camp for women: Angelita Bettini, former internee of the Récébédou, Rieucros, Brens, and Gurs camps (discussed in Gilzmer); and Gertrud Rast (*née* Gräser), *Allein bist du nicht: Kämpfe und Schicksale in schwerer Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1972). Survivor Jack Hamburg's testimony on Brens is found in VHA, #21984.

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NOTES

1. Capitaine Crayol to Chef d'Escadron, Commandant la Compagnie du Tarn, March 31, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.061M (ADT), reel 6, 495W5, p. 287 (USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W5, with page); camp map, April 20, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W5, pp. 289–290.

2. "Rapport sur le camp de Brens," December 15, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W7, p. 346.

3. VHA #21984 Jack Hamburg testimony, November 1, 1996.

4. Commissaire Principal, Chef du Service des Renseignements Généraux du Tarn to P/T, February 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W7, pp. 350–351.

5. Chef de Camp, "Rapport mensuel du mois de juillet 1943," August 2, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W7, p. 858.

6. Chef de Camp, "Rapport mensuel du mois de mars-avril," May 4, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W7, p. 1172.

7. "Rapport de M. Lebègue, de l'Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internement, sur le camp de Brens," April 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W7, pp. 428–429.

8. Chef de Camp to P/T, September 21, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W4, pp. 218–219.

9. Ibid., p. 226.

10. "Rapport de M. Lebègue," p. 432.

11. Conseiller d'État, Secrétaire Général et la Police to Prefects of the Free Zone, August 25, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/7/495W45, p. 495.

12. Chef de Camp, "Rapport périodique des mois de juillet et août 1942," USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W7, p. 652.

13. P/T to Interior Minister, October 6, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W7, p. 330.

BUZET-SUR-BAÏSE

Buzet-sur-Baïse was located in the Lot-et-Garonne Département in the Aquitaine region in the Albret countryside, at the confluence of the Garonne and Baise Rivers some 117 kilometers (72 miles) northwest of Toulouse. Created in June 1940 by order of the prefect, René Heureude, and situated near the castle of this small village of about 1,000 inhabitants, it served as a confinement center (*camp de séjour surveillé*) for foreigners in the department. The region had to contend with the influx of refugees from Alsace-Lorraine that followed the preventive evacuations of September 1939 and the Exodus of May/June 1940, organized by the authorities of the Third Republic, which ended in the Aquitaine region. In Buzet, a large part of the camp's infirmary section was made ready for elderly people and for those who were deemed "incurable," who were refugees from Bischwiller (Bas-Rhin). Among them were about 20 Jews.

Little information is known about the site, which closed on February 4, 1941. The internees were then transferred to the camp at Saint-Germain-Les-Belles (Haute-Vienne).

After the camp was shut down, a Group of Foreign Workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 310, occupied the center of the Buzet castle in March 1941, before the SS decided to make it a quartering station for their troops at Aguillon. Summary killings accompanied their presence, such as those of a family of local farmers and their employee who were presumably working for the Resistance, in April 1944. On June 22, 1944, the SS Deutschland Regiment murdered six French resisters and then five others between June 22 and July 13.

SOURCES The following secondary sources mention the camp at Buzet-sur-Baïse: Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); Marie-Juliette Vielcazat-Petitcol, *Lot-et-Garonne: Terre*

d'exil, terre d'asile; Les réfugiés juifs pendant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale (Narosse: Albret, 2006); and Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994).

Archival sources on this camp were found in two main places, ADH-V and ADL-G. From ADH-V, see 993W11, notes regarding services, reports and summaries, individual directives, names lists of prisoners, and correspondence (June 1940 to February 1941); and 993W20 regarding the transfer of the archives of the camps Buzet-sur-Baïse and Saint-Germain-les-Belles in Bordeaux to the prefecture of Haute-Vienne, dated March 1949. From ADL-G, see 1W347 on the creation, administration, and concentration of internees between 1940 and 1941.

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CASSENEUIL

Also called the "Train Station camp," "Sauvaud camp," or "Spanish camp," the Casseneuil camp was located in the Lotet-Garonne Département between the Casseneuil railway station and the right bank of the Lot River, approximately 114 kilometers (71 miles) northwest of Toulouse. The camp's origins date to 1937, when the French Army and the Minister of War decided to build a national explosives factory on the grounds of Saint-Livrade, near Casseneuil, on farmland expropriated from local farmers.

Beginning in October 1939, a military camp complex was built to house the soldiers in charge of supervising and guarding the national arsenal. One of the camps was later designated as a detention site for the Spanish refugees who worked on the construction of the explosives factory. The camp was placed under the authority of the prefect of the department, who delegated its administration and management to Capitaine Henri Chassagnac, head of the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 536.[1] He was assisted both by an interior guard made up of local police and by an exterior guard supported by a Mobile Reserve Group (*Groupe Mobile de Réserve*, GMR), paramilitary units established by the Vichy regime; the GMR unit was called the "Black Guard" by the prisoners who feared them because of their involvement with the roundups. A military doctor, Dr. Griffier, was responsible for the camp's medical service, and according to historian Marie-Juliette Vielcazat-Petitcol, he helped prisoners organize several escapes.

The camp was surrounded by barbed wire. A large entrance-way led to a group of 16 barracks, of which 10 were for the prisoners (5 for women and children and 5 for men). The women slept on cots, whereas the men slept on the ground or on straw. One barrack was for the camp commander and another for the administrative and house keeping staff, one housed kitchen staff. A barrack served as a prison and another one as an infirmary. One barrack was for the priest delegation and Office of Social Services for Foreigners

(*Service Social des Étrangers*, SSE).

After the Armistice of June 1940, the camp became a detention center for foreigners living in Lot-et-Garonne, many of whom were Jewish. Jewish prisoners were held in a separate part of the camp enclosed by its own barbed-wire fence. In all, there were approximately 10 nationalities represented in the camp's population, among them Germans, Austrians, Czechs, Slovaks, Russians, Poles, Belgians, and stateless persons.

From the end of 1941, the Spanish refugees from Casseneuil were sent by the German authorities as part of the Organisation Todt (OT) to the Atlantic front to construct fortifications on the Atlantic Wall. After the Obligatory Labor Service (*Service du Travail Obligatoire*, STO) was established in February 1943, Casseneuil also served as an assembly point for young workers from Lot-et-Garonne being sent to Germany.

Casseneuil became the headquarters of GTE No. 536 on January 17, 1942. A majority of the GTE laborers were Spanish, although 109 foreign Jewish workers were also attached to this group, including one doctor and approximately 10 employees of the national arsenal.[2] Most of the laborers worked on farms or local factories at Senchou and La Tréfilerie. Some were sent to work in Germany in response to OT recruitment drives that sought volunteers.[3]

On August 15, 1942, the Vichy Interior Minister designated Casseneuil as the department's "gathering center" for all foreign Jews, in preparation for the deportations that would take place later that month. Three hundred and eighty Jewish foreigners who had found refuge in Lot-et-Garonne were imprisoned at Casseneuil as part of the August 26, 1942, roundup, though the Commissioner of General Information had earlier expected that 700 Jews would be arrested. Casseneuil also held a number of prisoners, both foreign and French, who were arrested for crossing the Demarcation Line between the northern Occupied Zone and the Free Zone, which ran along the department's western border. Sixty-nine Jews were detained in a separate area at Casseneuil for this "misdemeanor."

Alerted by Gilbert Lesage (founder of the *Service Social des*

Étrangers [SSE] and recipient of Yad Vashem's Righteous Among the Nations medal in 1985), Robert Gamzon of the French Jewish Scouts (*Eclaireurs Israélites de France*) told Grand Rabbi Hirschler of the impending deportations; the rabbi then obtained confirmation from Vichy of the pending deportation of foreign Jews. To verify the status and nationality of those subject to deportation, Rabbi Simon Fuks was sent to Casseneuil. Two Jews escaped from Casseneuil with the help of the medical head of Service of the Order of the Legionnaires of the sector.

When it came time for the deportation, some Jews on the department's list could not be found, which did not go unnoticed by the prefecture. "The ministerial instructions relating to the internment of foreign Jews could not be carried out in good conditions," the police superintendent wrote to the prefect on August 26, because it seemed that advance knowledge of the roundup had enabled many Jews to flee.[4]

On September 3, 1942, 284 Jews from the Casseneuil camp, including 34 children, were sent via convoy to Drancy before their deportation to Auschwitz.

Thereafter, the Casseneuil camp served as the gathering place and then the departure center for subsequent Jewish convoys from the region. Convoys of Jews were sent to Rivesaltes on September 9 (32 people), September 18 (50 people, most of whom were arrested crossing the Demarcation Line), and October 26, 1942 (10 people).[5] Two convoys totaling at least 50 Jews, some of whom were part of GTE No. 536, were sent to Gurs at the end of February 1943.[6]

In February 1945, the remaining foreigners detained at Casseneuil were transferred to Masseube (Gers) and Septfonds (Tarn-et-Garonne).[7] Before the camp was closed for good in August 1945, it was used temporarily to hold a group of Soviet prisoners of war who had been conscripted by the Germans to fight the French Resistance.[8]

SOURCES The following secondary sources contain useful information on Casseneuil: Sandrine Labeau and Alexandre Doulut, *Les 473 déportés juifs de Lot-et-Garonne*, preface by Serge Klarsfeld (Paris: Après l'Oubli et Fils et Filles de Déportés

juifs de France, 2010); Marie-Juliette Vielcazat-Petitcol, "De Casseneuil à Auschwitz," *Revue de l'Agenais* 1:2 (1994), 389–417; Marie-Juliette Vielcazat-Petitcol, *Lot-et-Garonne, Terre d'exil, terre d'asile: Les réfugiés juifs pendant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale* (Narosse: Éditions d'Albret, 2006); René Montaut, "Les camps GTE de Casseneuil et de Tombebouc," in Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994), pp. 207–209; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000). Gérard Gobitz, *Les deportations de réfugiés de Zone Libre en 1942* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996) discusses the roundup at Casseneuil.

Primary sources on the Casseneuil camp are found in ADL G, 1W (Prefect Cabinet), 2W (files from the prefectural office for foreigners), and 912W (foreigners in the department between 1927 and 1968). Some of this documentation is available at USHMMA under RG-43.123M. Information on aid provided to detainees by the AFSC can also be found at USHMMA under RG-67.007M (Records relating to Humanitarian Work in France, 1933–1950), Series IX (box 64, folder 60; box 65, folder 68; box 69, folder 23). In addition, there are several witness testimonies, such as by Jean Tepey, a Slovene prisoner at Casseneuil, and Frederic Lindenstaedt, who, with his mother and sister, was arrested on August 26, 1942, and locked up at Casseneuil and then at La Glondonne. There are also eight VHA testimonies with information on Casseneuil. An unpublished testimony is S. M. Bergmann, "From Antwerp to Geneva via Recebedou and Casseneuil: Memoirs of the Years 1940–1942," available at USHMMA Acc. 1997.A.0128. This entry also benefited from the writings of Rabbi Simon Fuks in his memoirs, *Un Rabbin d'Alsace: Souvenirs de Guerre* (Colmar: Jérôme Do Bentzinger, 2003).

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NOTES

1. “Rapport du Chef de Groupe Chassagnac, Commandant le Groupe Départemental 536 de T.E. sur la Visite de la Commission Todt dans son Département,” August 6, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.123M (ADL-G), reel 10, 2W66, pp. 58–59 (USHMMA, RG-43.123M/10/2W66, with page).

2. “État nominatif des travailleurs étrangers du groupe départemental 536 au 20 Janvier inclus 1942,” USHMMA, RG-43.123M/10/2W66, pp. 6–32.

3. “Rapport du Chef de Groupe Chassagnac,” pp. 58–59.

4. Quotation from Commissaire de Police to P/L-G, August 26, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/7/1W300, 39.

5. P/L-G to P/P-O, September 8, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/1W301, p. 14; “Liste des Israélites dirigés sur le Camp de Rivesaltes le 9/9/42,” September 9, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/1W301, p. 29; P/L-G to Intendant Régional de Police—Toulouse, September 17, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/1W301, p. 126; P/L-G to Ministre Secrétaire d’État à l’Intérieur, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/1W301, pp. 138–139; P/L-G to P/P-O, October 26, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/1W301, p. 365.

6. “Exécution des instructions de M. le Préfet Régional en date du 19 février 1943,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.123M/10/2W71, pp. 228–229; P/L-G, “Liste des travailleurs étrangers israélites faisant partie du convoy du 27 février 1943 à destination du Camp de Gurs,” February 27, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/10/2W71, p. 232.

7. Délégué Départemental, Ministère du Travail to P/L-G, March 1, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/10/2W66, p. 35.

8. Commandant du Centre Rapatriement de Casseneuil to Nora Cornelissen, Délégué du Secours Quaker, May 22, 1945, USHMMA, RG-67.007M/IX/64/60, p. 72.

CASTRES

Castres (Tarn Département) is located 70 kilometers (more than 43 miles) northeast of Le Vernet d'Ariège and 49 kilometers (over 30 miles) southeast of Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe. Between April 3, 1941, and October 18, 1943, the former fortress at Castres served as a secret prison for the Vichy regime. Castres was subordinated to the Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe camp. At a given time, the site had the capacity to hold 47 male and 30 female prisoners in cells.[1] Women occupied the cells on the second floor. A large green door served as the only entrance, and a courtyard with well water was located inside the fortress's inner walls.[2]

Although the first 35 prisoners arrived from Saint-Sulpice on April 3, 1941, the Tarn Prefecture did not receive a grant of 30,000 French francs to refurbish Castres from the Vichy Interior Ministry until April 21, 1941.[3] From the start, the site was intended to hold dangerous or recalcitrant political prisoners, especially communists. The first secret prisoners to arrive at Castres were German exiles, who arrived in early October 1941. This group included Philipp Auerbach, a chemist.[4] The largest wave of secret detainees arrived in November 1942, when 40 International Brigade (Interbrigade) members from the camp at Le Vernet d'Ariège arrived. Among them were instigators of the February 1941 hunger strike at Le Vernet, including Yugoslav communist Ljubomir Ilić. The centers of confinement (*Centres de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) at Fort-Barraux and Rieucros similarly dispatched male and female inmates, some of French nationality, deemed troublemakers to Castres. Other Castres detainees included two French women who assisted, respectively, the British Special Operations Executive (SOE) and MI-9 (Escape and Evasion); three British male SOE operatives; four U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) personnel; one Royal Canadian Air Force pi lot; and an Australian, presumably with the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF).

In an effort to maintain secrecy, the French authorities instructed

prisoners to use former camp addresses in their correspondence: former Le Vernet prisoners were ordered to list their address as "Le Vernet, Barracks 21."[5] Former Saint-Sulpice inmates similarly used the parent camp's address. A post-Liberation census of Castres and its successor detention site, Gaillac, indicated that 146 prisoners were registered at Castres.[6] In what may be a further reflection of the site's clandestine purpose, there were at least 44 additional prisoners, as author Johnny Granzow has shown. Using additional sources, he has accounted for at least 190 prisoners of 18 nationalities who passed through Castres. Among the previously unaccounted-for prisoners was Dr. Henri Martin, an extreme right-wing activist who broke with the Vichy regime early in the Occupation. Among the unregistered Jewish prisoners was Heinrich Epstein (or Ebstein). After being transferred to a succession of Vichy-run camps, Epstein was deported to Auschwitz from Drancy in January 1944.[7]

The German authorities in Toulouse periodically removed German and Austrian prisoners of interest. Granzow has estimated that at least 40 such prisoners were eventually taken to camps and prisons in the Reich. The International Tracing Service (ITS) documented the judicial murder of Kurt Granzow—German communist, Interbrigade member, and Johnny Granzow's grand father—who was removed from the Djelfa camp in Algeria, held at Castres for two months in the fall of 1942, and then transferred to German custody. He was executed at Berlin-Plötzensee prison on September 10, 1943.[8] Other prominent German communists, such as Franz Dahlem and Auerbach, survived the war in a succession of Nazi concentration camps.

The camp's first chief guard, Andrien Andrieu, imposed a strict regime, with a communications blackout and strict censorship of any letters that reached the prisoners. For individual disciplinary infractions, he also meted out collective punishment, in the form of denying reading and writing privileges and decreasing rations. The result, described succinctly by the imprisoned German poet and communist, Rudolf Leonhard, was a life of "hunger and cold."[9] A number of inmates fell ill. Some arrived at the site already suffering from tuberculosis or chronic maladies. In 1943, after an inspection, the Vichy authorities dismissed Andrieu for stealing rations. His successor, a Swiss immigrant, garnered a reputation

for strict but fair treatment of the prisoners. In 1945, Andrieu was tried and condemned for his behavior at Castres.

Despite the Vichy regime's attempts to maintain secrecy and impose strict discipline, word of Castres' existence got out and the prisoners undertook a series of mostly successful escape attempts. The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) was informed about the site in correspondence by the commandant of Le Vernet, which mentioned the proposed removal of a prisoner to Castres.[10] The Boston-based Unitarian Service Committee (USC), which like AFSC was working in the Southern Zone before Operation Torch, similarly learned about Castres' existence and passed along this information. Former Le Vernet prisoners taking refuge in Mexico also spread word about the prison. In late August 1942, the *New York Times* briefly reported about the detention of Franz Dahlem and other exiled members of the Reichstag at Castres.[11]

There were three major escapes at Castres. The first, on February 11, 1943, involved nine prisoners fleeing with the assistance of their guard, Edmond Robert. Robert joined the escapees, who consisted of five French, two Belgians, one Canadian, and one American. The second escape occurred on June 30, 1943, when prisoner Gérard Brault fled with a guard, Maurice Rauschbach. The first two successful escapes did not involve any Interbrigade members.

The third escape, which took place on the night of September 16, 1943, involved the Interbrigade, whose members were carefully isolated from other prisoners. The escape committee furtively contacted a sympathetic local, Madame Desoullier-Podvoletzki, who communicated in letters using invisible ink.[12] Desoullier-Podvoletzki sent the prisoners area maps and arranged contacts with local maquis. Prisoner Franz Raab copied keys to open the cells and the prison's lone exit.[13] On September 16 at 7:00 P.M., the escapees lured the two guards on duty to a cell, overwhelmed them, tied them up, and then captured the head guard. As the shift changed, they subdued the two guards who relieved the captured guards. Altogether, 35 prisoners, including the two French women working for British intelligence, fled the camp.

Within less than a month after this escape, on October 18, 1943,

the authorities at Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe closed Castres and removed its 30 remaining inmates to the secret prison at Gaillac. Castres remained a penitentiary for the rest of the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Castres camp are Johnny Granzow, *16 septembre 1943: L'évasion de la prison de Castres*, preface by Alain Boscus (Portet-sur-Garonne: Loubatières, 2009); Granzow, "La prison de Castres de 1941 à l'évasion de 1943," *Arkeia* 4 (2001), www.arkheia-revue.org/La-prison-de-Castres-de-1941-a-l.html; Bettina Giersberg, "Die Arbeit des Schriftstellers Rudolf Leonhard im französischen Exil 1933 bis 1945" (Ph.D. thesis, Technischen Universität Berlin, 2005); Kelsey Williams McNiff, "The French Internment Camp Le Vernet d'Ariège: Local Administration, Collaboration, and Public Opinion in Vichy France" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Prince ton University, 2004); Sibylle Hinze, *Antifaschisten im Camp Le Vernet: Abriss der Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Le Vernet 1939 bis 1944* (Berlin [East]: Militärverlag der DDR, 1988); Guylaine Guidet, *Femmes dans la guerre, 1939–1945*, preface by Jean A. Chérasse (Panazol: Lavauzelle, 2006); and George Gordon Young, *In Trust and Treason: The Strange Story of Suzanne Warren* (London: E. Hulton, 1959).

Primary sources documenting the Castres camp can be found in ADT, collections 493W46 and 493W49, available at USHMMA as RG-43.061M; AN (Police Générale), available at USHMMA as RG-43.016M; and BA-SAPMO. Additional documentation can be found in AFSC, Records relating to Humanitarian Work in France, 1933–1950, Series VIII Marseille Office, Sub-series: Correspondence, box 54, folder 49 of 95, available at USHMMA in digital form as RG-67.007. CNI cards for some Castres prisoners dispatched to and/or murdered in the Reich can be found in ITS, 0.1, available in digital form at USHMMA. Published testimonies include Heinz Priess, *Spaniens Himmel und keine Sterne: Ein deutsches Geschichtsbuch. Errinerungen an ein Leben und ein Jahrhundert* (Berlin: edition ost, 1996); and Ljubomir Ilić, "Interbrigadiste dans les camps Français," in Karel Bartosek, Rene Gallissot, and Denis Peschanski, eds., *De l'exil à la Résistance: Réfugiés et immigrés d'Eu rope centrale en*

France 1933–1945 (Saint-Denis: Presses universitaires de Vincennes; Paris: Arcantere, 1989), pp. 131–142. A collection of testimonies translated into French, including accounts by Priess and Leonhard, is Gilles Perrault, ed., *Taupes rouges contre S.S.*, trans. Jean-Pierre Ravery (Paris: Éditions Messidor, 1986).

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NOTES

1. P/Tarn à Chef du Gouvernement Ministre de l'Intérieur, Obj.: "Transfèrement à la prison de Gaillac des individus détenus à la prison de Castres," June 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.061M (ADT), reel 2, 493W46, Recensement des internés, frame 2509.

2. Suzanne Warren (née Warenghem), interview in Young, *In Trust and Treason*, pp. 147, 150.

3. Camp de Saint-Sulpice, Internés transfert à la prison de Castres, April 3, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.061M, reel 2, 493W46, Recensement des internés, frame 2521; P/Tarn, letter, January 10, 1942, ADT 506W193, cited by Granzow, *16 septembre 1943*, p. 17.

4. ITS, 1.1.5.3 (Individuelle Unterlagen Dachau), Philipp Auerbach, Fragebogen für Insassen der Konzentrationslager, April 20, 1945, Doc. No. 5451217.

5. Priess, *Spaniens Himmel und keine Sterne*, p. 183.

6. Commandant, Saint-Sulpice, "État des internés politiques des Maisons d'Arrêt de Castres et Gaillac, 1940/1944," February 5, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.061M, reel 2, 493W46, Recensement des internés, frames 2243–2258.

7. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Heinrich Epstein (or Ebstein), Doc. No. 20128480.

8. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Kurt Granzow, Doc. No. 23238835.

9. As quoted in Perrault, ed., *Taupes rouges contre S.S.*, p. 166.

10. Typewritten copy of letter, Le Chef de Camp, Camp du Vernet d'Ariège, DGPN, à Préfet, IGC, Vichy, February 4, 1942, marked secret, USHMMA, RG-67.007 (AFSC), Records relating to Humanitarian Work in France, 1933–1950, Series VIII Marseille Office, Sub-series: Correspondence, box 54, folder 49 of 95.

11. "Vichy seizes Jews: Pope Pius Ignored," *NYT*, August 27, 1942.

12. Interview with Castres escapee, Guido Nonveiller, February 2002, as cited by Granzow, *16 septembre 1942*, p. 81.

13. Priess, *Spaniens Himmel und keine Sterne*, p. 158.

CATUS

The village of Catus, located in the Lot Département, in southwestern France, is approximately 106 kilometers (66 miles) north of Toulouse. Immediately after the mobilization order in September 1939, a camp was created in Catus for the 17th French Military Regiment, and it remained operational until September 15, 1940. During that time, the camp was only for foreign recipients of the right of asylum (Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, people from the Saar, and others). Built on farmland, it held between 250 and 400 foreigners. During the invasion of France, the military authorities attempted to destroy all administrative proof that this internment camp existed.

After September 1940, the camp was moved to former stables in Villary, right next to Catus. It was managed by the Commissioner for the Fight against Unemployment (*Commissariat à la Lutte contre le Chômage*), under the authority of the Labor and Industrial Production Ministry. The ministry was in charge of implementing the September 27, 1940, law titled "The Situation of Excessive Foreigners in the National Economy" (*Situation des étrangers en surnombre dans l'économie nationale*).[1] The camp was designated the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 539, which consisted of Spaniards, Belgians, Luxembourgers, and Dutch.

After 1941, it became GTE No. 554 and served the entire Lot Département. The director was an officer on leave from the French Army after the Armistice, Mr. Toussaint. Administratively, the Catus camp also oversaw the special internment center of Puy-l'Evêque (*centre spécial d'internement de Puyl'Evêque*), located 25 kilometers (15 miles) northwest of Cahors.

At Catus, the number of detainees averaged around 1,000 and peaked in 1942 with 1,250 internees.[2] Among the prisoners were some transferred from the penal camp at Le Vernet (Ariège Département) to engage in forced labor. The prisoners mainly

worked for forestry companies and for individual farm owners on farms located in all parts of the Lot Département. Their living conditions depended on the individual employer. Several times, the German authorities directly requisitioned laborers from Catus. For example, when the Organisation Todt visited the Lot Département on August 7, 8, and 10, 1942, its members came to Catus on the first and third days of their visit. On February 24 and 28, 1943, as well as March 1, workers were hired by a Franco-German commission seeking to recruit Spanish workers.

GTE No. 554 at Catus was dissolved at the end of 1944, following a prefectural order of September 7, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Catus are Martin Malvu and José Jornet, *Républicains espagnols en Midi-Pyrénées: Exil, histoire et mémoire* (Montpellier: PU du Mirail, 2005); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources on the Catus camp can be found in ADL: 1W925 (prefectural collection, which includes a file about the relations with Reich citizens, 1940 to 1943); 1180W6 (report from the chief of police and the chief of the Lot Département services, and general information); and 1W78 (notices and correspondence about the Puy-l'Evêque and Catus camps); and in ADA: 5W366 (prisoner transfers from Le Vernet to Catus).

Eliezer Schilt
Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTES

1. "La loi du 27 septembre 1940," *JO* (Oct. 1, 1940), p. 5198.

2. AD-L 1W78.

CAUTERETS

Located near the Spanish border in the Hautes-Pyrénées Département, Cauterets was selected, at the behest of the regional prefect, Léopold Chénaux de Leyritz, as the location of a center for assigned residence (*assignation à residence*) for foreign Jews. The small spa town, which is 24 kilometers (15 miles) south of Lourdes, was chosen because of its relative isolation and available premises. The designation of assigned residences followed the promulgation of a Vichy Interior Ministry memorandum of November 3, 1941.[1] According to official correspondence from the fall of 1942, the Cauterets center answered administratively to the Pyrénées regional residential assignment center at Aulus-les-Bain (Ariège Département).[2] The foreign Jews originated from Austria, Belgium, Germany, and Poland. They resided in a number of places in town, including villas such as La Pergola and La Prairie, rooming houses, and the Hôtel Sarthe and Hôtel du Tour-isme.[3] The center held at least 100 foreign Jews between the spring and fall of 1942.

Survivor accounts offer descriptions of life in the Cauterets residential assignment center. The daughter of Jewish refugees from Berlin, Rachel Philipson-Levy lived with some of her family in Cauterets from August or September 1940 until early 1943. While there, she earned a diploma (*certificat d'études*) from a school in neighboring Argelès-Gazost. Her family refused to cross the nearby Spanish border because of the infirm condition of her grand mother.[4] By contrast, Leo Bretholz, a Jewish refugee from Austria, recalled his family being removed from the neighboring residential assignment center at Bagnères-de-Bigorre (Haute-Pyrenees), approximately 30 kilometers (18.5 miles) northeast of Cauterets, to the center in Cauterets, "probably in the springtime of '42." As he explained, "When we went to Cauterets, we, at that point, frankly, we felt confined." Indeed, he described their state as one of "forced residence" (*résidence forcée*). To supplement their otherwise meager rations, Bretholz's friend, Belgian refugee

Joseph Frajermauer, raised vegetables. With others, Bretholz went on mountain hikes in the Pyrenees, where he glimpsed the Franco-Spanish border. Discouraging any thought of crossing were the border fence and the prospect of encountering the troops of Generalissimo Francisco Franco.[5]

The roundup of Jews at Cauterets for deportation by the local police took place on August 25 and 26, 1942. A list prepared by the mayor of Cauterets, Bartho Sallès, gave the names of 39 deportees, who were transported from the center to the Gurs camp. From Gurs, they were sent via the Drancy transit camp to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Sallès noted that the deportees were permitted to take around 35 kilograms (77 pounds) of luggage and that the property they left behind was under the mayor's protection.[6] Ten gendarmes conducted the arrests.[7]

Sallès' memorandum assumes additional significance, because survivor testimony and a local historian's account document his apparent role in warning the Jews at the Cauteret center about the deportation and perhaps helping some cross the border. Bretholz remembered that the mayor's timely warning enabled him and others to flee to the mountains. As he put it, "We never met the mayor. But what he did at the time was a great thing. He notified us and left it up to us … (effectively saying:) Do what you can. I just want you to know that this place is no longer safe for you." With three others, Bretholz hid in the mountains and maintained furtive contact with acquaintances in Cauterets. After returning to Bagnères-de-Bigorre some time later, Bretholz was arrested on December 6, 1942, charged with "abandonment of residence" at Cauterets, and held in the Tarbe jail, before escaping again.[8]

Leo Bretholz poses with Netty and Anny Frajermauer in the village of Cauterets, March 1942–October 1942. USHMM WS #32109, COURTESY OF LEO BRETHOLZ.

A local historian of Cauterets, René Flurin, asserts that the mayor actually helped Jews cross the Spanish border. Flurin claims that Sallès did so especially after January 1943, when a ban was issued against foreigners who had not been granted special authorization by the German military authorities to stay on French soil. Before that, Sallès mainly relied on his life partner's son, Maurice Antoine, who organized border crossings until his arrest on September 30, 1942. Antoine stood accused of printing and broadcasting the letter of protest by the archbishop of Toulouse, Jules-Géraud Saliège, against the roundup of Jews in the summer

of 1942.

The August roundup did not result in the center's immediate closure. As late as November 1942, 50 foreign and 4 French Jews continued to reside in Cauterets.[9] A number of Jews petitioned the authorities to continue to remain in the town. The poor health of Chana Frajermauer prompted her and husband Joseph to give affidavits to the Gendarmerie Nationale (GN), pleading to remain at Cauterets.[10] Such entreaties went unheeded, as Chénaux de Leyritz issued orders for the removal of individual Jews and families from Cauterets to Aulus-les-Bains.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the center for assigned residence at Cauterets are René Flurin with François Boyrie, *Histoire de Cauterets des origines à nos jours,* preface by Jacques Longué (Brioude: éd. Créer, 2006); and Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75.

Primary sources on the center for assigned residence at Cauterets can be found in AD-H-P, collection 12W67, available in digital form at USHMMA as RG-43.131M. Two helpful survivor testimonies furnish additional information. The most detailed is by Leo Bretholz (USHMMA, RG-50.030*0038, July 31, 1989, and September 27, 1989). Additional information about Cauterets and Bretholz's ordeal can be found in Leo Bretholz and Michael Olesker, *Leap into Darkness: Seven Years on the Run in War time Europe* (Baltimore: Woodholme House Publishers, 1999), pp. 137–142. In addition, there is the published testimony (in English and French) by Rachel Philipson-Levy, "An Odyssey Revisited," in Minna Aspler et al., *Witnesses Speak: An Anthology* (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 2001).

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Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTES

1. Bill No. 39, November 3, 1941, ADAu 04 6 J, as cited by Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes," p. 71.

2. Préfecture Régionale de Toulouse, Chénaux de Leyritz, Objet: "Assignation à résidence au Centre régional d'Aulus d'Israélites se trouvant actuellement au Centre de Cauterets," November 25, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.131M (AD-H-P), 12W67, p. 391.

3. "Liste de Israélites en résidence dans la commune de Cauterets (H.P.)," stamped September 17, 1942 USHMMA, RG-43.131M, 12W67, pp. 375–376.

4. Philipson-Levy, "An Odyssey Revisited," pp. 5–6.

5. Quotations from USHMMA, RG-50.030*0038, Leo Bretholz oral history interview, July 31, 1989, and September 27, 1989; on Frajermauer, see Bretholz and Olesker, *Leap into Darkness*, p. 138.

6. Maire de la Ville de Cauterets, n.d., "Liste des Israélites étrangers résidant à Cauterets, conduits à Gurs le 26 Août 1942" (Duplicata, GN), USHMMA, RG-43.131M, 12W67, p. 358.

7. Département des Hautes-Pyrénées, Centre de régroupement Gurs, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.131M, 12W67, p. 62.

8. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0038, Leo Bretholz, oral history interview.

9. "Liste de Israélites en résidence dans la commune de Cauterets (H.P.)," stamped September 17, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.131M, 12W67, pp. 375–376.

10. GN, "Procès verbal constatant des renseignements sur des étrangers n'ayant pas rejoint leur nouvelle résidence assignées à Aulus, Ariège," November 6, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.131M, 12W67, pp. 380–381.

CAYLUS

The Caylus camp was situated in the Tarn-et-Garonne Département in the Midi-Pyrénées region on the site of a medieval fortress that formed the border between Rouergue and Quercy 75 kilometers (47 miles) northeast of Toulouse. A military camp, called Espagots, had been established on this site in 1902, enlarged in 1920 after the acquisition of adjoining lands, and put into service (notably as a water conveyance) in 1927. It comprised brick barracks and a large infirmary.

From February 1939 to mid-1940, this new military site served to consolidate Spanish prisoners into the framework of a Company of Foreign Workers (*Companie de Travailleurs Étrangers*, CTE), CTE No. 61. Following the outfitting of the military camp, this Spanish labor force contributed to the excavation of the medieval fortress, under military guard and under the control of General Ménard. During the Phoney War of September 1939 to June 1940, the political refugees were forced to contribute to the national armament effort and then were dispersed with the closing of the camp and demobilization. Some 10,000 men passed through the Caylus internment camp during that period.

In June 1940, after the Armistice, the Vichy government reactivated Caylus as an internment camp for foreigners living in the department, and it became the Group of Foreign Workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 866. Among the foreigners were numerous Polish Jews.

French military officers and enlisted men, acting as civilians, supervised the internees. The responsibility for the camp was left in the hands of the commander, Normand, aided by the head-adjutant, Gilles. However, with the arrival of the Nazis in April to May 1943, the site became a German military camp and subsequently a camp for the Waffen-SS "Das Reich" Division, starting in March 1944. From Caylus, "Das Reich" perpetrated numerous atrocities against civilians (mostly on June 1, 1944,

when nine civilians were murdered as reprisal for the attack on the munitions depot at Capdenac at Lot). After the war, the site became an internment facility for German prisoners of war, before being turned over to the French Army, when it accommodated the Establishment Annex of the Commissioner for the Army (*l'Etablissement annexe du Commissariat de l'Armée de Terre*).

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the camp at Caylus include Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Louis Olivet and André Arribaud, eds., *Cinquantenaire: Libération de Montauban et du Tar-et-Garonne* (Montauban: Commission départementale de l'information historique pour la paix, 1995).

Primary sources for the Caylus camp are limited, but documentation of GTE No. 866 may be found in ADT-G, 5 W 12 (Étrangers), copied to USHMMA RG-43.034M. Two survivor testimonies on Caylus in VHA are by Jacques Dodiuk (#32219) and Max Oling (#7423).

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Trans. René Stolbach

CHABANET

The Chabanet camp in southeastern France was located in the Ardèche Département, on the 615 meter (2,018 feet) high Coiron plateau, above the towns of Privas and La Plaine du Lac, approximately 118 kilometers (73 miles) south of Lyon. It was established on a semi-abandoned farm. There were two dormitories that held about 50 straw mattresses; one was in the former stable and the other in the attic of the farm house. Chabanet began operating on February 25, 1940, under the supervision of the Privas military subdivision. When the camp closed on January 30, 1941, the internees were transferred to the Nexon camp in the Haute-Vienne Département.

Under the supervision of the Ardèche prefect, the regional French authorities tracked down potential security threats, especially communist activists. The authorities arrested many civilians, mainly communists, who had been hunted down in the adjacent departments: Gard, Vaucluse, Alpes Maritimes, Bouches du Rhône, Var, and Basses Alpes. One hundred communists were temporarily held in Chabanet, of whom 50 were activists in Ardèche.

Detainees were supervised and received an allowance to purchase food that was prepared in the communal kitchen. Tasks mainly focused on camp maintenance. The strongest prisoners cut wood and worked on local farms.

Among the internees were local leftist politicians and labor leaders. One was Pierre Marius Gabrielli (1906–1965), the general treasurer of the Departmental Union-General Confederation of Labor (*L'Union Départementale-Confédération Générale du Travail*, UD-CGT). Another important internee was Célestin Freinet (1896–1966), a teacher who had been charged with holding "Stalinist opinions." He was successively interned in Saint-Maximin (Var), Chabanet, Chibron (Var), and Saint-Sulpice (Tarn Département). Starting on October 29, 1941, he was placed under

house arrest in Vallouise (Hautes-Alpes Département).[1] Another prominent communist prisoner was François Augustin Cresp (1897–1960), a La Seyne storekeeper and representative for the Var Département. According to a November 18, 1939, prefectural decree—under the late Third Republic—he was classified among the 30 "individuals who threatened national defense to be interned in Saint-Maximin Center."[2] On March 19, 1940, he was reclassified under this decree for his clandestine communist activities. A week later on May 26, 1940, he was transferred to Chabanet, then the Nexon camp (February 1, 1941), and finally in October 1942 to the camp at Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux (Haute-Vienne Département), before being released on March 30, 1943. An-other well-known prisoner held at Chabanet was Elie Reynier (1875–1953), a history and geography professor at the Privas Normal School, the author of the three-volume *Histoire de Privas*, and a pacifist socialist activist and trade unionist.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Chabanet camp include Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000), Vincent Giraudier, "Un camp d'indésirables français: Chabanet, en Ardèche," in Vincent Giraudier, Hervé Mauran, Jean Sauvageon, and Robert Serre, *Des Indésirables: Les camps d'internement et de travail dans l'Ardèche et la Drôme durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, preface by Denis Peschanski (Valence: Peuple libre; Notre temps 1999), pp. 223–233.

The following archives hold relevant collections on the Chabanet camp: AN F7/13021; 13096; 13164; AD-Ard, Elie Reynier's collection, file 8 J; AD-V under signatures 2M4.II; 2M5.285; 2M6.25; 2M7.24.3; 2M7.32.3; 2M7.35.3; 4M46; 4M49.4.2; 4M49.4.3; 4M55.2; 4M59.4.1; 4M59.4.3; 4M59.4.4; 7M12.2; 18M14; 3Z2.5; 3Z2.6; 3Z2.9; 3Z2.20; 3Z4.29. Some documentation from AD-V is copied to USHMMA under RG-43.087M in digitized form. Published accounts by former prisoners include Elie Reynier's testimony in "Le Carnets du concentré," *MATP* 61 (Feb. 15, 1999), available at www.memoire-ardeche.com/cahiers/61.htm; and Elise and Célestin Freinet, *Correspondance: 21 mars 1940–28 octobre 1941*, edited by Madeleine Freinet (Paris: PUF Education et

Formation, 2004). The arrest of Freinet and 21 additional communist suspects is mentioned in *LPN*, March 21, 1940.

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Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTES

1. As quoted in *LPN*, March 21, 1940.
2. *JO* of November 19, 1939, as cited in Giraudier, Mauran, Sauvageon, and Serre, *Des Indésirables*, p. 3

CHÂTEAU DE BÉGUÉ

In the Southern Zone, near the township of Cazaubon (Gers Département) and located 126 kilometers (78 miles) southeast of Toulouse, a countryside manor, called the Château de Bégué, was used as an agricultural reception center (*centre d'accueil agricole*). Abbot Alexandre Glasberg, the Gers delegate to the Committee of Assistance to Refugees (*Comité d'assistance aux Réfugiés*, CAR) for Cardinal Archbishop Pierre-Marie Gerlier of Lyon, requested the creation of the camp in Cazaubon, among other sites, in early May 1942. The Vichy Interior Ministry authorized the request in mid-July. The Château de Bégué was outfitted and supplied that fall and officially opened in December.[1] This reception center was one of several orchestrated and operated by "the Glasberg team" (*l'équipe Glasberg*), which, most likely unknown to the Vichy authorities at the time, was also the front for a network of underground resistance activities to German and Vichy authorities; its establishment was also an attempt to forestall the deportation of a number of internees living in nearby concentration camps.

Although Château de Bégué was intended to absorb at least 80 internees—primarily German and Austrian political prisoners, as well as French and Polish Jews, who were scattered in nearby accommodation centers (*centres d'hébergement*)—the reception center eventually accommodated at least 100. Château de Bégué received transfers from internment camps including those at Gurs, Récébédou, Rivesaltes, Noé, and Milles; this list is likely not exhaustive.[2] The internees were restricted to the manor and enlisted as agricultural laborers by the Vichy regime.[3] Some local Vichy organizations, such as the French Legion of Veterans of Gers (*Légion française des combattants du Gers*), protested the installation of the camp for antisemitic reasons.

Staffed by members of the French Resistance, the Château de Bégué quickly became active in underground activities. For

example, able internees were trained for combat as well as retrieving supplies dropped by parachute (*parachutage*) by the Allies.[4] Because of his involvement in resistance activities, Alexandre Glasberg was denounced sometime in late 1942 and went underground. His brother Vila, operating under the alias Victor Vermont, served as camp director until he was arrested, either because of his own resistance activities or because the police mistook him for his brother. According to the Central Name Index (CNI) of the International Tracing Service (ITS), Vermont was dispatched to the Drancy camp and deported to Auschwitz on March 7, 1944, where he died.[5] A September 1945 report on the wartime activities at Château de Bégué notes that one of Vermont's successors, Gaston Luino, continued to organize resistance efforts at the manor (although this may have been the work of another director). After the D-Day invasion, Château de Bégué became an early site of self-liberation (*auto-liberation*). Internees from Château de Bégué subsequently joined the ranks of the maquis and other anti-Nazi groups in the remaining 10 months of the war.[6]

Yad Vashem honored Alexandre and Vila Glasberg on June 17, 2003, as Righteous Among the Nations.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Château de Bégué reception center at Cazaubon are "Le château du Begué à Cazaubon," July 2, 2012, *Jewishtraces*, www.jewishtraces.org, which describes the history of the reception center; Yad Vashem's Righteous Among the Nations database, www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous, which provides brief biographies of Alexandre and Vila Glasberg; Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994), which describes the relationship between reception centers like Château de Bégué and area concentration camps; and Anne Grynberg, *Les camps de la honte: Les internés juifs des camps français (1939–1944)* (Paris: La Découverte, 1991), which provides an overview of the so-called Glasberg team.

Primary sources for the Château de Bégué reception center can

be found at ADGe under the former signature 1W618, regarding postwar reports on the center's wartime resistance activities; 1W619, regarding postwar reports on the refugee situation; and 1W661 and R1475, regarding the establishment and management of the reception center during the war. All of these collections are available at USHMMA as RG-43.130M. Additional information on Vila Glasberg can be found in the CNI of the ITS. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM.

Guy Aldridge

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-43.130M (ADGe), R1475.
2. USHMMA, RG-43.130M, R1475.
3. Ibid.
4. USHMMA, RG-43.130M, ADGe 1W618.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Victor Vermont, Doc. No. 49252562.
6. Ibid.

CHÂTEAU DE TOMBEBOUC

The camp at Château de Tombebouc was located in a medieval castle on top of a hill near the village of Allez-et-Cazeneuve in the Lot-et-Garonne Département, approximately 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) south of the nearby larger camp at Casseneuil. Allezet-Cazeneuve is 213 kilometers (132 miles) southeast of Bordeaux. Before the war, the castle was modernized and used as an institution for patients with latent tuberculosis (*preventorium*). Like Casseneuil, Tombebouc served as a detention site for foreigners performing labor in the French groups of foreign workers system (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs), but on a much smaller scale.

Quartered at Tombebouc, GTE No. 308 was formed in 1939 in Montauban, the administrative center of the neighboring Tarn-et-Garonne Département, and was made up of mostly Germans and Austrians. It was relocated to Tombebouc at the end of 1940, at which time it was reorganized into a group of "Palestinian" (Jewish) foreign workers (*Groupe Pales-tinien des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GPTE). Many of these men were German refugees living in Belgium when the war began and were subsequently arrested by Belgian authorities and deported to France.

It is difficult to say how many men were detained in the castle at any given time because most were lodged in the towns where they had been assigned work and were only at the camp between assignments. According to the testimonies of Kurt Baum and Josef Kampler, both German Jews who served in GTE No. 308 after their transfer from the Saint-Cyprien camp (Pyrénées-Orientales Département), typical labor assignments were seasonal agricultural work on farms or in vineyards, or other manual labor such as bricklaying. Both men remembered being sent to the neighboring coastal Landes Département to dispose of World War I–era poisonous gas shells in an abandoned ammunitions depot, and Baum said that there were a number of accidents at this site because some of the bombs leaked gas. He and Kampler were both

deported to the East during the roundup of Jews in August 1942.[1]

In mid-August 1942, most of the Jews in GTE No. 308 were recalled to Tombebouc. On August 23, 62 men were walked under guard to Casseneuil to be deported to the Occupied Zone. Other members of the GTE, such as Kurt Baum, were not recalled to Tombebouc and were deported from other locations (in his case, from Casteljaloux where he worked in a sawmill). Documents from the departmental archives and witness accounts point to some men being able to escape during the chaos of the roundup; on October 19, 1942, a letter from the head of GTE No. 536 at Casseneuil to the prefect noted the recent apprehension at Casseneuil of one member of GTE No. 308, who escaped "around August 24."[2]

The group sent to Casseneuil departed the same day from the Penne-d'Agenais train station and arrived at Drancy on August 25. Most were subsequently sent to Auschwitz: according to Serge Klarsfeld, 57 were deported on August 31 on convoy 26. Others were sent on later convoys in early September.

After the August 1942 deportations, Tombebouc was reorganized as a reception center (*centre d'accueil*) for elderly foreigners under the administration of the French Office of Social Services for Foreigners (*Service Social des Étrangers*, SSE); most of these elderly foreigners were considered unfit (*inaptes*) for labor.

According to historian Marie-Juliette Vielcazat-Petitcol, the first groups of foreigners arrived at the castle in March 1943 from Masseube (Gers) and Nebouzat (Puy-de-Dôme). During the summer and into the fall, small groups of detainees were also transferred from Gurs (Basses-Pyrénées), Mons (Puy-deDôme), and Sereilhac (Haute-Vienne).[3] By February 1944, there were 97 men at Tombebouc, of whom the two largest groups were 58 Spanish detainees and 26 Jewish detainees; there were also Germans, Austrians, Poles, Romanians, Turk, Russian, and Hungarian internees.[4] According to subsequent monthly reports in the departmental archives, the number of detainees remained between 90 and 100 during the rest of the camp's existence.

Living conditions remained rough: the château was overcrowded, heating material was insufficient, there was only one

toilet, and there was no running water. After the intervention of Jewish leaders such as Grand Rabbi Hirschler and the regional delegate of the Jewish charitable organization, *l'Aumônier Israélite*, R. Sommer, Jewish detainees at Tombebouc received monetary and material assistance from various aid organizations. These charities included the branches of the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF) in Agen and Villeneuve and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).[5] Conditions thus slightly improved during 1944. After the Liberation the remaining prisoners were transferred to Casseneuil.

SOURCES Secondary sources that include information on Tombebouc are Marie-Juliette Vielcazat-Petitcol, *Lot-et-Garonne, Terre d'exil, terre d'asile: Les réfugiés juifs pendant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale* (Narosse, France: Éditions d'Albret, 2006); René Montaut, "Les camps GTE de Casseneuil et de Tombebouc," in Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994), pp. 207–209; and Gérard Gobitz, *Les deportations de réfugiés de Zone Libre en 1942* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996). Gobitz mentions the roundup at Tombebouc. Serge Klarsfeld's *Vichy-Auschwitz: La "solution finale" de la question juive en France* (Paris: Fayard, 2001) treats Tombebouc as part of the camp at Casseneuil, but includes information on the August 1942 deportation.

Primary documentation on the camp at Tombebouc can be found in ADL-G under classifications 1W84; 1W153; 1W298 (list of GTE laborers transferred to Drancy in August 1942); 2W4-16; 2W62 (reports from 1944); and 1825W5. Some of this material is held at USHMMA under RG-43.123M. Information on aid provided to detainees by the AFSC can also be found at USHMMA under RG-67.007M (Records relating to Humanitarian Work in France, 1933–1950, Series IX, Box 63, Folder 14). VHA holds three survivor testimonies that mention Tombebouc, including those by Kurt Baum (#29790) and Josef Kampler (#16003).

NOTES

1. VHA #29790, Kurt Baum testimony, May 15, 1997; VHA #16003, Josef Kampler testimony, July 8, 1996.

2. Quotation from Chef du Groupe Départemental 536 T.E. to P/L-G, October 19, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M (ADL-G) reel 7, 1W298, p. 67 (USHMMA, RG-43.123M/7/1W298, with page); list of 59 deportees, "Compagnie des travailleurs étrangers no. 308," n.d., RG-43.123M/7/1W298, pp. 64–66.

3. "État nominatif des hébergés au centre de Tombebouc," August 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/10/2W62, pp. 94–96.

4. "État numérique des étrangers hébergés, par national-ité, sexe et confession au 1er Février 1944," February 1, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/10/2W62, p. 65.

5. Sommer to Secours Quakers, August 14, 1944, USHMMA, RG-67.007M/IX/63/14, p. 8.

CHÂTEAU-DOUX

In the Southern Zone, on lands that belonged to the village of Altillac in the Corrèze Département of the Limousin region, located 156 kilometers (97 miles) northeast of Toulouse, a manor in the mountains was used for as a residential assignment center (*assignation à residence*); it was located 156 kilometers (97 miles) northeast of Toulouse. The center opened in accordance with a November 3, 1941, decree by the Vichy Interior Ministry providing for this type of detention.

On May 11, 1942, the Corrèze Prefecture, as directed by the regional prefect of Limoges, Antoine Lemoine, and the Corrèze sub-prefect, Fernand Musso, requisitioned all premises in this location. Its isolation and attractiveness made Château-Doux an ideal location for residential assignment.[1] The prefecture signed an operating agreement with its managers, Jean-Baptiste Boisserie and his wife, which leased the premises as a "hotel and restaurant."[2] Work necessary for the site's conversion delayed its opening by a few days. The prefecture estimated that the work would cost 50,000 francs. The hotel manager had to lay out this amount before recouping his investment through boarding fees.[3]

On June 15, 1942, Château-Doux received the first detainees who could afford the internment fees. The regulations stipulated their paying the host fees "each week in advance."[4] Boarding fees were 50 francs per person per day for what was called second class, and 80 francs for first-class accommodations. Moreover, the prefecture required a deposit of 10,000 francs to be paid on the detainee's arrival.[5]

The outrageous fees deterred potential candidates for residence, to the point that the rabbi of Corrèze, David Feuerwerker, wrote to the sub-prefect of Brive to explain this issue and suggested that the Jewish cultural association, the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF), be placed in charge of the site.[6] In response, the sub-prefect recommended that

a certain number of Jews be sent to Château-Doux immediately.

Initially, the regional prefecture reserved for itself 15 places in the center and left the remaining 85 to the Corrèze Département. However, because of the difficulty in finding detainees who could afford the fees, the Corrèze Prefecture accepted 60 foreign Jews from the Haute-Vienne Département on July 20, 1942. These detainees were mostly women who had crossed the Demarcation Line, sometimes alone and sometimes with children, as well as elderly people.

In June 1943, there were 28 detainees—13 men, 11 women, and 4 children—in the camp, all but two of whom were Jews.[7] In August, Jews who had been "released from Gurs (PyreneesAtlantiques) … were admitted into Château-Doux upon a notice released by the Prefect of Corrèze."[8] On September 23, 1943, there were 45 tenants, including 44 Jews. They came from the Nexon camp (Haute-Vienne), groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs) from the region, and the Gurs camp (Pyrénées-Atlantiques). The majority of the tenants were sick female foreigners over 40 years old.

Jews from the Château-Doux center were deported on three occasions in 1942 and 1943. In August 1942, 23 people were arrested.[9] Additional deportations took place at least twice in 1943.

Local gendarmes were in charge of surveillance. The prefecture made sure that all Jews who violated the Château-Doux regulations were sent to the Nexon camp.

According to Féla Kamras, *née* Smolinska, a purportedly Polish Catholic woman who lived in Château-Doux and whose Jewish husband was held at the Beaune-La-Rolande camp, living conditions were bad: in second class, there were allegedly 10 detainees per room.

The center ceased operations on March 16, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the residential center at Château-Doux are Nathalie Roussarie, "Mise en place de la politique antijuive en Corrèze, 1940–1942: L'exemple du Château-Doux," in Jacques Fijalkow and Patrick Cabanel, eds., *Histoire régionale de la Shoah en France: Déportation sauvetage,*

survie (Paris: Éd. de Paris-Max Chaleil, 2011), pp. 325–340; Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75; and Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994).

Primary sources on the Château-Doux camp can be found in AD-Cor: 529W68–69, 2138 (prefectural collections on WWII and foreigners); AD-Au (6 J: Feuerwerker report); AN F7 16081 (about foreign Jews and refugees in France, 1941 to 1956: measures, correspondence, circular letters, rulings, decrees, comparative charts, and notes); AN 72 AJ 280 (about internment in France); and CDJC, CCCLXVI-57 (collection CGQJ: consisting of reports from March 28 to April 29, 1943, by Rabbi David Kozak to Rabbi David Feuerwerker regarding the activities, detainees, and related matters at Château-Doux); and CDJC, CCXIX-34_001 (collection FSJF: population of camps and reception centers on June 30, 1943).

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NOTES

1. Note from May 11, 1942, AD-Cor, 529W68.
2. According to terms of the May 28, 1942, convention in ibid.
3. AN F7 16081.
4. Circular letter from March 25, 1942, AN F7 16081.
5. AD-Cor, 529W69, cited by Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes," p. 52.
6. AD-Cor, 529W69.
7. CDJC, CCXIX-34.
8. AN 72 AJ 280.
9. Report by Rabbi David Feuerwerker, AD Aude 6 J.

CHÂTEAU DU ROC

Château du Roc (Dordogne Département) is a small château located in the commune of Saint-André-d'Allas, almost 314 kilometers (nearly 195 miles) west of Bourdeaux and nearly 144 kilometers (more than 89 miles) northwest of Toulouse in the Southern Zone. The castle's Polish owner agreed to let the Office of Social Services for Foreigners (*Service Social des Étrangers*, SSE) use it as a camp for foreigners during the war.[1]

The internees sent to Château du Roc were from camps such as Nexon, Gurs, and Douadic. From Château du Roc they were sometimes hospitalized in Périgueux or released.[2] They were typically older men and women from Germany, Austria, Spain, Russia, Poland, Greece, Romania, Ukraine, Hungary, and the former Sarre Département (the Saar).[3]

Survivor Adele Cantor provided a rich testimony about internment at Château du Roc. Born in Berlin in October 1895 she converted to Christianity when she married a Protestant. In 1940 the Gestapo deported Adele, who was widowed by then, and her mother to Gurs, where her mother died very soon thereafter. From there Adele was transferred to Douadic and then to Château du Roc. Compared to the previous two camps, she had only positive memories about Château du Roc, calling it "a true change for the better." She also described the castle as old and neglected, but "nevertheless, it was heaven."[4]

One of the many positive aspects of internment there was freedom of movement. The internees had permission to move about the castle and surrounding countryside until 6 or 7 P.M. They made good use of this freedom to go on long walks through the surrounding park. Another positive feature was their accommodations. They lived in a brick building, and the rooms had large windows, a stark change from their time in semi-darkness in the barracks at Gurs and Douadic. Each room held six to seven people, each with his or her own bed and a narrow mattress and blankets. There was also some room for the internees

to keep their belongings. The castle had a great hall, which was turned into a dining hall that held large tables for six to eight people each. Smaller tables were constructed for the internees' personal use as well.[5] Large rooms in the castle were converted into washrooms. During Cantor's first year each internee was allowed one hot shower per week. That later became impossible due to the lack of water. Plenty of wood was collected from the surrounding forests and used in the internees' rooms, the dining hall, and the communal stove for internees.

Cantor recalled that time passed quickly. They had various jobs to do, including tending to the vegetable garden and hauling water. When the pumps did not work, they had to take a 15-minute walk to the nearby village and carry the buckets on their backs.[6]

Château du Roc also had stables. The horses were used to pull wagons traveling to Périgueux to pick up parcels and larger quantities of food (such as potatoes) and bring them back to the castle.[7] When Cantor's group of internees arrived at Château du Roc they were examined for lice because they had not been checked at Douadic. Those infested were sent to the hospital in Périgueux where they stayed for one week; there they were well cared for by French nurses and fed excellent food. All their belongings were disinfected. However, one of the infested women was handled roughly by the authorities while being transported to the hospital because she took too long to get ready. Cantor recalled her saying, "There is no need to shout at me like that; even if I have lice I am still a lady."[8] Despite the care taken to rid the castle of lice, the serious problem with vermin was not ameliorated.[9]

In contrast to her experience at Douadic, Cantor recalled the Château du Roc commandant (from Alsace) fondly. He lived in the castle with his wife and well-behaved 13-year-old daughter. He tried to make life better for the internees and put an end to all stealing. Cantor described both him and his wife as "warm-hearted" and him as "cheerful and ingenious." He was a handyman who helped paint and repair the castle. He installed cupboards and stoves in the internees' rooms and was responsible for repairing the communal stove. Although lacking in variety, the rations were sufficient and consisted mostly of cabbage, carrots, and potatoes. On Sundays they were given meat. On Christmas and Easter they were given something special to eat as well as a gift.[10]

Both men and women used the communal stove, which incited so many arguments that one woman was finally put in charge. There was no community spirit, and quarrels frequently arose among internees. Except for the commandant, no one tried to make life easy for the others. Those who received parcels were envied by the others. Cantor said, "Despite some 'laudable' exceptions most people only thought of themselves."[11]

Cantor believed that "if it were not for [the commandant] none of the inmates of Château du Roc would have come out alive." He helped the ill, treating an old lady with a boil on her head and a young mother whose breasts were inflamed with open wounds. The commandant was also very musical, himself a composer, and every week he organized a musical evening for the internees. Among the internees were pianists and violinists, a singer, an accordion player, and a flautist who also played the trumpet. The commandant played the violin while his wife accompanied him on the piano. During the intervals the internees recited poetry, or a juggler (who was actually a law professor at the University of Heidelberg) performed. The commandant also organized a ball that occurred once or twice, and he invited the elite and the youth of the nearby village to attend; at these balls he played the dance music. Wine and cake were served, and he was delighted to see the internees enjoying themselves. The commandant's kindness did not stop there. He also helped the maquis, who often came to the castle asking for supplies.[12]

An important date in the castle's history was April 22, 1944. At 10 A.M., while many internees were preparing lunch, they heard that "the Germans (were) coming." They became very frightened and were ordered to go to the courtyard where German soldiers pointed their rifles at them. They were grouped according to nationality and stood for four hours waiting to be shot. The commandant intervened and spoke to the officer in charge, imploring him not to shoot the internees: "Just look at this collection, all old people, do leave them in peace." The Germans gave in and marched away. When the internees went inside they discovered that the Germans had ransacked their belongings,[13] taking every decent piece of clothing, money, and jewelry, including Cantor's little silver watch and wedding rings. The attack was kept a secret from the local community because the

commandant feared that the discovery that the castle's internees escaped death would lead to another raid. However, a young Polish man who lived in the village betrayed them for a reward of 3,000 French francs. He was later shot in retribution by the maquis.[14] Despite the betrayal, the commandant continued to hide the internees in the castle until the Liberation.[15]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Château du Roc camp are Gérard Gobitz, *Les déportations de réfugiés de Zone Libre en 1942: Récits et documents concernant les régions administratives* (Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 1997); Georges Frélastre, *Les complexes de Vichy, ou, Vichy les capitales* (Paris: Éditions France-Empire, 1975); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Analytical Franco-Jewish gazetteer, 1939–1945* (New York: Published with assistance of the American Acad emy for Jewish Research, the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation, and the Gustav Wurzweiler Foundation, 1966).

Primary source material documenting the Château du Roc camp can be found in AD-H-V, collection 1081W235 (Social register of foreigners, the camps at Douadic and Vernusse), available in microfilm at USHMMA as RG-43.047M, reel 9. The unpublished testimony by Adele Cantor, "Tears and Joys of a War-Time Deportee" (1946), is available at USHMMA in the Renata de Gara Cafiero Collection, Acc. No. 2004.59.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. Adele Cantor, "Tears and Joy of a War-Time Deportee," (1946), p. 27, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2004.59 (Renata de Gara Cafiero Collection).

2. "Entre à l'hopital de Périgueux," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M (AD-H-V), reel 9, p. 1063; and "Libéré par Prefectare Dordogne," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 9, p. 1085.

3. "Alonso Andreu Bartolome," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 9, pp. 1089–1094.

4. Cantor, “Tears and Joy of a War-Time Deportee,” p. 20.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., pp. 20–21.
7. Ibid., p. 21.
8. Ibid., p. 22.
9. Ibid., p. 28.
10. Ibid., p. 22.
11. Ibid., p. 23.
12. Ibid., p. 24.
13. Ibid., p. 25.
14. Ibid., p. 26.
15. Ibid.

CHÂTEAU DU SABLOU

Château du Sablou (Camp de Fanlac) was located in southwestern France in a historic castle in Fanlac (Dordogne Département), located 32 kilometers (20 miles) southeast of Périgueux and 86 kilometers (53 miles) southwest of Limoges. During its existence from January 17 to December 30, 1940, it held approximately 300 to 400 internees.

Château du Sablou was a confinement center for "undesirables" (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé pour Indesirables*) and a site designated for the internment of Roma, who were charged with "nomadism." Its internees were nicknamed "Sablousards." Beginning on April 27, 1940, political suspects were also sent to Château du Sablou. The individuals had not necessarily committed any crime, but were arrested as a preventive measure and were so designated by the National Defense Minister and the Interior Minister. The suspects included communists, trade unionists, anarchists, and socialists from all over France, as well as those advocating for autonomy for the region of Alsace-Lorraine. Seventy-six percent of the internees were communists.

Among the internees at Sablou were some soldiers who had been demobilized in July 1940, after which they were transferred to monitored accommodation centers. Many found themselves in Fort-Barraux. After a review of August 5, 1940, French soldiers in these companies who were classified as suspicious or dangerous were immediately transported to Sablou, where they were interned as civilians. Sablou had a theater group, in which five of the Roma participated as musicians. A notable internee at Château du Sablou was the communist schoolteacher Louis Bouet, then 60 years old. Other famous internees included the author André Moine.

Internment at Château du Sablou was not comfortable. When the center opened in January 1940, the castle did not have proper accommodations for older men or the sick. Many internees were entirely cut off from their families, and the winter cold was brutal. A mobile army canteen prepared the meals for internees, but the

food was poor. Half of the internees did not have eating utensils or bowls with which to eat their meals. Soup was served in large dishes and eaten by hand. Basic amenities like running water, furniture, and bedding were lacking. The only water source was in the nearby forest where the internees went, under escort, to fetch water for cooking. Laundry was done at a nearby river. Poor hygiene was rampant, and the camp had severe outbreaks of fleas, dysentery, and lice.

Some of the detainees provided labor for agriculture or forestry projects in the surrounding municipalities. The internees also helped in the camp canteen and carved canes, wove baskets, and struggled to sell them to families in the vicinity of Montignac to earn some money for a livelihood. The surrounding population, mostly swayed by Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain's propaganda, did not support the presence of the communists interned at Sablou and the relative freedom they enjoyed.

Initially the castle was under the authority of Commandant Saule, who was very strict, preventing internees from leaving the camp, communicating with their families, or working. Internee Alphonse Martin was held at Sablou in May 1940 and recalled that Commandant Saule gave them lessons in patriotism through bullying and insults. His successor, Commandant Daguet, who took charge after the Armistice of June 22, 1940, left more of a favorable impression on Martin.

Daguet was less strict, allowing the internees to leave camp, work on nearby farms, and in some cases meet with their families. Yet Daguet's flexibility naturally facilitated escapes, and many such cases were reported. Under Daguet, camp surveillance consisted of one detachment of the 41st Infantry Regiment under the War Ministry, composed of 40 men, both officers and enlisted men. Some of the camp guards were Senegalese. Two platoons of police replaced the army unit in November 1940.

In late October 1940, Château du Sablou was labeled a poorly run camp by the Vichy regime due to the high number of escapes. Of 273 internees, 12 were hospitalized at Périgueux or other establishments, and 18 internees had escaped by the end of October. On October 31, 1940, Special Commissioner Antz, who had a reputation for strictness, replaced Commandant Daguet and

took control of the camp.

Report No. 663 of November 4, 1940, indicated that Special Commissioner Antz received a request calling for the release of internees who no longer posed a real danger to national defense or public security, who were victims of a false accusation, or who were suffering ill health or had been called home to deal with a family situation. At this point the camp held 275 internees. Following these releases, the camp held between 225 and 250 internees.

The camp was deemed too difficult to keep up and to supply because of its isolated location, and it was closed on December 30, 1940. Colonel Blasselle oversaw the closure and the transfer of 228 internees from Sablou to the Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux camp (near Limoges in the Haute-Vienne Département). At this stage there were 18 Sablousards hospitalized in Périgueux. They later joined the other internees at the Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux camp. Six of those who were hospitalized later succeeded in escaping.

On March 1, 1941, 155 internees left the camp and were driven to Pierre-Buffière, 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from Limoges, where a special train was expected. They joined 90 internees from the Nexon camp and 21 from Saint-Germainles-Belles, making a total of 266 political prisoners. When they arrived at Port-Vendres, they boarded the freighter *Djebel Nador*, which took them to Algiers en route to Vichy camps in Algeria. The Fort Caffarelli prison was their final destination. The internees from Sablou who remained in France were placed under house arrest in departments neighboring Dordogne.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Château du Sablou camp include Jacky Tronel, "Séjour surveillé pour 'indésirables français:' Le château du Sablou en 1940," *HistPén* 4 (2005): 68–93, available at http://criminocorpus.revues.org/1781; Vincent Giraudier, *Les Bastilles de Vichy: Répression politique et internement administratif, 1940–1944* (Paris: Éditions Tallandier, 2009); Jean-Louis Rouch, *Prolétaire en veston: Une approche de Maurice Dommanget, instituteur, syndicaliste, historien social et libre penseur, 1888–1976, Collection "Militants"* (Treignac, France: "Les Monédières," 1984); and

André Moine, *Déportation et Résistance Afrique du Nord 1939–1944* (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972).

Primary source material about Château le Sablou can be found at AN Police Générale, available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.016M, reel 13.

Cristina Bejan

CHAUDES-AIGUES

Chaudes-Aigues (also Chaudesaigues), a spa resort and administrative town of its canton, was located in the Cantal Département, about as far removed from the railroad (25 kilometers or 16 miles away) as from any main city (21 kilometers or 13 miles southwest of Saint-Flour). Following a memorandum from November 3, 1941, the prefect of Cantal, François Francisque Coldefy, designated Chaudes-Aigues as a center for residential assignment (*assignation à residence*) for all foreign Jews in the area. Up to 72 Jews were to be assigned to Chaudes-Aigues and placed in various hotels and private apartments. The prefect's order followed a request from the General Delegation of the National Police (*Délégation générale de la Police Nationale*, DGPN) to local authorities to inventory all regional and departmental centers for residential assignment.[1] In a letter of December 29, 1941, addressed to the mayor of ChaudesAigues, Dr. Bremont, Coldefy attached a list of 69 Jews that the gendarmerie moved to Chaudes-Aigues. Apart from a family from Ytrac, the group originated from Aurillac. The foreign Jews from Ytrac and Aurillac consisted of 4 single individuals, 13 families with children, and 5 couples.[2] On July 3, 1942, a report from Coldefy stipulated that he assigned residences to 37 heads of families out of a group of 70 people, including a few French Jews from Paris, who had clandestinely crossed the Demarcation Line.[3]

The large number of Jews who would potentially come to join their "parents and friends" generated strong local reaction. On May 16, 1942, 124 legionnaires and inhabitants of Chaudes-Aigues petitioned the prefect "to remove from Chaudes-Aigues all unwanted Jews who could be placed in other towns, where they would be less troublesome." The signatures filled the verso of the page.[4] Contradicting the statements by the prefect of Cantal, the various gendarmerie reports, petitions, and letter from the mayor claimed that there were between 160 and 200 Jews in the town.

In a decree issued on June 1, 1942, Dr. Bremont responded by

ordering that Jews kept "in forced residence in ChaudesAigues, and others" be granted access to food stores only from 10:30 A.M. to 12:00 P.M. and from 4:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M.[5] In his report of July 3, 1942, Coldefy guaranteed that accommodations were sufficient to host summer visitors: that is, "swimmers" and patients taking rest cures. As for food supplies, he believed that the reduced hours of store access for Jews temporarily sufficed to contain local discontent. He entrusted the sub-prefect of Saint-Flour with finding another location for holding foreign Jews: the towns under consideration were Pierrefort, Condat, Neuvéglise, and Marcenat, where the subprefect of Saint-Flour tasked the local gendarmerie commander with listing the number of available housing units. On July 16, 1942, the sub-prefect suggested dividing the foreign Jews into groups of 25 and dispatching them to the towns of Saint-Urcize, Marcenat, Ségur, and Pierrefort.

From August 23 to 27, 1942, 35 foreign Jews were deported from Cantal. Another 20 foreign Jews were deported between January 5 and March 5, 1943, and sent to Gurs.[6] On April 23, 1943, the prefecture created a list of all foreign Jews to be "moved" and who would have to vacate Chaudes-Aigues within three weeks.[7] Chaudes-Aigues apparently remained a residential assignment center, however, until the Liberation in August 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Chaudes-Aigues center for residential assignment are Gilles Lévy, *L'Auvergne des années noires (1940–1944)* (Clermont-Ferrand: De Borée, 2000); and Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75.

Primary sources documenting the residential assignment center at Chaudes-Aigues can be found in AD-Can, 1W213 (prefecture collection), available in digital form at USHMMA as RG-43.116M; and CDJC, LXXXIX-52 (CGQJ collection). The latter consists of a confidential note sent on December 3, 1942, from CGQJ in Clermont-Ferrand to the director general of the Investigation and Control Section of Vichy, regarding a Mr. Karminski, who was in confinement in Chaudes-Aigues (Auvergne) and had illegally obtained a three-month circulation

pass from the gendarmes.

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NOTES

1. AD-Can, 1W213.
2. Ibid.
3. Report made by the Cantal prefect on July 3, 1942, AD-Can, 1W213.
4. Petition, May 16, 1942, AD-Can, 1W213, reproduced in CDJC, file XXXVI-28; also available at USHMMA, RG-43.116M (AD-Can), 1W213, pp. 260–261.
5. AD-Can, 1W213.
6. AN F1 CIII 114, as quoted in Lévy, *L'Auvergne des années noires*, p. 200.
7. AD-Can, 1W213.

CHIBRON

The Chibron internment camp operated between June 20, 1940, and February 14, 1941. It was located on a military field in the Signes commune (Var Département), approximately 36 kilometers (22 miles) east of Marseille and 21 kilometers (13 miles) northwest of Toulon, in the Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur region. At least 721 inmates, mostly communists, were imprisoned at Chibron as political enemies of the Vichy regime.

The remote and isolated site served as a military installation from 1935. After the beginning of World War II, refugees and evacuees were temporarily housed at Chibron. The last of these people were transferred from Chibron to Sisteron on September 23, 1940, and the site served thereafter as a camp for political prisoners. The inmates originated from 46 mostly provincial departments such as Bouche-de-Rhone, Var, and Alpes-Maritimes. Others were transferred from the areas around Paris and Lyon. Most of the inmates were men detained as communists, although some were classified as "militant extremists" or "unionists" in official documentation.[1]

According to inmate testimony, the camp conditions were particularly harsh throughout the fall of 1940. Accommodations and sanitary conditions were very poor and rations insufficient. The prisoners were also subject to harassment at the hands of a brutal camp commander who enforced extreme discipline. An inmate hunger strike and a visit by an inspector of the French Interior Ministry ultimately led to a relaxation of camp discipline.[2] Thereafter, the Marseille special police (*la police spéciale*) issued surveillance reports critical of the new conditions. Prisoners allegedly idled instead of doing their assigned logging work. Some used their considerable freedom of movement to walk to nearby towns and connect with communist liaisons, leading the mayor of Signes to issue a formal complaint in January 1941. The local police knew that the prisoners had political connections in Marseille and that a young courier delivered political materials

into the camp. In addition, despite surveillance, a number of prisoners escaped each month: 6 in September, 12 in October, 6 in November, and 3 in December 1940 and 4 in February 1941. Many of these escapees were aided by fellow communists who provided them with papers and hiding places.

Unable to control the inmates, the local police and administrative authorities lobbied for the camp's liquidation. The site was closed after the remaining prisoners were transferred to several other camps on February 14, 1941. At least 401 Chibron inmates were moved to the camp at Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe (Tarn), where they were interned alongside political prisoners from the Rivel and Oraison camps. One hundred twenty-three inmates deemed "most dangerous" were sent to Fort-Barraux.[3]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Chibron camp include Jean-Pierre Rioux, Antoine Prost, and Jean-Pierre Azéma, eds., *Les Communistes français de Munich à Chateaubriant: 1938–1941* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1987), 166–169, which chronicles camp operations at Chibron in some detail. For a general overview, see Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002), which also includes a specific reference to the Chibron camp.

Primary sources documenting the Chibron camp can be found in ADB-R, collections M6 III 11064 and M6 III 11051; ADV, collection 7M12 2; and AN, collections F9 5575 and F9 5578. A relevant postwar report commissioned by CHSGM, authored by Victor Masson, is available at IHTP. For inmate testimony, see André Moine, *La deportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)* (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972), 41–44.

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NOTES

1. ADV, 7M12 2.

2. Moine, *La deportation et la résistance*, pp. 41–43.

3. Ibid., p. 44.

CHOISEL

Based in the commune of Châteaubriant in the Yvelines Département (today: Loire-Atlantique Département), the Choisel camp was located on the Fercé Road, immediately north of Châteaubriant, along an important railway junction toward Nantes about 31 kilometers (19 miles) southwest of Paris. Opened as a prisoner of war (POW) camp for French POWs in June 1940, Choisel was situated on a rocky field atop a small hill on property once belonging to René Orain. The authorities gave Orain 24 hours' notice to vacate the property; all he was able to take were his family and animals. The POWs erected wooden barracks on the site. Among the buildings were a sick room and a chapel. The camp managers commandeered the house next door, which belonged to the Hogrel family, and used it for offices and as the checkpoint. The officer POWs were later confined in the St. Joseph School or in the adjoining castle.

The Loire-Inférieure prefect, Claude Vieillescazes, over-saw the camp. He assumed this position in August 1940 and nominated Mr. Moreau as camp director. The French gendarmerie was in charge of guarding the camp.

Until January 14, 1941, Choisel was one of four camps that received the 45,000 POWs from the Battle of France. As a POW camp it was known as Camp C, an appellation that carried over after its redesignation by the prefecture as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé,* CSS). By March 1941, Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) gradually replaced the POWs, together with common-law prisoners (black marketeers, procurors, and prostitutes), as well as workers from arsenal factories and sailors from Bretagne. Finally, political detainees arrived in May 1941. There were 54 communists from the Paris region who had been held either in the Poissy or Clairvaux prisons. Tensions among the different categories of detainees forced the administration to separate the political from the nonpolitical prisoners. The authorities placed the political

detainees in two isolated barracks known as Camp P1.

One of the political prisoners was Guy Môquet, the son of the communist parliamentary deputy, Prosper Môquet. Arrested on October 13, 1940, at the Gare de l'Est train station in Paris, he was charged with violation of the September 26, 1939, decree banning communist organizations. He arrived in Choisel on May 16, 1941, where he stayed in Barrack 10.

Four leaders of the French Communist Party (*Parti Communiste Française*, PCF)—Fernand Grenier, Léon Mauvais, Eugène Hénaff, and Henri Raynaud—managed to escape from Choisel during the night of June 18, 1941.

On July 7, 1941, 339 Roma and 75 "undesirable" common-law prisoners were transferred to the La Forge camp in Moisdonla-Rivière. During the month of July, women began to arrive in Choisel. On August 21, 1941, all the detainees became "hostages" (*otages*), as defined by the new German order on hostages, as promulgated by Karl-Heinrich von Stülpnagel, the military governor (*Militärbefehlshaber*).[1] As of September 1, 1941, there were no Roma left in the camp.

On September 16, 1941, 87 men from La Santé prison and 46 women from La Roquette prison arrived in the Choisel camp. Seven days later, the intellectuals of the camp were isolated in Barrack 19.

Starting on October 20, 1941, the German authorities organized reprisals against the resisters. In response to the murder of Lieutenant Colonel Hotz by three communists in Nantes, 27 Choisel hostages were killed on October 22. Among them were 17-year-old Guy Môquet, Jean-Pierre Timbaud, and Charles Michel. At that same time, 21 other hostages were killed in Nantes and Paris. Môquet's last letter famously entreated his family to be brave in the face of his death: "I am going to die! What I ask of all of you, you in particular Mommy, is to be courageous."[2]

On December 15, 1941, nine hostages were murdered: Adrien Agnes, a 42-year-old technical agent at Stains city hall; Louis Babin, a 52-year-old doctor from Arpajom; Paul Baroux, a 31-year-old teacher from Longueau; Raoul Gosset, an electrician from Aubervilliers; Jacq Fernand, a 23-year-old doctor from Huelgoat;

Maurice Pillet, a 39-year-old carpenter and the secretary of the building trade union (*Confédération Générale du Travail*, CGT); René Perrouault, a 45-year-old secretary of the chemical industry trade union; Georges Thoretton, a 25-year-old worker from Gennevilliers; and Georges Vigor, a 27-year-old metalworker from Paris.

In the spring of 1942, eight additional hostages were executed. Among those young prisoners, two were shot on March 7, four on April 23, and the last two were shot on April 29.

Between May 1 and May 11, 1942, the camp was emptied as part of a reorganization of the internment regime: on May 1, the "undesirable" men were sent to the Rouillé camp; on May 4, the foreign Jews were sent to the Pithiviers camp; on May 7, the political detainees were sent to the Voves camp; on May 9, the black market prisoners were sent to the Gaillon camp; and on May 11, the "undesirable" political female detainees were sent to the Aincourt camp.

After the liberation of Châteaubriant by the U.S. Third Army on August 4, 1944, the camp was used temporarily to hold collaborators.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Choisel camp are Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Journal de la Mée, ed., *Telles furent nos jeunes années: Le Pays castelbriantais sous l'occupation*, 2nd ed. (Châteaubriant: ed. Les dossiers de La Mée, 2009).

The following archives hold documentation on the Choisel camp: ADL-A, classifications 1694W17 (attacks against the German army and reprisal measures); 1694W35 (internees for black marketeering); 1694W37 (operation: instructions and correspondence between the Kommandatur and Choisel camp); 1694W39 (monthly reports, camp map, report on the internee surveillance); 1694W40 (reports on the "undesirable" internees); 1694W41 (list of the internees' names and origins between April and October 1941); 1694W42 (internees' files, 1940–1944); 1694W43–1694W54 (individual files in alphabetical order); 1694W55 (correspondence between internees and their families);

1694W56 (reports on escapes); 1694W57 (reports on release proposals); 1694W58 (reports on the 1942 transfers); 1699W128–1699W131 and 2102W65–2102W76 (on the utilization of the camp after the Liberation, 1944–1948); and 10W35 (reports on living conditions, various correspondence between 1944 and 1945, and the internment in Choisel camp or in Nantes prison). The Stuelpnagel decree on hostages is reproduced in 1588-PS, IMT, *TMWC*, 42 vols. (Nuremberg, 1947–1949), 27: 364–373. Guy Môquet's letters, including his last, are held in the Môquet-Salkay collection at MRN/CDDP, C-M. His last letter is required reading in French secondary schools and may be found at clioweb.free.fr/dossiers/1prov/mrn-moquet.pdf.

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NOTES

1. 1588-PS, Der Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich, an die Chefs der Militärverwaltungsbezirke A, B, C und Bordeaux den Gross-Paris, die Feld-und Kreiskommandanten, Erlass, Betr. Geiselnahme, August 23, 1941, *TMWC*, 27: 364–373.

2. As quoted in Journal de la Mée, ed., *Telles furent nos jeunes années,* p. 44; the original is located at MRN/CDDP, C-M, and reproduced at clioweb.free.fr/dossiers/1prov/mrnmoquet.pdf.

COLLIOURE

The camp was housed in the Château Royal de Collioure, a medieval castle in Collioure (Pyrénées-Orientales Département), a seaside town approximately 26 kilometers (15 miles) north of the Spanish border in southern France.

Like other camps in the Pyrénées-Orientales such as Argelès-sur-Mer and Saint-Cyprien, Collioure was used to detain refugees from the Spanish Civil War. However, only refugees considered to be "extremist and dangerous" were sent to Collioure, which made its operation substantially different from that of other nearby camps that detained refugees.[1] Collioure was officially opened as a "special camp" on March 4, 1939, when 77 prisoners were transferred there from Argelèssur-Mer, although the castle had been used as a provisional camp since the beginning of February 1939 because it was a convenient stopping place for groups of refugees being moved to camps farther up the Mediterranean coast. It was during this time that the famous Spanish poet Antonio Machado (1875–1939) died in Collioure.

The camp was administered by a gendarme named Capitaine Raulet who was assisted by a police inspector. They over-saw the security of the camp, organized its operation, managed the schedule for prisoners, and made disciplinary decisions. The camp was under the oversight of the National Defense and War Ministry.

The regime at Collioure was very harsh. All of the detainees had their heads shaved, ostensibly for reasons of hygiene. Prisoners were not allowed any books, packages, newspapers, or visits. They were given one set of clothes and one blanket. All of the castle's interior space was put to use to house them, but conditions in the airless castle were unsanitary. For 12 hours a day, detainees worked both inside and outside the camp: they did tasks in and around the castle such as building a shooting range inside the fort and demolishing old walls, and they did work in the village itself, such as roadwork and repairing the primary school's buildings.

The detainees who were considered the most dangerous (usually political activists or union organizers) were put in isolation cells for several days before being transferred to a special section. In the special section, the prisoners were forbidden to speak to one another, and their work assignments usually involved emptying the latrines into the sea. The section could hold up to 30 people and was never empty. The guard responsible for this section was a White Russian émigré known as Antoine, who allegedly had it in for people who had been involved with the Spanish Republic. One man who was detained in Collioure recalled him as the "incarnation of evil."[2]

The prisoners protested their treatment and conditions during two hunger strikes. The first happened toward the end of March 1939 when 14 volunteers from the International Brigades (Interbrigade) went on a hunger strike and were eventually transferred to the former military hospital at Perpignan. From there, three were returned to Collioure, and the rest were freed as a result of an order from a high parliamentary authority. In May 1939, a second hunger strike involved 20 men (Spaniards, Bulgarians, and Italians) who refused to shave their heads or eat; they were sent to the camp's special section, where they were force-fed. Starting in May 1939, a campaign against this camp was conducted in the press by the French Communist Party (*Parti communiste français*, PCF). There was concern expressed in a police inspector's report about these hasty transfers to Collioure; he also questioned why a blind man and his 16-year-old son, as well as many people who were sick or disabled, were sent there.

By the end of May 1939, the castle held its peak number of 369 refugees. Ninety percent of the camp's population consisted of Spanish refugees, and the other prisoners were mostly foreigners who had fought in the Interbrigade, including people from Yugoslavia, Italy, Poland, Germany, Czechoslova kia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania, although there was also one documented French detainee. Like those from Spain, they were all deemed to be individuals who needed to be isolated. Almost all of the detainees were under the age of 40.

In general, there was a high degree of political engagement among the detainees at Collioure, and people were sometimes transferred there from other camps if they were considered

politically dangerous. For example, two Spanish officers held at Saint-Cyprien were sent to Collioure after allegedly having helped with the escape of communist refugees, and two Italian prisoners were transferred after being accused of distributing material from the Italian Communist Party (*Partito Comunista Italiano*, PCI) inside the camp.

Starting in August 1939, it was possible for detainees to join a company of foreign workers (*Companie de Travailleurs Étrangers*, CTE) or become volunteers in the Foreign Legion for the duration of the war (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG), but records between August and December 1939 show that such direct transfers did not take place. Eventually 20 Spaniards left for the volunteer regiments, and five Czechs joined the Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE). Additionally, some prisoners were able to return to their native countries. Between August and December 1939, 44 detainees returned to Spain and 7 to other countries.

The camp at Collioure closed on December 4, 1939. All but one of the remaining 245 Spanish refugees were sent to other camps, mostly to Le Vernet (Ariège). The castle was returned to its earlier military status as a garrison within the defense system of the Mediterranean coast. From the beginning of 1945, the Château royal de Collioure housed approximately 500 German prisoners of war (POWs) where they were used to remove mines and repair damage caused by the war.

SOURCES The most comprehensive secondary source about the Collioure camp is Grégory Tuban, *Les sequestrés de Collioure: Un camp disciplinaire au Château royal en 1939* (Perpignan: Mare Nostrum, 2003). Jacques Issorel, *Collioure 1939: Les derniers jours d'Antonio Machado* (Perpignan: Mare Nostrum, 2001), treats at length the death at Collioure of Spanish poet Antonio Machado, which is also discussed in Francie Cate-Arries, *Spanish Culture behind Barbed Wire: Memory and Representation of the French Concentration Camps, 1939–1945* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell, 2004).

Primary documentation on Collioure can be found in AN BB

18/3183 (legal complaints). USHMMA holds some additional material that mentions Collioure under RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale). More documentation is in AD-P-O, under the classifications 31W274, 109W1 (camp statistics), 109W298, and 109W334 (transfers to Le Vernet). A comprehensive bibliography in Grégory Tuban, *Les sequestrés de Collioure,* lists a number of other primary sources including unpublished theses, oral history interviews, and con temporary periodicals that discuss the camp.

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NOTES

1. Quotation from Tuban, *Les sequestrés de Collioure*, p. 21.

2. Ibid., p. 97.

CORAY

On October 15, 1940, the prefect of Finistère, Mr. Georges, was ordered by the German Feldkommandant, Colonel Berendes, to round up the Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) in the Finistère Département. An army camp was quickly built in the village of Coray in Bretagne, 61 kilometers (38 miles) southeast of Brest, and it opened on November 1, 1940. The village auditorium and the 2,000-square-meter (ca. 2,400-square-yard) terreplein, the platform of the rampart on which cannon were placed, were commandeered to hold the department's detainees.

The camp's total capacity was 80 people, but it only held approximately 60 Roma at any time. Three to four families lived in caravans, and the remainder lived in the barracks. A December 9, 1941, report on the Saumur section of the Gendarmerie Nationale noted that a total of 213 Roma were transferred from Coray to the camp at Coudrecieux. Eventually they were sent to the camp at Montreuil-Bellay.

The mobile police (*Garde-Mobile*) watched over the camp and checked leave authorizations. Leave required the police chief's signature and took place only between the hours of 9 A.M. and 12 P.M. The police also oversaw three daily roll calls. The Roma worked in the camp both for site maintenance and to grow produce that was sold at markets during their leaves. The sale of produce reflected the fact that the Finistère authorities did not provide for the prisoners' upkeep.

The camp closed on December 1, 1941, after the Roma were transferred to the Coudrecieux camp in the Sarthe Département.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the camp at Coray are Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); Marie-Christine Hubert, "L'internement des Tsiganes en France 1940–1946," *ET* 13 (1995): 10–17, at p. 14; and Georges-Michel Thomas and Alain

Le Grand, *Le Finistère dans la guerre,* 2 vols. (Brest; Paris: ed. De la Cité, 1979), vol. 1: *L'Occupation*.

The following archival sources document the Coray camp: Am-Br, collection 4H; ADFin, files 200W24 and 25; and, as cited in Peschanski, SHGN (now SHD), temporary file 014971.

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COUDRECIEUX

Coudrecieux's former glass factories were located on a wooded plateau near the Château de la Pierre on Saint-Calais Road, approximately 40 kilometers (25 miles) east of the city of Le Mans. It was in those former factories that the prefect of the Sarthe Département opened a camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) on November 18, 1940. The site was also known as the "camp of La Pierre."

Four buildings and 26 caravans formed the camp. It was mostly enclosed within a 2-meter (6.5-feet) high wall around the castle; a barbed-wire fence surrounded the remainder of the camp.

The prefect of Sarthe was authorized to concentrate Roma who were living in his department. As camp chief (*chef du camp*), he appointed Mr. Hubert, who in turn was replaced in early 1941 by Mr. Legeay. Twenty guards and four gendarmes assisted the camp chief. Starting in early June 1941, they were stationed near the camp. Their task was to provide enhanced surveillance required by the increased number of prisoners.

As of November 18, 1940, 118 Roma, most of whom were French nationals, were held in Coudrecieux. In July 1941, at the time of a visit by a collaborationist journalist Roland Barillon, the camp held 316 "Bohemians" (as he called them).[1] On January 5, 1942, a report written by the assistant health inspector listed a total of 218 men and women, as well as 96 children, to which he added 22 individuals who were in the Mans and Saint-Calais hospitals, 4 individuals who were in jail, and 29 escapees. On March 17, 1942, there were 370 detainees.

A school, chapel, and sick room were opened inside the camp. Abbot Ollivier celebrated Mass for the camp's population in the chapel, and Mr. Vergne served as schoolmaster. When asked by the reporter Barillon whether adult detainees attended his classes, Vergne maintained that they did so out of "curiosity," because his "little exercises" were against their "will."[2]

Infused with anti-Roma stereotypes, Barillon's article painted a comforting portrait, from the Vichy standpoint, of a well-fed, generously supplied, and happy camp population. Barillon concluded the article with a quotation from a placard from the camp: "Nomads, you are given a holiday: the camp of La Pierre, at Coudrecieux. Good table, good lodging, open air."[3]

Contradicting this idealized, propagandistic depiction of Coudrecieux is the testimony of Roma survivor Dziga Tanacs. A child in wartime, Tanacs survived a succession of camps for Roma in France before being deported to several camps in Nazi Germany, including Auschwitz II-Birkenau. He recalled Coudrecieux as very unhealthy, lacking potable water, and extremely cold. Held there with his mother, he described the camp as a sand heap. In 1942, he was dispatched to the much larger camp for Roma at Montreuil-Bellay.[4]

On April 15, 1942, as part of increased efforts to group together the Roma in France, Coudrecieux's detainees, as well as those from Moisdon-la-Rivière (in the Loire-Inférieure Département) and Montlhéry (in the Paris region), were transferred to the Mulsanne camp in Sarthe. During the transfer, the caravans remained behind at Coudrecieux and were placed in one of the glass factory's premises. They remained there at the prefecture's expense until war's end. Every caravan was there at the time of Coudrecieux's liberation on July 31, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Coudrecieux camp are Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); André Piogé, "Les camps de concentration de nomades dans la Sarthe (October 1940–August 1942)," *PrMa*, third series, 8:30 (April–June 1968): 238–246; and Jacques Sigot, "L'internement des Tsiganes en France," *ET* 6:2 (1995): 29–131, at pp. 111–116.

The following primary sources mention the Coudrecieux camp: the Vichy propaganda article by Roland Barillon, "Visite … au Camp de Coudrecieux où sont internés les nomades venus d'un peu partout," *SMat*, July 18, 1941; and survivor testimony by Dziga Tanacs, June 29, 1997, VHA #33507.

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NOTES

1. Barillon, “Visite … au Camp de Coudrecieux où sont internés les nomades venus d’un peu partout,” *SMat*, July 18, 1941.
2. Quotations in ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. VHA #33507, Dziga Tanacs testimony, June 29, 1997.

DOUADIC

In the Indre Département in central France, an internment camp opened at Douadic at the start of World War II. Douadic is 83 kilometers (52 miles) southeast of Tours. The camp was located in La Brenne Regional Park between Le Blanc and Rosnay Streets and was the third internment site in the area after Montgivray and Bagneux. The camp comprised permanent building structures and about 20 wooden barracks divided into three blocks. Bordering the camp were a pond to the south, a brook to the east, the Mezière Road to the north, and another road to the west. Between 1939 and 1940, the detainees were Germans. After the May 1940 Ardennes offensive, Douadic held 800 German prisoners of war (POWs).

On August 17, 1940, Douadic became an internment camp for French and foreign refugees (Germans, Spaniards, Poles, and 27 Polish Jews). At the time, the camp was run by Ernest Braesch, a police superintendent from Strasbourg. The German prisoners were freed after the June 1940 Armistice. Between May and June 1941, they were replaced by 700 French sailors repatriated from Germany. From June 1941 to August 1942, the camp was part of the French Obligatory Youth Service Corps (*chantiers de la jeunesse Française*, CJF) and did not hold any prisoners.

Starting in August 1942 and continuing until the Liberation, Douadic again served as a detention site. The Office of Social Services for Foreigners (*Service Sociale Étrangers*, SSE) managed the camp until December 31, 1942. The SSE was tied administratively to the Commissariat for Unemployment Relief (*Commissariat à la Lutte contre le Chômage*), which was under the auspices of Interior Ministry authority, and was managed at the national level by Gilbert Lesage. On January 1, 1943, the Office of the Social Control of Foreigners (*Service du Contrôle Social des Étrangers*, SSCE) took over the Douadic camp.

In September 1942, Mr. Masson managed the camp. An active-duty officer, Mr. Gény, headed the camp from late 1942 to

February 1943, when he was replaced by Captain Bouvery. At the end of 1943, the captain left to became an executive of the local militia. Major Deguines was then appointed camp manager.

Following nightly roundups starting on August 26, 1942, and continuing until September 20, Douadic held local Jews as the "center for gathering Jews [Israelites] before their transfer to occupied France."[1] A total of 475 prisoners passed through Douadic before being transferred to the Nexon regional center in the Haute-Vienne Département, the anteroom to the Drancy transit camp. The Vichy police sorted the prisoners, separating those "to be deported" from the very few to be spared.

On February 23, 1943, a roundup was conducted in reprisal for the January 13 attack on two Luftwaffe officers; 190 individuals were arrested during the roundup. On February 28, 30 of those individuals were released, and the remaining 160 were transferred to Nexon. At this time, 134 internees were left in Douadic. In May 1943, there were only 74 internees, including 40 women and 17 children.

During the summer of 1943, 103 foreign Jews arrived from the Gurs camp in the Pyrénées-Atlantique Département. Most were old and sick. On October 9, 1943, 233 people, among them 117 Jews, were transferred from either the Gurs or Brens camps and interned in Douadic. Following another roundup in March 1944, 101 additional internees came on April 1944 and 75 more in July 1944.

On September 10, 1944, Douadic was liberated; after that the camp held German POWs and then French collaborators until the spring of 1945.

SOURCES The following secondary sources include information on the Douadic camp: Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); Sébastien Dallot, *L'Indre sous l'occupation allemande, 1940–1944* (Clermont-Ferrand: Borée ed., 2001); Jacques Blanchard, *Le Camp de Douadic: Centre de triage avant déportation et centre n°11 bis du service social des étrangers, 1939–1945* (Celles-sur-Belle: F. Mathieu ed., 1994);

Philippe Barlet and Jacques Merlaud, *La Nasse, Douadic*, *1942–1945* (DVD, 5e Planète, 2006); and Gérard Ferrand, *Camps et lieux d'internement en région Centre (1939–1947)*, preface by Maurice Leroy (Saint-Cyr-sur-Loire: Alan Sutton, 2006).

Archival holdings on the Douadic camp start with ADI, M 3262 and 3263, and 1365W (site map). Some of the ADI material has been copied to USHMMA under RG-43.133M, 4 reels. Additional archival holdings can be found at CDJC: a list of the camp's and reception center's detainees on June 30, 1943, is under signature CCXIX-34_001. USHMMA holds an unpublished survivor memoir by Adele Cantor, "Tears and Joys of a War-time Deportee" (1946), which discusses her detention in Douadic and can be found in Acc. 2004.59, Renata de Gara Cafiero collection. Survivor testimonies may be found in VHF: Françoise Bram (#18241), Jacques Kochen (#40106), Henny Rachel Kuperminc (#33008), and Samuel Pintel (#24422). Jacques Blanchard records the testimony of former Douadic prisoner Herbert Goetz in his 1994 study.

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NOTE

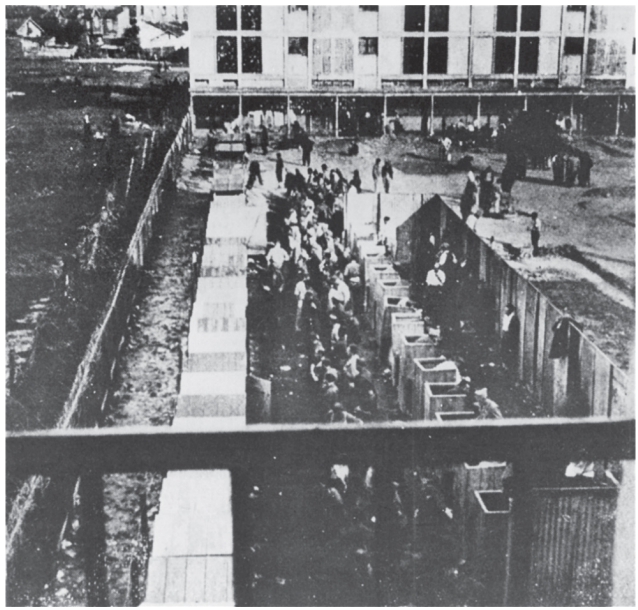
1. As quoted in ADI, M3262 and M3263.

DRANCY

Drancy was located in a suburb of Paris (in the Seine-Saint-Denis Département), approximately 11 kilometers (7 miles) northeast of the center of the French capital. When Cité de la Muette ("The Silent City"), a modern, U-shaped complex containing 1,200 apartments, was built at Drancy between 1931 and 1934, it was supposed to bring comfort and hygienic conditions to the 1930s working class. The architects Marcel Lods and Eugène Beaudouin designed it, and the construction firm Ferrus & Elambert built it. The Légion de Gendarmerie of the Paris military region later decided to build five 14-story-towers and a barracks at the site. When the Wehrmacht requisitioned the site on June 14, 1940, those buildings were not yet finished, but because of the site's shape, it was easily transformed into a camp by enclosing the U with barbed wire and adding watchtowers. Between the buildings, the interior courtyard was approximately 200 meters long by 40 meters wide (656 × 131 feet). The French government interned communists there in 1939 and 1940 after promulgation of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact. When the Wehrmacht took over, the site became Frontstalag 111 and held British and French prisoners of war (POWs). The newspaper *Paris-Soir* published a list of French POWs in July 1940. Very little is known about this phase of Drancy's history.

The roundup of Jewish men on August 20, 1941, in Paris marked the beginning of the Drancy camp (*Camp de Drancy*).[1] From that time, its history was divided into three periods: the first ran from August 20, 1941, until the Vel d'Hiv roundup in July 1942 during which SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker oversaw Drancy. Only adult male Jews, French and foreign, were imprisoned during that period. The second period started on July 16, 1942, and lasted until July 2, 1943, when SS-Obersturmführer Heinz Röthke succeeded Dannecker. During that time, Jewish women, children, and elderly were sent to the camp. The last period, from July 1943 until August 17, 1944, is considered the

German period, when SS-Hauptsturmführer Aloïs Brunner patterned Drancy after the model of German concentration camps. Of 76,000 Jews deported from France, 67,000 passed through Drancy.



The latrine and bath house at Drancy internment camp, 1941–1944. USHMM WS #79845, COURTESY OF SERGE KLARSFELD (BEATE KLARSFELD FOUNDATION).

When the first Jews arrived in Drancy, the newer additions to the site were not yet finished, and the conditions were terrible: prisoners slept on concrete floors using pieces of wood for pillows, and most did not have blankets.[2] Approximately 4,000 people were thus brought to a site without adequate infrastructure. Due to conditions of starvation and the lack of hygiene, many prisoners fell ill. Approximately 100 internees contracted pulmonary tuberculosis; others suffered from syphilis, scabies, and dysentery.[3] Gradually, they realized that their captivity was indefinite, and their morale dropped along with their physical resistance.[4] Forty prisoners died in a few days. In November 1941, in order to avoid an epidemic, the Germans ordered the release of

approximately 1,000 prisoners. The prisoners did not hesitate to compare Drancy with a ghetto or even the Dachau concentration camp.

During the first period, Dannecker, as the only representative of the occupiers, established Drancy's administrative structure. Drancy fell under the pyramidal hierarchy of the Vichy authorities that involved several administrative services. French gendarmes guarded the camp under a French commandant (*chef du camp*). The commandant was a police commissar nominated by the Prefecture of Police. The most notorious of the commandants, who held the post from July to September 1943, was Capitaine Marcellin Vieux. The gendarmes and the supply services of the Seine Prefecture reported to the Prefecture of Police. The French police authorities in turn answered to Dannecker. Drancy's internal hierarchy included Jewish prisoner-functionaries: a "Jewish commandant" who had under him five bloc chiefs (*chefs de blocs*) and 22 section trustees (*chefs d'escalier*).

After the confiscation of their identity papers and all belongings, all Jews in Drancy received prisoner numbers. When Jews in the Occupied Zone were compelled to wear the yellow star in May 1942, those in Drancy had to wear it too.

From November 1941 until the Vel d'Hiv roundup, Drancy became a place where the German authorities murdered prisoners as punishment for involvement in the Resistance. On December 15, 1941, a group of 44 men from Drancy along with some communists were murdered at the Mont-Valérien, a fort in the western Parisian suburb of Sayennes used by the German authorities as a killing site. Among them was the French resister Gabriel Péri. During the first months, few prisoners managed to escape.

Drancy's prisoners were both French and foreign Jews. Among the first groups of prisoners were 40 prominent lawyers from leading French courts: Cour d'Appel, Conseil d'État, and the Cour de Cassation. Among them was Pierre Masse, a member of Georges Clémenceau's cabinet in 1917 and a senator since 1938. He was deported to Auschwitz on September 30, 1942, and murdered. Max Jacob, a French poet, writer, and painter, died in Drancy on March 5, 1944. Many Jewish artists who found refuge

in France in the 1930s were also sent to Drancy before deportation to Auschwitz.

After the Vel d'Hiv roundup, Drancy became a transit camp before deportation to the East. One of most horrendous points in the history of Drancy was the arrival of Jewish children in the camp. Between July 31 and August 26, 1942, approximately 4,000 children from 2 to 12 years old arrived from the Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande camps (Loiret). They had been arrested with their parents during the Vel d'Hiv roundup in July, and their parents had already been deported. They spent only a few days in Drancy before being deported and murdered in Auschwitz.[5]

During the second phase, mostly covering the second half of 1942, some Jewish prisoners were released for various reasons: some were sick, some elderly people were transferred to the Rothschild Hospital, and still others were released because they were able to prove that they were not Jewish.[6] Some Jewish furriers were released in the summer of 1942 because the Germans found them useful for making clothes for the troops.[7]

On March 27, 1942, the first convoy, composed of 1,112 Jews from Drancy and Compiègne, departed France for Auschwitz. Only 23 of these people were alive in 1945 and returned to France. In July 1943, Drancy came under direct German control when Aloïs Brunner replaced Röthke. By the time that the German phase began (to be covered in greater detail in a future volume of this encyclopedia), 55 convoys had already left France for Poland. Brunner remained until the end. The last transport (convoy 77) left Drancy on July 31, 1944. Based on Serge Klarsfeld's account, 1,386 prisoners were present in Drancy at the time of liberation on August 17, 1944.

In March 1947, the Court of Justice of the Seine tried 15 gendarmes, including Vieux, for their actions in the Drancy camp. Many escaped punishment by claiming to have participated in the Resistance. Only three defendants were convicted, and none received a sentence longer than two years of confinement and five years of deprivation of civil rights.[8]

SOURCES There are many secondary sources describing the Drancy camp. They include Annette Wierviorka and Michel

Laffitte, *À l'intérieur du camp de Drancy* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2012); George Wellers, *From Drancy to Auschwitz* (Boston: M-Graphics Publishing, 2011); Didier Epelbaum, *Obéir: Les déshonneurs du capitaine Vieux Drancy, 1941–1944* (Paris: Éditions Stock, 2009); Jean Châtain, *Pitchipoï via Drancy: Le camp, 1941–1944* (Paris: Messidor, 1991); and Maurice Rajsfus, *Drancy: Un camp de concentration très ordinaire, 1941–1944* (Paris: Le Cherche Midi, 1996). *Lettres de Drancy* (Paris: Tallandier, 2002) is a selection of original annotated materials. A documentary film is Stephen Trombley, *Drancy: A Concentration Camp in Paris*, DVD (New York: Filmmakers Library, 1994). The standard chronicle on the deportation of Jews from France remains Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001).

The numerous primary sources documenting the Drancy camp can be found at CDJC, AD-S-S-D, APPP, ICRC, AN, and ITS. Most of this documentation is available in microform or digital copy at USHMMA under the following collections. From CDJC, RG-43.147M (Archives de Drancy, 1940–1944) includes documentation about camp administration, prisoner conditions and treatment, prisoner lists of inmates, list of releases, information about provisions for Christmas 1943, camp commandant memoranda, and prisoners' personal papers. RG-43.077M (selected records from collection DLXIIIa, Drancy, 1944) contains a list of food and care packages sent to Drancy prisoners via SNCF; RG-43.074M (selected records from collection DXXXIII), correspondence sent to Drancy, 1942–1950, contains postcards sent to Drancy prisoners by family members held in labor camps throughout Occupied Europe and Nazi Germany. RG-43.148M (Drancy: Notes de Service et Notes du Commandant du Camp, 1940–1944) contains camp administration documentation. Drancy material from AD-SS-D is found in RG-43.121M. From APPP, RG-43.030M consists of documents from the Prefecture of Police in Paris that contain administrative accounting files from Drancy (Comptes de Drancy, Préfecture Archives: boxes GB 1-16) recording money, jewelry, and other property confiscated from

Jews entering the camp. From ICRC, RG-04.077M (Fichier de Drancy) is a census of Jewish deportees from various countries that can be searched by name. From AN, Drancy material can be found in several collections: RG-43.008M (Drancy adult index file, 1941–1944); RG-43.011M (Fichier des Enfants internés à Drancy, 1941–1944); RG-43.010M (Cahiers du Camp de Drancy, 1942–1944); and RG-43.009M (Drancy execution index file). The ITS collection, available in digital form at USHMMA, contains materials about Drancy scattered in several subcollections. Subcollection 1.2.7.18 (Persecution action in France and Monaco) contains documents from CDJC. ITS subcollection 1.1.9 (Camps in France) contains the list of deportations of Jews from France, mostly from Drancy, and lists of deported Jews from France established after the war by ONACVG. USHMMA has a collection of 58 oral testimonies. VHA has 433 testimonies that mention Drancy. Published testimonies by Drancy prisoners include Benjamin Schatzman, *Journal d'un interné: Compiègne, Drancy, Pithiviers 12 décembre 1941–23 septembre 1942* (Paris: Editions Le Manuscrit/Manuscrit.com, 2005); François Montel and Georges Kohn, *Journal de Compiègne et de Drancy* (Paris: FFDJF, 1999); Saul Castro, in André Kaspi and Anne Grynberg, eds., *Témoignage d'un interné juif des camps de Drancy et de Compiègne (août 1941–mars 1942)* (France: Berthelet Franck, 1997); and Georges Wellers, *Un Juif sous Vichy* (Paris: Éditions Tirésias, 1991). An autobiographical novel is Noël Calef, *Camp de représailles* (Paris: Éditions de l'Olivier, 1997).

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NOTES

1. "Le camp de Drancy du 20 Août au début de Novembre 1941 d'après les témoignages de quelques libérés," 1.2.7.18, folder 9, Doc No. 82198932.

2. "Les conditions matérielles de la vie à Drancy," fond FSJF, CDJC, CCXVII-34, p. 2.

3. Letter of Dr. Tisné, who was asked by the Préfecture de la

Seine to write a report on the sanitary conditions in the Camp d'Israélites de Drancy, September 7, 1941, CDJC, fond CGQJ, CXCIV-83, p. 4. See also an interview with Yves Jouffa, in Trombley, *Drancy.*

4. ITS, "Naissance du camp: Erlebnisbericht über die Lebensbedingungen im Lager Drancy," n.d., 1.2.7.18, folder 8, Doc. Nos. 82198359, 82198360, 82198361.

5. Wellers, *Un Juif sous Vichy*, pp. 116–118.

6. Letter from the Préfet de Police to Directeur François, August 27, 1942, about the liberation of Mr. Léon Lévy because he is not Jewish, RG.43.030M (PPPA), reel 7.

7. Letter from the Fourrures & Pelleteries to the Préfecture de Police, Paris, July 24, 1942, USHMM, RG-43.030M, pp. 3526–3527.

8. Procès de Gendarmes de Drancy, March 19 to 22, 1947, CDJC, CCI-6.

EAUX-BONNES

Eaux-Bonnes in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques Département is a spa town located 43 kilometers (27 miles) south of Pau and 29 kilometers (18 miles) north of the Spanish border. Eaux-Bonnes became the destination for many of the tens of thousands of Spanish Civil War refugees flooding into southern France in 1939. In the summer of 1940, in the wake of the German-French Armistice, the German government dispatched the Kundt Commission to inspect refugee and other camps in the region. Representatives visited Eaux-Bonnes between August 19 and 23, 1940. From there they traveled to internment camps at Gurs, Luz-Saint-Sauveur, and Gèdre. German authorities did not take note of an actual refugee camp in Eaux-Bonnes itself at the time.[1] However, there is some evidence to suggest that Vichy authorities subsequently requisitioned several of the town's hotels and hostels and converted them into centers of assigned residence (*centres de residence assignée*) for the detention of foreign Jews and other "undesirables."

The Vichy authorities established altogether four such national centers in 1941. In addition to Eaux-Bonnes, three such sites operated in Saint-Nectaire, Le Mont-Dore, and La Bourboule in the Puy-de-Dôme Département. These centers were intended to streamline the detention and expulsion of foreign and naturalized Jews.[2] Other targets included French and alien nationals whose conduct, attitude, nationality, and religion allegedly constituted a threat to public order.[3] Inmates had to be financially self-supporting or else were assigned to labor battalions. They were usually not allowed to leave their residence center without police authorization. While some were able to secure emigration papers, many remained and ultimately became targets of roundups and deportations. For example, on January 18, 1943, more than 400 foreign Jews and 50 children were taken from Eaux-Bonnes some seven kilometers (four miles) northwest to Laruns. From there they traveled north to Guéret (Creuse Département) on convoy 415.

Although the circumstances are not clear, they avoided deportation after being released in Creuse and dispersing in the area.[4]

The International Tracing Service (ITS) has some documentation with the names of several foreign, mostly German Jews, who were transferred to Eaux-Bonnes after being interned at Gurs.[5]

SOURCES For relevant background information, see John F. Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France: The French under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Oxford Press, 1986); Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press in association with USHMM, 2001); and Christian Eggers, "La périple de la mission Kundt: Les camps du midi de la France d'après le journal de voyage de Jubitz (juillet–août 1940)," in Jacques Grandjonc and Theresia Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944: Exil et internement d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dans le sud-est de la France* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1990), pp. 213–226.

Primary records about the transfer of more than 400 foreign Jews from Eaux-Bonnes to Guéret can be found in ADC, collections 976W104 to 976W132, available at USHMMA as RG-43.109M. Additional records documenting this and the three other national centers of assigned residence can be found in AD-P-D, which holds among other documents relevant reports by police and gendarmerie in the M Series. Additional relevant police records can also be found in the N Series of ADH-L. The CNI of the ITS contains the names of Jews registered at Eaux-Bonnes. These records are available digitally at USHMM.

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NOTES

1. Eggers, "La mission Kundt," pp. 217–223.

2. AD-P-D, M07199, as cited in Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France*, p. 125; also ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371089.

3. ADH-L, N431 Police 4 and 8, as cited in Jean Merley, ed., *Répression: Camps d'internement en France pendant la seconde guerre mondiale* (Saint-Etienne: Centre d'Histoire Régionale, DL 1983), p. 76.

4. USHMMA, RG-43.109M (AD-C), reel 4, 976 W104 to 976W132.

5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Charlotte Rapport, Doc. No. 51986183; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Michael Grunberg, Doc. No. 52123722.

ÉCROUVES

Located in the Meurthe-et-Moselle Département in the Lorraine region, 25 kilometers (16 miles) west of Nancy, the Écrouves camp was set up on the border of the canal running between the Marne and Rhine Départements. On July 18, 1941, Vichy's Secretary of State for the Interior demanded the arrest of all communists, anarchists, resistance members, Gaullists, "undesirables," and black market traffickers, during a visit to the city of Nancy. In response, the local prefect demanded the internment of these groups on August 22, 1941.

The local authorities selected the former Marceau military barracks as the location for the Écrouves camp, which was officially classified as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS). Built in France's Forbidden Zone near the German-annexed Alsace-Moselle regions, the camp was established on the counter-slope of a plateau on swampy soil. Enclosing the space was a 1.8-to 2-meter-high (approximately 6-foot-high) barbed-wire fence. In June 1942, two watchtowers were built, followed by four additional towers in October 1943. The camp's southern side bordered the road to Paris; the Fort d'Écrouves path bordered the eastern side. There were 20 buildings in the camp, 6 of which accommodated detainees. The men's quarters (two buildings for housing and one for a kitchen and supply store) were enclosed by a fence. When the Jews were interned in Écrouves starting in July 1942, they were segregated. Two buildings were set aside for Jewish women and children.

Initially, the authorities used the CSS at Écrouves to alleviate crowding at the Charles III prison in Nancy. The Germans reinforced this policy at the end of October 1943, when the German police ordered the construction inside Écrouves of an annex of the Charles III prison with a capacity of 400 prisoners. Starting in November 1943, the Germans also annexed two buildings to the camp to accommodate Polish laborers working in a neighboring foundry.

Following the July 19, 1942, roundup of foreign Jews in Nancy, Écrouves' detainee population fundamentally changed. From September 1942, the camp also held Jews in preparation for their transport to the Drancy transit camp. There were 94 Jews at Écrouves in October 1942. Between September 1942 and July 1944, a total of 1,878 Jews were temporarily held there: 701 adult males, 873 adult females, and 304 children.

From September 25 to October 9, 1942, a raid on suspected communists resulted in the arrest of 352 political prisoners, including 10 women, who were dispatched to the Écrouves CSS. About half of them were from the Meurthe-et-Moselle Département.

Marcel Cropsal was the director of the camp, under the authority of the Meurthe-et-Moselle prefect, Jean Schmidt (appointed in September 1940). Cropsal was a gendarmerie lieutenant and had served in the mobile guard (*garde mobile*). The prefect appointed him director on November 20, 1940, a decision that only became effective on August 6, 1941. Charged with trafficking in clothing and misappropriating goods intended for detainees, Cropsal was removed in July 1943. Replacing him turned out to be quite difficult, and there were a series of directors in the following year: G., a divisional commissioner; Raymond B.; Pierre B.; M.; and finally André A. Throughout its existence, the camp administration always included a secretary-manager and two secretaries. Although French gendarmes guarded the CSS, the German police stationed in Nancy and Toul's Feldkommandatur intervened at will. Approximately 30 and 40 gendarmerie officers and non-commissioned officers guarded Écrouves.

Most detainees performed camp maintenance work. In his February 1942 report, Inspector Robert Lebègue wrote that, of 93 detainees, 35 cut wood every day in the Reine state forest, which was about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) northwest of Toul. Some prisoners worked as painters or bricklayers for local firms. After 47 detainees escaped between July 1 and October 14, 1943, a decree forbade any type of work in the forest.[1]

The Écrouves camp had an overall capacity of 860 people. From August 22, 1941, until the end of 1941, the CSS held 128 detainees: 118 communists, 1 Gaullist, and 9 black marketeers. In

February 1942, there were 93 detainees. The camp's population peaked in April 1943 at 497. That number dropped to 137 prisoners in February 1944. Over the entire period of operations, only 12 prisoners were classified as "undesirables."

Testimonies of Écrouves' detainees recorded by the Shoah Foundation shared several characteristics: the youthful detainees stayed very briefly in the camp, two to four weeks, before being transported to Drancy. Given the short stay and the five-decade time lapse before their testimonies were recorded, survivors generally recalled that the camp's discipline was lax, food relatively ample, and escape opportunities plentiful. A few remembered sleeping on straw floors, while one female survivor, Jeannine Guillemant, reported being forced to surrender her jewelry to a French guard. By contrast, one survivor, Jacqueline Cahn, received help from a French guard in a failed escape attempt.[2]

On September 2, 1944, when the Americans liberated the camp, there were 168 prisoners, all Jews. The liberating forces most likely were elements of the U.S. Third Army, then engaged in operations in the Toul and Nancy areas.

After the war, the Nancy Justice Court brought suit against the camp director, Cropsal, but he was acquitted on July 23, 1946.

SOURCES Secondary sources that recount the history of the camp at Écrouves are Françoise Job, *La déportation des Juifs de Lorraine: Le camp d'Écrouves*, new ed. (Paris: Fils et Filles de Déportés ed., 2004); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000). In 2000, Écrouves commemorated a statue in memory of the Jewish deportees.

Primary sources on the Écrouves camp may be found in AN: F7 15102 (camp director's and Robert Lebègue's report, December 10, 1943) and F7 15086 (IGC reports between February 1943 and April 1944); ADM-M: W 927/21, 202, 215, 216, 222, 225, 238–240, 260–261, 285–287, 292, 293, and 297; W 967/141 and W 950 323, 355 and 371; and CDJC (various correspondence): CDXXVII-17, CDXXIV-2, CDXXIV-31, XLIV-17, CII-90, XXVc-248, XLII-65, XLIX-16, XXVa-213, and CDXVI-19. VHF

holds seven testimonies that briefly mention detention conditions at Écrouves. Testimonies by former Écrouves detainees cited by Françoise Job are Pierrette Berkovic-Broda, Rosalie Doncourt-Widawski, Marcel Frégiers, and Yvette Tronik-Weil and that of one detainee who was not deported, Robert Benkemoun. Job also cites an unpublished, anonymized manuscript, "Les vacances de Morgenstern," which provides the only known witness testimony of the U.S. liberation of Écrouves.

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NOTES

1. AN F7 15102.

2. VHF testimonies of Jacqueline Cahn, February 9, 1997 (#27006); Jeannine Guillemant, March 4, 1997 (#26703); Samuel Lajzerowicz, March 11, 1996 (#11479); Georges Lehman, February 6, 1996 (#9116); Gilbert Metz, September 3, 1998 (#45926); Yvette Tronik, October 9, 1996 (#21059); and Claude Zlotzisty, October 11, 1996 (#21085).

ÉGLETONS

Égletons (Corrèze Département) is a town located 23 kilometers (14 miles) northeast of the prefectural capital, Tulle. There were at least three groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs) deployed in and around Égletons between 1941 and 1943: GTE No. 101, GTE No. 644, and GTE No. 653. For a year and a half, GTE No. 101 was located in the hamlet of Rosiers d'Égletons, almost 5 kilometers (3 miles) southeast of Égletons. A contingent of GTE No. 644 was located at Bugeat, 22.5 kilometers (14 miles) east of Égletons. GTE No. 653 was located in Égletons itself at the base of a stadium.

GTE No. 101 was the Corrèze Département's disciplinary unit. Originally located in a small prison in Brive-la-Gaillard, 48 kilometers (30 miles) southeast of Égletons, it was intended to hold foreign workers who went absent without leave.[1] The group originally had 30 prisoners, who were kept under close guard and worked on the Mezmac-Millevaches Road. The GTE was relocated to the Auchères camp at Rosiers d'Égletons (*Camp d'Auchères à Rosiers d'Égletons*) in June 1941 and remained there until October 1942. Auchères was a barracks camp enclosed by barbed wire.[2] It was 90 square meters (approximately 969 square feet). The neighboring prefecture of Haute-Vienne dispatched a foreign laborer to Auchères for punishment.[3] There were some escapes from this group, including by Arcadie Choko, a refugee from Łódź, who fled before the August 1942 roundup of Jews in Corrèze.[4] During the roundup, seven Jews were deported from GTE No. 101 via Drancy. Among them was Samuel Merel, who was sent to GTE No. 101 from the Soudeille camp (GTE No. 665) in August 1942 and who perished at Auschwitz in January 1945.[5] In October 1942, GTE No. 101 was moved a final time, to La Tourette, a hamlet near Ussel, where it was quartered on a sheep farm on the Mothe estate. (Ussel is 31 kilometers [19 miles] northeast of Rosiers d' Égletons.)

GTE No. 653 consisted of approximately 350 Spanish refugees

and some "Palestinians" (foreign Jews). Its labor duties included forestry, peat digging, agriculture, and "carbonization"—charcoal production. The commandant was Capitaine René Jouassain, and the group physician was named Moneger. Survivor Max Oling recalled that Jewish prisoners were able to correspond with loved ones.[6] The Spanish prisoners played soccer matches during off-hours. In the months preceding the roundup of Jews in the prefecture, the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF) provided substantial relief for Jewish forced laborers in the "Égletons camp," presumably a reference to GTE No. 653. Altogether, UGIF furnished 15,700 French francs for food, medicine, transport, and cash subsidies.[7] By May 1943, the remainder of GTE No. 653 was reassigned to work for the Organisation Todt (OT).[8]

Documentation for GTE No. 644 is scanty.[9] The group operated not only in Corrèze but also in Haute-Vienne, and at least one forced laborer was Jewish.[10]

A witness report at ITS indicates that there may have been a fourth GTE located at Égletons. A. Deutsch prepared a confidential report on the deportations in the Haute-Vienne vicinity, which included a visit to Égletons. With Rabbi Feuerwerker of Brive, he recalled accompanying GTE No. "59" during its 4-kilometer (2.5 miles) march to the train station and offering words of comfort to the men. The Jews sang *Hatikvah* along the way. It is possible that Deutsch conflated the GTE number with No. 653.[11]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the GTEs in and around Égletons include Gérard Gobitz, *Les déportations de réfugiés: De zone libre en 1942: récits et documents concernant les régions administratives de Toulouse, Nice, Lyon, Limoges, Clermont-Ferrand, Montpellier (Camp de Rivesaltes)* (Paris: Harmattan, 1997); Paul Estrade, "Les Groupes de Travail-leurs Espagnols," in Paul Estrade, ed., *Les forçats espagnols des GTE de la Corrèze, 1940–1944* (Treignac, France: Édition "Les Monédières," 2004), pp. 85–101; Jean-Pierre Tardien, "Les GTE d'Ussel, Neuvic et la Tourette," in Paul Estrade, ed., *Les forçats espagnols des GTE de la Corrèze,*

1940–1944 (Treignac: Édition "Les Monédières," 2004), pp. 127–152; Yves Soulignac, *Les centres des séjours surveillés, 1939–1945*, 2nd ed. (Saint-Paul, France: Soulignac, 2000); and Shlomo Balsam, *Le baume et la licorne: Histoire de deux familles* (Jerusalem: Édition Elkana, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the GTEs in and around Égletons can be found in AD-Cor, especially in collections 529W79–529W84. Some of this documentation is available at USHMMA as RG-43.125. Additional documentation can be found in ITS, collections 0.1, 1.2.7.18, and 2.3.5.1; this material is available in digital form at USHMM. VHA holds three interviews by survivors of GTEs at or near Égletons. USHMMPA has a photo identification card for Aron (Jacques) Balsam (WS #60698 and WS #60698A, courtesy of Shlomo Balsam).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Ministère de la Production Industrielle et du Travail, Groupement No. 1 des T.E., Demande Speciale, Obj.: "Transfèrement sous escorte de gendarmerie," signed Thomas, March 21, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.125 (AD-Cor), 529W76, p. 86.

2. ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrationsund Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), folder 32, Doc. Nos. 82375573–82375576.

3. P/H-V to P/Cor, Obj.: Milniaric, Jean, March 30, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W76, p. 355.

4. VHA #6857, Arcadie Choko testimony, August 22, 1995.

5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Samuel Merel, Doc. No. 40914459.

6. VHA #7423, Max Oling testimony, December 19, 1995.

7. ITS, 1.2.7.18 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Frankreich und Monaco), folder 10, Doc. No. 82198962.

8. Jouassain to Maison Garonne, Obj: "TE Mateo Pasqual," May

28, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W76, p. 267.

9. USHMMPA, WS #60698A, photo identification for Aron (Jacques) Balsam (Courtesy of Shlomo Balsam).

10. P/H-V to Maire Saint-Yrieix, October 8, 1942, signed J. Popineau, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W76, p. 238.

11. A. Deutsch, "Rapport confidentiel sur les évenements en Haute-Vienne," n.d., ITS, 1.2.7.18 folder 11/I455, Doc. No. 82199204.

ÉVAUX-LES-BAINS

Évaux-les-Bains was located in the Creuse Département, Limousin region, 63 kilometers (39 miles) northwest of Clermont-Ferrand in the Southern Zone. The site was chosen for an "establishment of administrative internment" (*établissement d'internement administratif*) for the detention of prominent figures and regime opponents. Because of its more secure location, it replaced the administrative internment camp at Vals-les-Bains. The camp was supposed to open in August 1942, but only became operational on November 26, 1942. The Vichy authorities commandeered the Grand-Hôtel for the purpose.

Located outside the town of Évaux-les-Bains but close to the National Road, the camp was enclosed by a wooden fence that surrounded the Grand-Hôtel, its park, and the neighboring villa that had been turned into a chapel. The neighboring Hôtel des Sources served as a guard post. On September 12, 1942, the police superintendent, Eustache Sagnières, became the camp director and remained in the post until December 29, 1942. His replacement was Albert Lecal, who in turn was replaced by Aimé Bonnevialle on June 16, 1943.[1] Because the detainees were prominent people, a large group of mobile reservists (*Groupe Mobile de Réserve*, GMR) was in charge of surveillance. With more than 120 reservists at the camp, there were approximately four guards for every prisoner.

A total of 77 detainees, including 3 women, were confined at Évaux-les-Bains. Most were blamed in some respect by the Vichy regime for France's defeat in June 1940. There were never more than 37 in confinement at one time, however. According to historian Denis Peschanski, there were 24 prisoners in June 1943, 32 in August 1943, and 36 in April 1944. Based on a list compiled by local historian Yves Solignac, 30 prisoners were released from the camp before the Liberation; 2 died in custody; 4 were handed over to the German authorities; 1 successfully escaped; 1 was dispatched to the Vichy prison at Castres; 1 was transferred to the

Nexon camp; and 37 were freed at the time of liberation.

The detainees formerly occupied leading positions in French politics and the army. The most famous was Édouard Herriot, a former three-time premier, leader of the French Radical Party, and long-term president of the Chamber of Deputies. Léon Jouhaux had served as the secretary of the General Confederation of Labor (*Confédération Générale du Travail*, CGT) since 1909. André Blumel was the chief of cabinet (*chef de Cabinet*) for the government of socialist premier Léon Blum. He escaped Évaux on May 5, 1944. The former deputy mayor of Oyonnax (Ain Département), René Nicod voted against the granting of unrestricted powers to Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain on July 19, 1940. Other leading figures were army officers such as Général de corps d'armée Paul-André Doyen. The only detainee held at Évaux from its opening to its closure, he headed the French delegation at the Wiesbaden (Armistice) Commission in 1941. Another general was Général de corps d'armée Léon Benoit de Fornel de La Laurencie. After overseeing the court-martial of Charles de Gaulle in 1940, La Laurencie turned against the Pétain regime, which led to his detention. Other detainees were members of rightist groups that broke with Vichy, including Dr. Henri Martin, erstwhile member of the monarchist French Action (*Action Française*) and *La Cagoulle* ("The Cowl," a right-wing terrorist group from the late 1930s, whose members were called Cagoulards). His fellow Cagoulards and Évaux detainees were Jean Filliol and Commandant Georges Loustaunau-Lacau. Well-known journalists, such as the leftist Roger Stéphane (the nom-de-plume of Roger Worms), were also held in the camp. Worms's mother, Madame Marcelle Worms, was detained at the same time. According to historian Christian Eggers, the site was also a center for assigned residence (*assignation à residence*), where foreign Jews who were able to pay for accommodations could be housed by private homeowners.

The camp's living conditions were acceptable. The prisoners corresponded regularly with relatives and friends in other camps. Books were widely available, lively political discussions took place, and relatives were able to visit. Loustaunau-Lacau characterized the "prison-hotel" as a lovely site where the Vichy regime held troublemakers.[2]

The German authorities periodically visited Évaux in order to seize certain well-known detainees. Their foremost target was Herriot, whose transfer was demanded at the highest level in Berlin. Along with Jouhaux and Loustaunau-Lacau, the German police removed Herriot from Évaux on March 31, 1943. Worms witnessed this intervention shortly after arriving in the camp. Observing that the German police brandished weapons more formidable than the "hunting rifles" with which the GMR guards were armed, he helplessly watched as they brushed aside detainees, like Martin, who tried to block them from taking Jouhaux and Loustaunau-Lacau.[3] Loustaunau-Lacau was dispatched to the Mauthausen concentration camp. He survived the Wiener-Neudorf subcamp and subsequently testified against Pétain during the latter's treason trial.[4] The last prisoner transferred to German hands was Colonel Henri Fallontin, who was seized on February 26, 1944. The German authorities also transferred at least one French prisoner, the former prefect of Pau, to Évaux from their prison at Fort-du-Hâ in Bordeaux on August 20, 1943.

A group of imprisoned officers and generals organized an escape attempt on November 4, 1943, assisted by resistance fighters from Limoges and Toulouse. On periodic visits to her husband during the previous months, Madame Martin, a maquisard, sneaked weapons to the detainees.[5] The potential escapees included some civilians, such as Worms, who vainly awaited the red and green light flashes that were supposed to signal the start of the escape.[6]

Resistance forces liberated the camp at Évaux-les-Bains in a bloodless attack on June 8, 1944, two days after the Normandy invasion. By agreement, the GMR guards did not oppose the freeing of their charges.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Évauxles-Bains are Vincent Giraudier, *Les Bastilles de Vichy: Répression politique et internement administratif* (Paris: Tallandier, 2009); Pierre Goudot and Marc Hervy, *Le camp d'internement administratif d'Évaux-les-Bains: Creuse, 26 novembre 1942–8 juin 1944* (Évaux-les-Bains; Saint-Marcel-en-Marcillat: self-published, 2006); Pierre Goudot, "Le camp d'internment

administratif d'Évaux-les-Bains (26 novembre–8 juin 1944)," *CAMR* 21 (Dec. 2009): 14–15; Chantal de Tourtier-Bonazzi, "L'utilisation dévoyée d'une station thermale: Évaux-les-Bains durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale," in *Villes d'eaux: Histoire du thermalisme*, Comite des travaux historiques et scientifiques (Paris: Éd. du CTHS, 1994), pp. 491–524; Yves Solignac, *Les centres des séjours surveillés, 1939–1945*, 2nd ed. (Saint-Paul: Soulignac, 2000); Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75; Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Christophe Moreigne, *Prisonniers de guerre de l'Axe: Creuse et région administrative (1944–1948)* (Guéret: Archives départementales de la Creuse, 2005). A biography of Dr. Henri Martin is Pierre Péan, *Le Mystérieux Dour Martin, 1895–1969* (Paris: Fayard, 1993). An account of the Liberation, by the daughter of one of the detainees, Robert-Pol Dupuy, is Rose-Marie Flick, "Le Général Robert-Pol Dupuy," at lissey.e-monsite.com/pages/annexe/general-pol-dupuy.html.

Primary sources documenting the Évaux-les-Bains camp can be found in AD-C, 36W1-15 (general administration of the camp, staff, and detainees); 36W15-33 (accounting); 80W1-20 (the prefect's personal staff at Évaux-les-Bains); and 147J105 (René Castille collection, historical research on World War II). Other archival holdings on Évaux-les-Bains can be found in MAN-MI, 880206/7 and 88206/8: Vals-les-Bains and Évaux-les-Bains camps (daily and weekly lists); and CAC, file 880206 (correspondence). The persecution of Loustaunau-Lacau is documented in the ITS collections, available in digital form at USHMM. Two published testimonies about Évauxles-Bains are Georges Loustaunau-Lacau, *Mémoires d'un Français rebelle* (1948; Biarritz: J&D Editions, 1994); and Roger Stéphane (pseud.; Roger Worms), *Chaque homme est lié memoir au monde* (Paris: Éditions du Sagittaire, 1946).

Eliezer Schilt and Joseph Robert White
Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTES

1. AD-C, 147J105.

2. Loustaunau-Lacau, *Mémoires d'un Français rebelle*, p. 250.

3. Stéphane, *Chaque homme est lié memoir au monde*, pp. 194–196 (quotation on 194).

4. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Loustaunau-Lacau (Doc. Nos. 39220707–39220708).

5. Stéphane, *Chaque homme est lié memoir au monde*, p. 253.

6. Ibid.

FORT-BARRAUX

Fort-Barraux (Isère Département) is located in southeastern France, more than 36 kilometers (almost 23 miles) northeast of Grenoble and over 86 kilometers (nearly 54 miles) south of Geneva. In the autumn of 1937 it held the first Spanish refugees, and for the length of World War II it was a Vichy administrative internment camp (also classified as a confinement center, *Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) in the Southern Zone for internees in transit to French, German, and North African camps. Fort-Barraux was also one of the historic military fortresses converted into an internment center by Vichy.

Fort-Barraux had an infirmary, a prison, a hospital, and dental care facilities. The staff at Fort-Barraux numbered 111 people. Victor Wenger, Paul Chevalier, and François Risterucci were commandants of Fort-Barraux. The French Red Cross had a presence there.[1]

Fort-Barraux changed status during the war. Initially a center designated for political detainees (communists and Gaullists), the camp began detaining common criminals in November 1942: black marketeers, convicts, pimps, and those guilty of economic infractions. Thirty-three Jewish men who were part of the group of demobilized foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Démobilisés*, GTED), GTED No. 133, were interned at Fort-Barraux in December 1942.[2] In 1943, "deserters," namely French civilians who refused to work in Germany during the war called *Réfractaire*, as well as Roma, Americans, Britons, Jews, and Spaniards arrived at Fort-Barraux for internment.[3]

Fort-Barraux had a capacity for up to 900 internees. Climbing to nearly 850 in early 1941, its census fell to approximately 250 in June 1942.[4] In February 1943, Fort-Barraux held 700 internees, and a year later it held 466. In December 1944 128 internees were held there. The Jews interned at Fort-Barraux included a rabbi, a doctor, traders, teachers, farmers, a city official, artists, students,

diamond cutters, and tailors. The nationalities represented by the Jewish prisoners included Polish, German, Austrian, Russian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Czechoslovak, stateless, Hungarian, Belgian, Bulgarian, Dutch, and French.

A notable internee at Fort-Barraux was the homosexual journalist, writer, and Gaullist Roger Stéphane, who was part of the Resistance in Montpellier. He escaped the camp in the summer of 1942. The most famous internee was Roland Dumas, later the Foreign Affairs Minister under President François Mittérand, who was part of the Resistance and was interned at Fort-Barraux between May 19 and 31, 1942.

SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker and his deputy, SS-Untersturmführer Ernst Heinrichsohn, visited the Southern Zone between July 11 and 19, 1942, and investigated the state of the camps at Fort-Barraux, Les Milles, Rivesaltes, and Gurs. After assuming the leadership of Fort-Barraux on November 5, 1942, Chevalier sent a damning report to his superiors about the widespread corruption in the camp. The guards accepted payment from internees for many favors, including facilitating escapes. Consequently Chevalier demoted many guards to correctional status and sent them to neighboring internment camps such as Sisteron. Other guards resigned, fearing such a fate.

Each day five internees farmed potatoes and corn in the grounds around the fortress and in a nearby field. Eight internees worked daily under supervision in a nearby forest, cutting down trees and transporting firewood.[5]

The internees slept on wooden beds and were each given a pillow, a sleeping bag, and three blankets (four in the winter). Each room also had tables and chairs.[6] Obtaining adequate clothing was more difficult. The internees wore worn-out military coats, jackets, and pants. Tailors-in-residence kept the clothing wearable. As of June 30, 1943, the center was in need of shirts, leggings, knitwear, work pants, and socks.[7] Hunger, disease, dysentery, and lung ailments were widespread at Fort-Barraux and often led to death.

According to Chevalier, the state of the camp's morale was very low as of January 9, 1943. Many were keen to escape, and others longed to be granted freedom. The general perception was that the

food at Fort-Barraux was insufficient, especially compared to what the internees had been issued at other camps.[8] Each internee was given 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of fresh vegetables per day.[9] Fort-Barraux initially had one reservoir providing water for the camp, and on April 15, 1943, the commandant initiated plans to build a second reservoir.[10]

By the end of the war 120 Jewish internees at Fort-Barraux had been deported to Auschwitz. In the summer of 1945 German civilians (men, women, and children) occupied Fort-Barraux.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Fort-Barraux include Jean-Claude Duclos, *Fort Barraux: Camps et prisons de la France de Vichy, 1940–1944* (Grenoble: Musée de la résistance et de la déportation de l'Isère, 1998); Tal Bruttmann, *Spoliations Liées à l'Internement et à la Déportation des Juifs par Vichy* (Grenoble: Commission Communale d'Enquête sur les Spoliations des Biens Juifs, 2002); Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, Université Paris 1, 2000); Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); Tal Bruttmann, *Aryanisation économique et spoliations en Isère, 1940–1944* (Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 2010); Marcel Cohen, *Les Camps en Provence: Exil, internement, déportation, 1933–1944* (Aix-en-Provence: Éditions Alinéa et L.L.C.G., 1984); Roger Stéphane, *Chaque homme est lié au monde* (Paris: Éditions du Sagittaire, 1946); and Olivier Philipponnat and Patrick Leinhardt, *Roger Stéphane: Enquête sur l'aventurier* (Paris: Grasset, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the Fort-Barraux camp can be found in digital form in AD-Ard, available at USHMMA under RG-43.111, reel 3; ADL, available at USHMMA, RG-43.029M, reel 3; and ITS, 1.2.2.0 (folder 4), 1.2.7.18 (folders, 1, 4, 6, 10, 19a, and 19b), and 2.3.6.1 (folder 3). Additional primary source

material about the Fort-Barraux camp can be found in AN (Police Générale), available at USHMMA under RG-43.016M, reels 11 and 14; AD-R, available at USHMMA, RG-43.065M, reel 3; and ADH-G, available at USHMMA, RG-43.058M, reel 16. A published memoir is Roger Stéphane, *Chaque homme est lié au monde*.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 10, Doc. No. 82198895.
2. "Groupe de TE Nr. 133" n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.111MK (AD-Ard), reel 3, n.p.; and "Le Chef de Groupe Départemental Buisson, Commandant le GTED, Nr. 133," September 11, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.111M, reel 3, n.p.
3. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82370971; "43 Fort Barraux," n.d. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82370972.
4. "Le Directeur du Centre de Séjour Surveillé," June 30, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 14, p. 2553.
5. "Travail des Internes," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 14, p. 2463.
6. "Département de l'Isère Centre de Séjour Surveillé de Fort-Barraux," June 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 14, p. 2460.
7. "Habillement (Personnel)," June 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 14, p. 2461.
8. "À des jardins furent exploités autour du Fort …," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 14, p. 2492.
9. "… cage pour percevoir des …," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 14, p. 2462.
10. "Le Chef de Camp du Centre de Séjour Surveillé de Fort-Barraux," April 15, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 14, p. 2782.

FORT-DE-PEIGNEY

Peigney was a disused fort located a half-kilometer (0.3 miles) from its eponymous town in the Haute-Marne Département, 2.6 kilometers (1.6 miles) northeast of Langres, the nearest sizable commune, and 248 kilometers (154 miles) southeast of Paris.

The Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) of the Haute-Marne Département were first rounded up, along with their caravans, in April 1941, following a prefectural decree under the order of the occupying German forces on January 31, 1941, which forbade their free movement around the department.[1] They were gathered in a clearing at Germaines, near the town of Auberive, almost 25 kilometers (more than 15 miles) southwest of Peigney. While at Germaines, the men performed forestry work nearby.[2]

On September 1, 1941, all of the Roma at Germaines were transferred via horse and carriage to Peigney, because accommodations at Germaines were deemed unsuitable for the upcoming winter weather.[3] Two large brawls occurred at Germaines in the last week of July, and two men subsequently required hospitalization for knife injuries. These fights seem also to have contributed to the decision to transfer the group to a more confined location. In a letter to the prefect about the transfer, the sub-prefect of Langres noted that one of the Roma said this detention was forcing families who had long "resented and detested one another" to live in close quarters, which was the cause of the fights.[4]

The fort itself was barely habitable when the Roma were moved there. It had been built between 1869 and 1875 and used before the war as a storage depot. Its estimated capacity was 120 people.[5] As one report stated, "the only advantage of this location is that it is free to receive nomads."[6] Many of its doors and all of its windowpanes were missing, and heating it was an ongoing challenge. Questions were raised to the prefect about whether the water was potable, given that two of the three wells on site were full of detritus and were missing necessary pumps. The Roma

were thus allowed to go into town to procure water.[7]

Three families lived in the former officers' quarters within the fort, although the rooms were devoid of any furniture or floor covering. The other Roma lived in their caravans wherever they could find space for them in the fort's interior courts.

Between September 1941 and February 1942, the gendarme brigade at Langres oversaw the security of Peigney. In February 1942, security was increased by prefectural order, and six unarmed guards were hired, although in the summer of 1942 they were not paid for several months due to an administrative error.[8] As of October 1942, the chief guard was a former artillery worker, and the other five comprised two other former artillery workers, one who had worked for Peugeot, and two former railroad workers.[9] Four guards were on duty during the day, two at night, and each guard received one day off per week, which meant that twice a week, the two guards on duty at night had to serve for longer shifts.[10]

The camp's atmosphere was fractious. According to various police reports, the detainees fought among themselves and also with the guards and the police. A September 1941 report by Marc Tonnot, the commander of the Langres gendarme brigade, described a phone call from the mayor of Peigney, who asserted that a group of men from the camp were drinking and harassing people in town. Four gendarmes were sent to investigate; three of the gendarmes were beaten by one of the prisoners, who then managed to escape the reinforcements sent to find him.[11] In April 1942, one prisoner was accused of hitting a guard and then breaking all the windows in the guards' post.[12]

Escapes occurred frequently. With permission from the guards, the Roma were allowed to leave Peigney for certain reasons, such as procuring food and water or selling handicrafts, and the voluminous gendarme reports in the archives indicate that many Roma would not return from these excursions. Due to the dilapidated condition of the fort it was also possible to escape over its walls at night.[13] In August 1942, a medical inspector reported that the guards complained to him that it was difficult for them to prevent anyone from flouting the camp's restrictions, which included a curfew from 11 P.M. to 5 A.M.[14]

An inspection report from October 1942 stated that of the 97 Roma who were supposed to be detained at Peigney, 46 were missing (11 men, 8 women, and 27 children). Some reported escapees returned of their own will, and others were found either in nearby camps, such as Jargeau (Loiret), where their relatives were being held, or residing in nearby villages.[15] Movement in and out of the camp caused the number of Roma at Peigney to fluctuate from month to month.

Finding work for the Roma was a problem for the camp authorities. A group of five men were authorized by the Germans to work cutting timber in the forest at Montigny-le-Roi, approximately 17 kilometers (10 miles) northeast of Peigney.[16] Others at Peigney were allowed to practice traditional crafts, particularly basket weaving. However, as a health inspector in the camp noted, necessary supplies such as wicker were lacking, and there was no place nearby for the Roma to sell their finished products.[17]

In addition, there was no school for the children at the camp, and they were not allowed to attend school in Peigney because, according to a 1942 report, there were too many of them (approximately 20) and they were often too badly behaved.[18]

Food was insufficient. Families were in charge of obtaining their own food, and Peigney's mayor reported that thefts, especially by children, of produce, wood, and even rabbits from house holds in Peigney often occurred.[19] The procurement of heating material was another ongoing problem. In November 1941, Tonnot reported that the fort was in increasingly worse condition because the Roma were burning its beams, window frames, and flooring planks for heat, as they were not provided with anything else.[20] There was no doctor designated to serve Peigney, and three children born at Peigney in 1942 all died shortly after birth—two of "cold and hunger" and one of bronchitis, according to a report by a camp inspector.[21]

As early as August 1942, a health inspector recommended that Peigney be shuttered and its inhabitants moved to a larger, better run camp.[22] Authorities had discussed renovating the fort, but they found adequate renovation to be impracticable.[23] By early December 1942, the prefect wrote that he was ready to close

Peigney as soon as the Interior Ministry told him where to send its detainees.[24]

The first group of 13 detainees was transferred to the camp at Arc-et-Senans (Doubs) on January 28, 1943, and by July 1943, all of the Roma detained at Peigney, including those working in forestry at Motigny-le-Roi, were transferred to Arc-et-Senans.[25]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention Peigney include Denis Peschanski, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2010); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: un sort à part, 1939–1946* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); and Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 29–196.

Primary documentation on the camp at Peigney can be found in ADH-M, under classification 367W206. Some of this documentation is available on microfilm at USHMMA under RG-43.106M.

Abby Holekamp

NOTES

1. "Rapport de M. Lebègue, Chargé de Mission à l'Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internement du Territoire, sur le centre d'hébergement de Peigney (HteMarne), visité le 20 Octobre 1942," December 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M (ADH-M), reel 5, 367W206, pp. 538–544 (USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206).

2. P/Haute-Marne to Direction Générale de la Police Nationale, July 28, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 295.

3. Capitaine Pierre Stanguennec, "Rapport sur le transfèrement des nomades," September 2, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W20, p. 411; reasons for transfer, P/Haute-Marne to Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur, December 20, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, pp. 299–300.

4. Quotation from S-P/Langres to P/Haute-Marne, August 13, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 77.

5. “Rapport de M. Lebègue,” December 1, 1942.

6. Quotation from “Notice sur le camp de nomades de Peigney,” 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, pp. 306–307.

7. Commissaire Spécial/Chaumont to P/Haute-Marne, August 28, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 68; water well situation, “Rapport de M. Lebègue,” December 1, 1942, p. 544.

8. “Rapport de M. Lebègue,” December 1, 1942, pp. 540–541; guards not receiving pay, Médécin Inspecteur to P/Haute-Marne, August 28, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 510.

9. “Rapport de M. Lebègue,” December 1, 1942, p. 540.

10. “Consignes pour les Gardiens du Fort de Peigney,” USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 277.

11. Tonnot, “Rapport sur la vie des nomades au Fort de Peigney,” September 27, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, 399–400.

12. Tonnot, “Rapport sur la vie des nomades au Fort de Peigney,” April 29, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 344.

13. P/Haute-Marne to DGPN, July 28, 1942.

14. “Consignes pour les Gardiens du Fort de Peigney.”

15. “Rapport de M. Lebègue,” December 1, 1942, p. 541; escapees returning on their own, “Camp de nomades de Peigney, mois de Novembre 1942,” November 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, pp. 269–270; joining family in other camps, Tonnot, “Rapport sur la vie des nomades au Fort de Peigney,” March 28, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 346.

16. “Rapport sur les familles de nomades en stationnement dans la commune de Motigny-le-Roi,” February 26, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 351.

17. Médécin Inspecteur to P/Haute-Marne, August 28, 1942, p.

511.

18. “Notice sur le camp de nomades de Peigney,” 1942.

19. Médécin Inspecteur to P/Haute-Marne, August 28, 1942; theft of rabbits, Maréchal-des-Logis-Chef L’homme, “Rapport sur la vie des nomades au Fort de Peigney,” November 29, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 374.

20. Tonnot, “Rapport sur une destruction de matériels par les nomades concentrés au Fort de Peigney,” November 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 376.

21. Quotation from “Rapport de M. Lebègue,” December 1, 1942, p. 543.

22. Médécin Inspecteur to P/Haute-Marne, August 28, 1942.

23. P/Délégué du Ministre Secretaire d’État à l’Intérieur to P/Haute-Marne, November 2, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 476.

24. P/Haute-Marne to P/Délégué du Ministre Secretaire d’État à l’Intérieur, December 5, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 266.

25. P/Haute-Marne to P/Doubs, January 24, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 648; later transfer of group at Motigny-le-Roi, P/Haute-Marne to Commandant de Gendarmerie/Chaumont, July 5, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 593.

FORT-DE-VANCIA

Located in the Ain Département in the Rhône-Alpes region, the Fort-de-Vancia camp was allegedly used to temporarily intern the Département's Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports). Fort-de-Vancia was a military complex built at the beginning of the Third Republic between 1872 and 1878. The complex was located 9.9 kilometers (just over 6 miles) northeast of Lyon, on land belonging jointly to Rillieux-la-Pape and Sathonay-Village. The site had a total capacity of more than 800 men.

The French used the fort to hold "administrative prisoners" (*prisonniers administratifs*). The camp held 73 prisoners, including 63 from the adjacent Département of the Rhône and 10 people from Ain, arrested on January 29, 1941. The Germans also used the fort as a prison, notably for Generalissimo Francisco Franco's opponents.

Among the camp's famous prisoners was Habib Bourguiba, the leader of Tunisia's Neo-Destour (New Constitutional) Party and the Republic's first president (1957–1987). He spent a few days in Fort-de-Vancia after being moved through a succession of detention sites in Marseille (Fort St. Nicolas) and Fort Montluc at Lyon, arriving at the latter site on November 18, 1942. Bourguiba described Fort-de-Vancia, which he does not cite by name, as "another internment camp made up of casemates."[1] Other Tunisian prisoners at the fort included his brother Mahmoud. In a display of Tunisian nationalism, Bourguiba "often exhorted [fellow prisoner] Hedi Nouira to wear his chechia [a tassled, brimless cap common in the Arab world] so as to attract the attention of the people."[2] On December 16, 1942, the German authorities secured his release and the release of his entourage through the offices of the Lyon Gestapo chief, Klaus Barbie. The Tunisians' release, occurring soon after the successful Allied landings in North Africa and Operation Torch, was motivated by the eagerness of the Germans and Italians to enlist Bourguiba's support for the Axis cause. That

bid proved unsuccessful because, unlike the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Bourguiba supported the Allies from early on in the war and worked closely with U.S. forces after the liberation of Tunisia.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the camp at Fort-de-Vancia are the city hall website for Rillieux-la-Pape, www.ville-rillieux-la-pape.fr/front/334-68-1-Histoire; and the unpublished Ph.D. research by Jérôme Croyet on internment in the Rhône-Alpes region.

Archival sources on Fort-de-Vancia are found in AD-Ain. The memoir of Habib Bourguiba, *My Life, My Ideas, My Struggle* (Tunis: Ministry of Information, 1979), contains a few lines on his brief internment at Fort-de-Vancia.

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NOTES

1. Bourguiba, *My Life, My Ideas, My Struggle*, pp. 198–199.

2. Ibid., p. 199.

FORT DU PORTALET

On October 29, 1941, the chief of the French state, Henri-Philippe Pétain, ordered the unlimited detention of five former leaders of the Popular Front (*Front Populaire*, 1936–1937) and of successive Third Republic governments in the remote, nineteenth-century fortress of Portalet (*Fort du Portalet*). Fort du Portalet is located in the Pyrenees, near the Spanish border, in the vicinity of the present-day commune of Aspe Valley (Basses-Pyrénées Département; today: Pyrénées-Atlantique). Aspe Valley is some 40 kilometers (25 miles) southwest of Pau. The fortress stands at 783 meters (2,569 feet) elevation and is accessible only by a 660-meter (2,165-foot) switchback road.

The five detained premiers and cabinet members were Léon Blum, Édouard Daladier, Générale Maurice Gustave Gamelin, Georges Mandel, and Paul Reynaud. They were already under arrest and indictment for treason and were to be tried in the politically charged Riom trial; with enthusiastic German support, that trial was scheduled to start in mid-January 1942. However, in decreeing these leaders' unlimited detention, Pétain made clear that the Riom trial's sentences could only add to the years of confinement, and not result in acquittals. Using powers vested in him under the Vichy constitution, Pétain reclassified the disused fort as a "fortified precinct," a piece of legerdemain that enabled the French authorities to refit cells for confinement.[1] As Daladier put it in his diary, "Pétain decree. I am condemned to detention in perpetuity."[2] Reynaud put the condemnation in stark terms: "The day of death. My death. We are going to leave for the Portalet."[3]

The staff at Fort du Portalet consisted of the fortress chief, Commandant Vidala; a chief guard (*surveillant-chef*), possibly named Simon; and 30 gendarmes. Two servants and three cooks attended to the detention site. The servants were only allowed to enter the detainees' cells when accompanied by a guard. Eight cells were outfitted for the prisoners' accommodation. The cells were approximately 12 square meters (129 square feet) and

included small toilets.

In early November 1941, the Vichy authorities removed the five detainees from Bourrasol Castle, near Riom, and transported them by air to Pau; from there they were driven to the fort by automobile. Riom is almost 400 kilometers (249 miles) northeast of Pau.

Two detainees, Daladier and Reynaud, kept diaries while in custody. These diaries, which were not published in their lifetime, give some indication of everyday life, the stress, and the circulation of news, official and unofficial. For example, Reynaud brought a radio into the fort, which was confiscated a few days later. In any case, the prisoners learned about the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. In commenting on the attack, Reynaud employed an English idiom: "The war will be longer but it would make a *clean shave*."[4] The prisoners were able to receive care packages and occasional visitors. In response to an official request, Abbot Usaurou celebrated a Mass for the detainees, one of three he conducted each Sunday.[5]

The detainees, whose ages ranged from their late fifties to early seventies, suffered some health problems while at Portalet. Although the fort had an infirmary, Gamelin's illness was serious enough to warrant hospitalization in Pau.[6] The report of Mandel's illness reached the American press.[7]

With the start of the treason trial, Blum, Daladier, and Gamelin were transferred to Riom on February 19, 1942. The trial soon became what Adolf Hitler called a "farce."[8] It was suspended in March 1942 and permanently ended in May 1943.

In the early fall of 1942, an increase in unrest in the fort's vicinity led to a strengthening of the guard force.[9] When the German authorities occupied the Southern Zone after Operation Torch, the French guards deployed the fort's chevaux de frise (spiked obstacles), because they feared a German takeover, so recorded Reynaud.[10] When the Germans occupied the installation, Mandel and Reynaud were taken into Nazi SS custody and initially sent to the German-run police prison at Fort du Hâ in Bordeaux; they were eventually transferred to the Buchenwald concentration camp under privileged custody. After his transfer from German custody, the Vichy authorities murdered Mandel on July 6, 1944.

Daladier and Reynaud were liberated after internment at Itter Castle in Austria in May 1945. As a Jew, Blum continued to be held at Buchenwald and then Dachau.

The newly formed Fourth French Republic confined Pétain to Fort du Portalet between August and November 1945. The ironic twist was not lost on the aging and disgraced former chief of state.

SOURCES A secondary source describing the Fort du Portalet camp is Pierre Pédron, *Prison sous Vichy* (Paris: Éditions du l'Atelier, 1993). The camp is also briefly described in Stephen Harding, *The Last Battle: When U.S. and German Soldiers Joined Forces in the Waning Hours of World War II in Europe* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 2013). The Association mémoire collective en Béarn, *Le Fort du Portalet: Témoignages inédits* (Pau: Association Mémoire Collective en Béarn, 1989), contains some interviews with Béarn residents who recalled or visited the fort during its stint as a detention site. The website, Forbidden Places, reproduces some detailed press accounts and photographs: see www.forbidden-places.net/exploration-urbaine-le-fort-du-portalet.

Primary sources documenting the Fort du Portalet camp can be found in AN BB 30 1719. Additional documentation can be found in the diaries of Édouard Daladier, *Journal de captivité*, edited by Jean Daladier and Jean Daridan (Paris: CalmannLévy, 1991); and Paul Reynaud, *Carnets de capitivité: 1941–1945*, introduction by Evelyne Demey (Paris: Fayard, 1997). Given the prominence of the prisoners, *NYT* reported on the site in a series of articles in 1941 and 1942.

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NOTES

1. "French War Leaders face Sunless Prison: Mountain Fort is Being Prepared for Five in Custody," *NYT*, October 31, 1941.

2. Entry for November 7, 1941, Daladier, *Journal de captivité*, p. 109.

3. Entry for November 2, 1941, Reynaud, *Carnets de capitivité,* p. 145.

4. Entry for December 8, 1941, in ibid., p.152.

5. Usaurou interview, n.d., Association mémoire collective en Béarn, *Le Fort du Portalet*, pp. 77–78.

6. Entry for November 16, 1941, Daladier, *Journal de captivité*, p. 113.

7. "Report of Mandel Escape Denied," *NYT*, February 13, 1942.

8. As quoted in "Le procès de Riom," *Le Monde*, February 17, 1992.

9. "Vio lence Increases in France," *NYT*, September 27, 1942.

10. Entry for November 7, 1942, Reynaud, *Carnets de capitivité,* p. 196.

FRÉJUS

Located some 52 kilometers (32 miles) southwest of Nice, the seaside resort Fréjus (Var Département) was a major center for the winter quartering (*hivernage*) of colonial troops during World War I. Between 1941 and 1943, several of the former army camps served as internment camps for French and foreign-born Jews and other "undesirables." At least one of the sites operated in June 1941. In January 1943, the French and German authorities then used up to five sites in and around Fréjus as transit camps for prisoners rounded up during Operation Tiger (the roundup of Jews in Marseille) and the evacuation of Vieux Port. Most of the Jewish inmates were subsequently transferred to Compiègne, then Drancy, and finally to Majdanek and Sobibor in March 1943.

Little is known about the early camp operations in Fréjus. One of the few reliable reports comes from the French physician and resistance fighter Joseph Weill, who provided medical and other aid to inmates in internment camps in southern France. According to him, some 400 individuals were registered at the Fréjus "camp of demobilized legionnairies" (*camp des légionnaires démobilizés*) in June 1941.[1] They were members of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE), which was demobilized after the Franco-German Armistice; many of its members were persecuted under the Vichy regime.

The former military camps at Fréjus became of particular importance during Operation Tiger and the evacuation of Port Vieux between January 22 and January 27, 1943. Some 9,000 French police and 5,000 German troops conducted massive roundups targeting Jews, political dissidents, petty criminals, vagrants, and other "undesirables." They checked the identities of some 40,000 people and apprehended 6,000, of whom 4,000 were quickly released. The remaining 2,000 underwent a sorting process at Brébant Prison; 642 of these individuals were sent by special train to Compiègne or by cattle cars, trucks, and busses to Frèjus. They arrived at several poorly prepared camps in the area,

including those at Le Domaine du Pin de la Légue, Caïs, and Paget. In addition, another 20,000 evacuees from Vieux Port were also taken to Frèjus, where a German-controlled vetting commission established their identities and determined their subsequent fates.[2]

Survivor Helene Joffe (née Mindel) was nine years old at the time of these events. On the night of January 22, 1943, her father was arrested at the family's home in Marseille as part of the roundups of Jews. Early the following morning, Joffe's mother was forced to take her daughter and three sons to the train station where they waited for hours. According to Joffe's postwar testimony, the family was then taken by train to Fréjus. The older brothers were separated from their mother and sisters and were likely sent to a camp for men in Fréjus. Joffe, her mother, and younger brother arrived at a different site in town. Joffe recalled that the old army camp was filthy and infested with vermin and lice. There were hardly any places to sleep. She remembered being pushed into a room in one of the barracks. Her mother made a makeshift bed for her children by putting straw on a table.

According to Joffe, the camp was crowded with large numbers of detainees, many of whom were not Jewish, but were swept up in the general evacuation of Vieux Port. Joffe recalled that inmates could secure permission to leave the camp provided they had proof of an alternative residence. It is not clear whether the authorities were aware of the Mindel family's Jewish identity, but they were granted permission to leave the camp and stay in a private residence.[3] For most of the Jewish prisoners rounded up in early 1943, Fréjus became a way station to Compiègne, Drancy, and finally to extermination camps in Poland. It is not clear how long the internment camps at Fréjus continued to operate.

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions Fréjus is Donna F. Ryan, *The Holocaust and the Jews of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Policies in Vichy France* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

Primary sources documenting Fréjus can be found in ADBR, M6-III23, M6-14408, and IV Y/2/7; ITS; and VHA. The CNI contains the names of several French-born Jews and others

believed to have passed through the military camps at Fréjus before deportation. Also listed are those who were registered at these camps in January and February 1943 and were ultimately liberated from Fréjus. ITS, 1.2.7.18, fol. 1, contains a camp list compiled at WL and based on Weill's testimony, which lists the camp for demobilized legionnairies. Survivor testimonies are available in VHA, including Helene Joffe, November 12, 1995 (#6474) and Fortunée Vidal, November 11, 1996 (#21680). The published testimony of Joseph Weill is *Contribution à l'histoire des camps d'internement dans l'anti-France* (Paris: CDJC, 1946). See also the wartime diary of Raymond-Raoul Lambert, president of the Committee of Assistance to Refugees (*Comité d'assistance aux Réfugiés,* CAR) and then the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France,* UGIF), who witnessed the January 1943 roundups in Marseille: Raymond-Raoul Lambert, *Diary of a Witness: 1940–1943* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2007).

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NOTES

1. Weill, *Contribution à l'histoire des camps*, p. 44.
2. Lambert, *Diary of a Witness*, pp. 163–168.
3. VHA #6474, Helene Joffe testimony, November 12, 1995.

FRONTIGNAN

The Hérault Prefecture chose the town of Frontignan for use as a center for assigned residence (*assignation á residence*). Frontignan is approximately 21 kilometers (13 miles) southwest of Montpellier, the capital of the Hérault Département. During the exodus of refugees following the German invasion of the West, five families totaling 18 foreign Jews (12 stateless people, 3 Poles, and 3 Dutch), who fled Belgium, arrived in Frontignan on May 28, 1940. According to the June 16, 1941, census, these five families remained in Frontignan. The census provided by the gendarmes before the roundup of August 26, 1942, noted that, in addition to these 18 foreign Jews, there was another group of 100 foreign Jews in Frontignan. The majority belonged to the local group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE; possibly GTE No. 311). On the final count given on August 27, 1942, 60 Jews were to be arrested for deportation. Only 18 of them were arrested, however, while one was granted an exemption, and 41 were missing. The arrested Jews were sent to the Agde camp, 27 kilometers (almost 17 miles) southeast of Frontignan, which served as a temporary transit camp. The report from Sète's police commissioner indicated that 71 people escaped from the GTE before August 26, 1942, including 11 between August 21 and 26.[1] Historian Michaël Iancu observes that the previous roundup, which took place in Ile-de-France in mid-July 1942, alerted all the Jews of France. In addition, he added that local gendarmes warned the Jews about the impending roundup.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the center for assigned residence at Frontignan are Michaël Iancu, *Vichy et les Juifs: L'exemple de l'Hérault (1940–1944)* (Montpellier: Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2007); and Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75.

Primary sources documenting the Frontignan camp are scant. Some documentation can be found in AD-H, under the former signature 18W12 (foreign workers), available in digital form as such at USHMMA, RG-43.103M. Additional documentation, following the ongoing reclassification of AD-H collections, can be found in 15W252 (about the opening of reception centers) and 12W10 and 12W119 (about measures taken to receive refugees from Alsace, Spain, and Poland).

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NOTE

1. 18W12, AD-H, as cited by Iancu, *Vichy et les Juifs*, p. 208.

GAILLAC

Gaillac (Tarn Département) is located approximately 22 kilometers (approximately 12 miles) northeast of Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe and 43 kilometers (about 12 miles) northwest of Castres. From 1942 until the end of August 1944, the prison at Gaillac was tied administratively to the Saint-Sulpice camp.

As early as March 1942, the prefect of Tarn proposed to the Vichy Interior Ministry that Gaillac be used as a "disciplinary section" under the administration of Saint-Sulpice for both Saint-Sulpice and the neighboring Brens women's camps.[1] (Brens is 0.6 kilometers or 1 mile southeast of Gaillac, just across the Tarn River.) To refurbish and staff the site, the prefect requested some 80,000 French francs from the Vichy Justice Ministry.[2]

The mass escape at Castres of September 16, 1943, altered Gaillac's function. On October 18, 1943, the Saint-Sulpice camp administration closed the secret Castres prison and transferred its remaining 30 prisoners to Gaillac. A post-Liberation census compiled by the commandant of Saint-Sulpice in 1945 merged the prisoner lists from the two sites, an indication that the administration viewed Gaillac as Castres' successor. Between October 23, 1943, and August 21, 1944, Gaillac admitted an additional 74 prisoners.[3] The inmates were French, Yugoslavs, Italians, Spanish, Austrians, and Germans. Among the prisoners was former Castres inmate Heinrich Epstein (or Ebstein). As a Jew he was dispatched to the Drancy transit camp on December 7, 1943, and then deported to Auschwitz on January 20, 1944.[4]

On June 13, 1944, the French Forces of the Interior (*Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur*, FFI) raided Gaillac. In the confusion, at least 32 prisoners escaped, 17 of whom were Spanish. According to a Belgian report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS) in 1951, however, the number of escapees was 39.[5] Because the 1945 census was based on incomplete records, the Belgian estimate is probably more accurate. The

Belgian report also noted that the remaining detainees, all political prisoners, were 12 in number. According to the 1945 census, another escape took place in Gaillac on July 16, 1944.[6]

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning the Gaillac camp is Johnny Granzow, *16 septembre 1943: L'évasion de la prison de Castres*, preface by Alain Boscus (Portet-sur-Garonne: Loubatières, 2009).

Primary sources documenting the Gaillac camp can be found in ADT, collection 493W46, available at USHMMA as RG-43.061M; AN (Police Générale); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiter-lager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. Quotation in P/Tarn à Chef du Gouvernement Ministre de l'Intérieur, Obj. "Transfèrement à la prison de Gaillac des individus détenus à la prison de Castres," June 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.061M (ADT), reel 2, 493W46, Recensement des internés, frame 2509.

2. Ibid., frames 2509–2510.

3. Commandant, Saint-Sulpice, État des internés politiques des Maisons d'Arrêt de Castres et Gaillac, 1940/1944, February 5, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.061M (ADT), reel 2, 493W46, Recensement des internés, frames 2253–2258.

4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Heinrich Epstein (or Ebstein), Doc. Nos. 20128479–20128480.

5. "Gaillac," ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 2 (Cata logue alphabétique comprenant 1310 prisons et commandos, ayant existé en Allemagne et en territoire occupé pendant la guerre 1940–1945), Doc. No. 82365002.

6. Commandant, Saint-Sulpice, État des internés politiques des

Maisons d'Arrêt de Castres et Gaillac, 1940/1944, February 5, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.061M (ADT), reel 2, 493W46, Recensement des internés, frame 2257.

GAILLON

The Gaillon internment camp (Eure Département) was located in a sixteenth-century castle in the town of Gaillon. The town is just over 82 kilometers (51 miles) northwest of Paris and more than 35 kilometers (22 miles) southeast of Rouen. In the nineteenth century, the castle served as a penitentiary; in the early twentieth century, it was used by the French infantry and as a Belgian officers' school during World War I, after which it returned to private owner ship. In 1939, Gaillon was transformed into a Spanish refugee camp and then in 1940 was converted to a prison. Finally, it was established as an internment camp (some documentation refers to it as a confinement center or *Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) on September 1, 1941.

The castle was divided into two large courtyards. The commandant's quarters, offices of the camp management, the gendarmerie's quarters, storerooms, kitchens, and infirmary were located in the first courtyard. The second courtyard, originally home to a barracks, was made into prisoners' quarters. A Vichy official who visited the camp on February 4, 1942, reported that Gaillon at that time held 109 prisoners, although he estimated that it could hold 120 to 200, and up to 400 with renovations to the castle. Of those 109 prisoners, 85 were political prisoners, 20 were black marketeers, and 4 were common criminals; by nationality, 101 prisoners were French, 4 were Polish, 1 was Spanish, and 3 were Belgians. All prisoners at the time were male, and two were Jewish.[1]

At the time of inspection, the camp was directed by Monsieur Fournier, assisted by a secretary and two aides who were charged with acquiring supplies and bookkeeping. Fournier requested the help of another aide, given the great difficulty of obtaining sufficient supplies for the prisoners, but met resistance from the prefect of Eure. The camp also employed five women—three worked in the kitchens and two were in charge of laundry and cleaning—as well as a porter who doubled as a telephone operator,

his wife, who helped with cleaning, and a managing secretary. The 19 gendarmes, adjutant, and sergeant were mostly hired locally; the inspector wrote that they were insufficiently armed and exhibited little competence, contributing to several successful escapes.

According to the inspection report, prisoners suffered from a variety of maladies, including heart disease and tuberculosis, but they most frequently complained of digestive problems, probably caused by the insufficiently varied diet, which was dominated by tubers. The inmates could receive treatment by a local doctor or dentist.

Apart from basic chores necessary for the daily function of the camp, the prisoners performed little work, probably due to a lack of authority on the part of camp administrators. Instead, they organized classes in grammar, literature, mathematics, industrial design, and music theory; played volleyball and shotput; and read periodicals that were delivered to the camp.

In the spring of 1942, after the camp was inspected, Gaillon (along with many other camps in the Occupied Zone) underwent a dual process of concentration and specialization, meaning that—as the camp inspector recommended in his report—each internment site was dedicated to only one type of prisoner. This appears to have been done to isolate communists and limit their influence. Gaillon was designated to house black marketeers. However, the change did not last long. On September 9, 1942, under orders from the Vichy Interior Ministry, the black marketeers interned at Gaillon were transferred to Vaubeurs (Yonne), and Gaillon was redesignated as a camp for female political prisoners and other female "undesirables."[2] Yvette Sémard, one of the political prisoners, related that the prisoners' quarters were filthy and unsanitary, but through concerted and creative protest, she and her fellow prisoners were able to ameliorate their conditions somewhat (they burned their straw mattresses in order to obtain clean ones, for example). Other protests worked less effectively; although internees succeeded in obtaining a promise from the prefect of Eure that their rations would be improved, their food remained poor in both quality and quantity.[3]

Finally, German orders were issued to evacuate the camp in

February 1943; however, records from the prefecture of Eure indicate that Gaillon was used as an administrative internment center between October 1, 1944, and January 31, 1946, probably to intern German prisoners of war or French collaborators.[4]

Between 1946 and 1949, there was a pitched legal battle between the castle's former owner, Fernand S. Akoun, and the Fourth French Republic over owner ship of and damages to the building during the war. The castle of Gaillon eventually returned to private owner ship.[5]

SOURCES The only secondary source found that provides information on Gaillon is Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internment 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

Primary documentation on Gaillon can be found in ADE-L, collections 106W25, 106W53, 106W57, and 106W63, available at USHMMA as RG-43.108M; ADL, available at USHMMA as RG-43.029M, reels 12, 117, and 165; and AN, Police Générale, available at RG-43.016M, reels 5, 6, and 13. A hand-drawn map of the camp can be found in ADE, available at USHMMA as RG-43.120M. A published memoir is Yvette Sémard, *En souvenir de l'avenir: au jour le jour dans les camps de Vichy, 1942–1944: La Petite Roquette, les camps des Tourelles, d'Aincourt, de Gaillon, de La Lande et de Mérignac* (Montreuil sous Bois, France: L'Arbre Verdoyant, 1991).

Julia Riegel

NOTES

1. "Rapport d. M. [illegible], Chargé de mission à l'Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internment du Territoire sur le camp d'internement de Gaillon (Eure)," February 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 13, n.p.

2. P/Eure to P/Loiret, September 4, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.029M (ADL), reel 12, n.p.

3. Sémard, *En souvenir de l'avenir*, pp. 43–57.

4. BdS Frankreich to Interior Minister, February 9, 1943, RG-43.016M, reel 6, n.p.; assorted correspondence, RG-43.016M, reel 13, n.p.

5. Assorted correspondence, RG-43.016M, reel 13, n.p.

GRAMMONT

Grammont (Haute-Saône Département) is located approximately 60 kilometers (more than 37 miles) northeast of Besançon, near the Swiss and German borders. Grammont Castle (*Chateau-de-Grammont*) served as a children's home for Spanish and Jewish children of parents incarcerated in Rivesaltes and other camps for "undesirables" in southern France.

Most knowledge of this site is derived from the testimony and letters of Manfred Wildmann, who was 12 years old when he lived at Chateau de Grammont between February and September 1942. The Wildmann family had been deported to the Southern Zone during an ad hoc expulsion of some 6,500 Jews from southwestern Germany on October 22 and 23, 1940. Like most victims of the "Wagner-Bürckel-Aktion" (named after its instigators, Nazi Gauleiters Robert Wagner and Josef Bürckel), the Wildmanns were initially detained at the Gurs camp (Pyrénées-Atlantiques Département), where their grand mother died shortly after their arrival. Manfred, his grand father, parents, and three siblings were then transferred to the Rivesaltes camp (Pyrénées-Orientales Département) in March 1942. In this camp, relief organizations set up facilities inside the camp to aid inmates and provide extra support to the young, the old, and the infirm. By mid-1941, they also established homes for needy children, including poor or sick French children or those of foreign families detained in French camps. Wildmann's mother successfully lobbied for her four children's transfer out of Rivesaltes. Then 16-year-old Hannelore was assigned to work in a children's home (*colonie d'enfants*) run by the Swiss Red Cross in Pringy (Haute-Savoie Département). The older daughter Margot also worked in a children's home and later for a family as a maid. Son Hugo was detailed to the Le Barcarès labor camp, and 12-year-old Manfred was assigned to live in the children's home in Grammont.

According to Manfred's postwar testimony, he was excited to board a train and travel north to Grammont. He arrived in the

middle of the night at a medieval castle perched on a hill. The site's exact nature and period of operation are not clear. According to Manfred, it was run by a French relief organization for Spanish refugees. Some 80 Spanish children ages 3 to 14 lived at the home. Manfred was one of only six Jewish boys boarded at the castle. Most of the conversation took place in Spanish, while the staff conducted the children's schooling in French. Manfred's testimony and letters do not depict a punitive camp, but a place of discipline, school, and work. The children's days started with a wake-up call at 8 A.M. The children attended school and did homework until lunchtime. After a nap, the older children spent the afternoons doing light work and chores. There was time for play, walks, and excursions. The children received at least three meals each day that included cereal, milk, vegetables, soups, noodles, and bread. There was meat twice a week and sometimes an egg.[1] According to Manfred, provisions were significantly better at Grammont than they had been at Rivesaltes. The same was true of the general accommodations. He remembered that there were better beds, bathrooms, and washing facilities at Grammont. In September 1942, the director of the Grammont home told Manfred that he would join his sister Hannelore in Pringy, near Annecy, at a Red Cross camp for needy French children. Manfred once again traveled by train and remained in Pringy until the Liberation in August 1944.[2] It is possible that the Grammont home also operated until the end of the war.

SOURCES Most of our knowledge of Grammont is based on the Wildmann family papers and letters. For published selections see Manfred Wildmann, *Und flehentlich gesehen: Briefe der Familie Wildmann aus Rivesaltes und Perpignan: Jüdische Schicksale aus Philippsburg 1941–1943* (Konstanz: HartungGorre, 1997). Numerous studies explore the Wagner-Bürckel-Aktion and the German Jewish inmates at Gurs. Many of these have a local focus. See, for instance, Gerhard J. Teschner, *Die Deportation der badischen und saarpfalzischen Juden am 22. Oktober 1940: Vorgeschichte und Durchführung der Deportation und das weitere Schicksal der Deportation bis zum Kriegsende im Kontext der deutschen und französichen Judenpolitik* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2002); Erhard Roy

Wiehn, ed., *Oktoberdeportation 1940: die sogenannte "Abschiebung" der badischen und saarpfalzischen Juden in das französische Internierungslager Gurs und andere Vorstationen von Auschwitz: 50 Jahre danach zum Gedenken* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gore, 1990); and Gabriele Mittag, *Es gibt Verdammte nur in Gurs: Literatur, Kultur und Alltag in einem südfranzösischen Internierungslager, 1940–1942* (Tübingen: Attempto, 1996).

The collection of Manfred Wildmann family letters, 1941–1943, Acc. 1998.A.0037, is available at USHMMA. In addition to letters, the collection also includes transcriptions and annotated translations. See also the Sylvia and Manfred Wildmann Collection, Acc. 1998.1, at USHMM, which includes 25 drawings of different camp scenes. Reproductions of letters and drawings are also available at http://wildmannbirnbaum.com. Finally, see Manfred Wildmann's oral testimony from June 12, 1998, in VHA (#42588).

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NOTES

1. Manfred's letter to Hannelore, Grammont, March 27, 1942.
2. VHA #42588, Manfred Wildmann testimony, June 12, 1998.

GREZ-EN-BOUÈRE

The Grez-en-Bouère camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) was located in the Mayenne Département in western France, approximately 22.7 kilometers (14.1 miles) southeast of Laval. It was set up in the Mauditière quarry, 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) outside Grez. A 12-meter-long (39-foot-long) communications tunnel connected the quarry's two sections. On October 26, 1940, following an order from the departmental prefect, Jean Roussillon, to detain the department's Roma, the Mayenne Prefecture selected the site, which was next to a pond at the bottom of the quarry. On October 28, the first two detainees arrived in Grez from Mayenne. A total of 19 Roma passed through Grez.

During the camp's brief existence, official correspondence variously termed it the "camp of Meslay" (*camp de Meslay*) and the camp of the Mauditière, Meslay Road at Grez-en-Bouère (*camp de la Mauditière, route de Meslay à Grez-en-Bouère*). Representatives of the Grez municipal leadership recruited the guards in charge of the camp surveillance and placed them under the authority of a retired gendarme. The guards occupied a house in the hamlet of Lhomeau, some 400 meters (more than 1,300 feet) from the quarry. In his orders to the Grez commandant, Roussillon stipulated that the gendarmes were to make "observations" of the Roma's "distinctive ethnic characters."[1]

The camp did not have any barracks. Instead, the Roma arrived in their caravans and lived in them. On November 11, 1940, the chief of the gendarmerie wrote in a report that eight nomads did not have anywhere to live and were being accommodated in neighboring stables.

Managing the camp was very difficult because there was no camp organization, and work assignments were not entrusted to the Roma. The mayor of Grez complained about how "deprived" the Roma were, reminding the prefect that they were "still human

beings."[2] The camp's poor conditions quickly made it impossible to keep the detainees there. The Mayenne Département hygiene inspector visited Grez on November 6 and declared the site, including the tunnel, too "dangerous" for habitation. The mayor of Grez, in turn, threatened the camp manager to appeal directly to Feldkommandantur 756 in Laval, which the prefect rejected. Most of the detainees were subsequently transferred to the Chauvinerie camp in Montsûrs in the Mayenne Département, approximately 35 kilometers (22 miles) north of Grez. The sick prisoners were sent to Saint-Louis Hospital in Laval.

As of November 30, 1940, the Grez-en-Bouère camp was abandoned for good.

SOURCES Secondary sources that document the camp at Grezen-Bouère are three works by Jacques Sigot: "Le camp de Grezen-Bouère," *Ob* 29 (April 1989): 12–17; "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–133; and *Ces barbeles oubliés par l'Histoire: Un camp pour les Tsiganes et les autres, Montreuil-Bellay, 1940–1945* (Châteauneuf les Martigues: Wallada; La Motte d'Aigues: Cheminements, 1994); as well as a work by Emmanuel Filhol, *La mémoire et l'oubli: L'internement des Tsiganes en France, 1940–1946* (Paris: Centre de Recherches Tsiganes ed.; Harmattan, 2004).

As cited by Sigot, primary sources on the camp at Grez-en-Bouère may be found in AD-M.

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NOTES

1. Le Préfet de la Mayenne à Monsieur le Commandant de Gendarmerie, October 23, 1940, AD-M, as cited in Sigot, "Le Camp de Grez-en-Bouère," p. 14.

2. Le Maire de Grez-en-Bouère au Préfet de la Mayenne, November 21, 1940, AD-M, as cited in Sigot, "Les Camps," p. 80.

GURS

Located in the Basque region of southwestern France, the town of Gurs (Pyrénées-Atlantiques Département) was the site of a large refugee and internment camp that operated from April 1939 until November 1943 and intermittently thereafter. Gurs is 173 kilometers (108 miles) south of Bordeaux and 181 kilometers (112 miles) west of Toulouse. The French government originally established the camp there to house political refugees from Spain. Eventually it became a detention camp for "enemy aliens" and French political prisoners of the Vichy government. Most of the 18,185 inmates who passed through the camp between October 1940 and November 1943 were Jews of German, Austrian, and Polish origin.[1] For more than 3,900 of the German Jews, Gurs constituted a way station to extermination camps in occupied Poland, primarily Auschwitz.

The camp was located just south of Gurs, less than 81 kilometers (50 miles) from the French-Spanish border in the foothills of the Pyrenees Mountains. It was the largest of several refugee camps established by the French government after the fall of Catalonia. The site measured about 1,400 × 200 meters (4,593 × 656 feet). It was subdivided into 13 smaller fenced-off plots called "islands" (*îlots*) measuring 200 × 100 meters (656 × 28 feet). The îlots were on both sides of a single road spanning the length of the camp. The entire site was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence that was 2 meters (6.6 feet) high that formed a passage for guards to circle between the two fences. There were a number of smaller buildings outside the camp that housed the administration and guards. The camp was under French military administration until the fall of 1940, when the Vichy government installed a civil administration.

Each of the camp's îlots contained about 30 army barracks. They were constructed from thin wooden planks, and the walls were covered with a tarred fabric that offered little insulation. There were no windows: the interiors were dark, cold, and damp.

The inmates slept on straw on the floor. At times, up to 60 people were crammed into a single barrack. The rainy Atlantic weather constantly flooded the barracks and turned the campground's clay soil into mud. The inmates also suffered from extremely poor hygiene resulting from a lack of plumbing and running water. Troughs and tubs served as toilets.[2]

The first groups of refugees from Spain arrived at the camp between April 5 and May 10, 1939, and some 18,985 inmates quickly filled the site beyond capacity. Administrators grouped them into four categories: members of the International Brigades (Interbrigades), Basque nationalists, Republican airmen, and random Spaniard refugees. Spanish was the predominant camp language during this period. The camp's military administration was quite sympathetic to the inmates' plight and supported their cultural and social activities. Among other activities, the refugees organized an orchestra, a choir, and various sports teams. A smaller contingent of German members of the Interbrigade published more than 100 editions of a German-language camp newspaper called *Lagerstimme KZ Gurs* (*Camp Voice Concentration Camp Gurs*). The inmates had some freedom of movement; they were occasionally allowed to leave the camp to buy provisions. There was also trade with locals who sold their wares at the camp. The inmates were allowed to send and receive mail and at times could even receive visitors.[3]

The Gurs internment camp, 1940–1941. USHMM WS #15720, COURTESY OF JACK LEWIN.

The nature of the site changed from refugee to internment camp after the beginning of World War II when the French government decided to house prisoners and foreigners deemed "enemy aliens" at Gurs. The first group of these "undesirables" (*indésirables*) arrived at the camp on May 21, 1940, shortly after the German invasion of the Netherlands. Eventually, this contingent of "undesirables" consisted of German citizens, including at least some 4,000 German Jews who fled the Nazi regime, and citizens of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Poland. Beginning in June 1940, French political prisoners were also interned at Gurs. This group included leaders of the French Left who opposed war with Germany, pacifists who refused armaments work, and French Nazi sympathizers. Finally, there was also a contingent of ordinary prisoners evacuated from prisons in northern France.

The situation at Gurs again changed dramatically with the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. The Vichy government assumed control of the site and assigned it to be run by a civil administration. Over the course of the next two months, some 700 prisoners interned as "enemy nationals" were released. In their stead, the Vichy government eventually incarcerated political dissidents; non-French Jews, including German Jewish refugees; illegal border crossers; Spanish refugees; stateless persons; Roma (*nomades*); prostitutes; homosexuals; and others.[4]

The Franco-German commission headed by Ernst Kundt inspected the site on August 21, 1940. Two months later, on October 22 and 23, German authorities engineered a massive expulsion of more than 6,500 Jews from the southwestern German provinces of Baden and the Palatinate (Saarpfalz) across the border into unoccupied France. The action eventually became known as the "Wagner-Bürckel-Aktion." The vast majority of victims were women, children, and the elderly, most of whom were detained by Vichy officials at Gurs. Of these inmates, 1,710 were eventually released, 755 escaped, 1,940 emigrated, and 2,920 men were conscripted into groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs).[5]

For nearly 4,000 of these Jewish inmates, Gurs became a way station to extermination camps in occupied Poland. SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker inspected the camp on July

18, 1942. Dannecker was head of the Sicherheitsdienst (Security Service of the Nazi SS, SD) Department of Jewish Affairs in Paris, which oversaw the roundup and deportation of French Jews. At Gurs he ordered the Jewish inmates to prepare for deportation to Eastern Europe. Between August 6, 1942, and March 3, 1943, the camp administration turned over 3,907 inmates to the German authorities, who sent most of them to the Drancy transit camp outside Paris. From there, they were deported in six convoys to extermination camps, primarily Auschwitz II-Birkenau.[6]

By the time Vichy authorities closed the camp in November 1943, more than 18,000 non-French Jews had been incarcerated there. More than 1,100 inmates had died at the site, mostly of contagious diseases like typhoid and dysentery that were exacerbated by conditions of overcrowding, lack of sanitation, and chronic shortages of water, food, clothing, and other basic necessities—this despite the efforts of various international aid organizations to alleviate the inmates' suffering.[7] The Vichy authorities briefly reopened the camp in 1944 to intern political opponents. After the Allied liberation of France, French authorities imprisoned German prisoners of war (POWs), French collaborators, and a number of Spaniards at the site. The Gurs camp finally closed and was dismantled in 1946.

SOURCES There is an extensive literature exploring various aspects of the refugee and internment camp at Gurs. For a general overview see, especially, Claude Laharie, *Le camp de Gurs: 1939–1945: Un aspect méconnu de l'histoire du Béarn* (Pau: Infocompo, 1985) and *Gurs, 1939–1945: Un camp d'internement en Béarn: De l'internement des républicains espagnols et des volontaires des brigades internationals à la deportation des juifs vers les camps d'extermination nazis* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 2005); and Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002). Numerous studies explore the Wagner-Bürckel-Aktion and the German Jewish inmates at Gurs. Many of these works have a local focus. See Gerhard J. Teschner, *Die Deportation der badischen und saarpfalzischen Juden am 22. Oktober 1940: Vorgeschichte und Durchführung der Deportation und das*

weitere Schicksal der Deportation bis zum Kriegsende im Kontext der deutschen und französichen Judenpolitik (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2002); Erhard Roy Wiehn, ed., *Oktoberdeportation 1940: Die sogenannte "Abschiebung" der badischen und saar-pfalzischen Juden in das französische Internierungslager Gurs und andere Vorstationen von Auschwitz: 50 Jahre danach zum Gedenken* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gore, 1990); Werner L. Frank, *The Curse of Gurs: Way Station to Auschwitz* (Lexington, KY: Werner L. Frank, 2012); Peter Selg, *From Gurs to Auschwitz: The Inner Journey of Maria Krehbiel-Darmstädter* (Great Barrington, MA: SteinerBooks, 2013); Louis Maier, *In Lieu of Flowers: In Memory of the Jews of Malesch, a Village in Southwestern Germany* (Las Colinas, TX: Ide House, 1995); and Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe, ed., *Geschichte und Erinnerungskultur: 22. Oktober 1940—die Deportation der badischen und saarpfälzischen Juden in das Lager Gurs* (Karlsruhe: Info Verlag, 2010). For an examination of the cultural and artistic activities of the inmate populations, see Gabriele Mittag, *Es gibt Verdammte nur in Gurs: Literatur, Kultur und Alltag in einem südfranzösischen Internierungslager, 1940–1942* (Tübingen: Attempto, 1996).

There is extensive documentation at the AD-P-A, which holds camp administration records and prefect records. Other important archives include those of the CDJC, the FNDIRP, Institut Maurice Thorez (available at EsM), and La Délégation basque. The ITS contains copies of relevant documentation from APMO, ICRC, CDJC, WJC, among others, and is available in digital form at USHMMA. For deportation lists from Gurs and Drancy at ITS, see 1.1.9.1, fol. 50 and 1.1.9.11, fol. 1, pp. 303–354; for lists of German Jewish deportees to Gurs and of those deceased and buried at Gurs see ITS, 1.1.9.11, fol. 1, 219–254; postwar lists of Gurs survivors are available at ITS, 1.1.9.11, fol. 2, pp. 1–31; ITS, 1.1.9.1, fol. 67 contains name lists of German, Austrian, Polish, and Czech Jews residing in France and held in various camps before being transported to Gurs on February 24 and 25, 1943; and ITS 1.2.1.1, fol. 12 contains Gestapo transport lists that include names of Jews deported from Nürnberg to Gurs. USHMMA and

USHMMPA hold various inmate diaries, photos, maps, drawings, and other Gurs artifacts. In addition, numerous oral history interviews with former inmates and administrators are available. See, among many others, RG-50.498*0006 (Carmen Villalba, January 22, 2000); RG-50.498*0007 (Pierre Larribité, January 23, 2000); RG-50.477*0799 (Herta Bregoff, February 7, 1996); RG-50.498*0005 (Arlette Dachary, January 22, 2000); RG-50.477*0887 (Lewis Weil, June 12, 1990); and RG-50.002*0032 (David Dorfman, March 8, 1989). Additional testimonies can be found in VHA, including #7509 (Alice Kaufman, October 12, 1995); #7852 (Leon Wolloch, October 22, 1995); and #7882 (Eric Cahn, October 23, 1995). There are numerous published collections of primary materials, including letters, drawings, photographs, diaries, and testimonies. See Thomas Bullinger, *Gurs, ein Internierungslager in Südfrankreich, 1939–1943: Zeichnungen, Aquarelle, Fotografien = Gurs, un camp d'internement en France, 1939–1943: dessins, aquarelles, photographies = an internment camp in France: drawings, watercolours, photographs: Sammlung Elsbeth Kasser* (Hamburg: Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur, 1993); Martin Ruch, *In ständigem Einsatz: Das Leben Siegfried Schnurmanns: jüdische Schicksale aus Offenburg und Südbaden 1907–1997* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1997); Ralf Stieber, ed., *Soviel der Einzelne tragen kann: zum Gedenken an die Deportation der badischen und pfälzischen Juden im Jahr 1940* (Karlsruhe: Evangelische Akademie Baden, 1991); Volker Keller et al., *22./23. Oktober 1940: Deportation Mannheimer Juden nach Gurs* (Mannheim: Schulverwaltungsamt der Stadt Mannheim, 1990); Walter Schmitthenner, *Briefe aus Gurs und Limonest, 1940–1943: Maria Krehbiel-Darmstadter* (Heidelberg: L. Schneider, 1970); Hermann Maas, ed., *Aus dem Tagebuch des Hans O.: Dokumente und Berichte über die Deportation und den Untergang der Heidelberger Juden* (Heidelberg: L. Schneider, 1965); Erhard Roy Wiehn and Dorothee Freudenberg, eds., *Abgeschoben: Jüdische Schicksale aus Freiburg 1940–1942: Briefe der Geschwister Liefmann aus Gurs und Morlaas an*

Adolf Freudenberg in Genf (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1993); Hanna Schramm, *Menschen in Gurs: Erinnerungen an ein französisches Internierungslager (1940–1941)* (Worms: Heintz, 1977); Lukrezia Seiler, ed., *Was wird noch aus uns werden? Briefe der Lörracher Geschwister Grunkin aus dem Lager Gurs, 1940–1942* (Zürich: Chronos, 2000); and Erhard Roy Wiehn, ed., *Erinnerung verpflichtet: von Berlin über Brüssel nach Lyon in die Schweiz und durch Gurs nach Auschwitz: jüdische Schicksale 1933–1945* (Konstanz: Hartung Gorre, 1999).

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NOTES

1. For inmate statistics see Laharie, *Le camp de Gurs*, p. 169.
2. For a site map and drawings of camp barracks see the insert in Peschanski, *La France des camps*.
3. Ibid., pp. 43–44.
4. Ibid., pp. 154–159.
5. For lists of nearly 1,000 German Jews deported to Gurs from the Palatinate on October 22, 1940, see ITS, 1.1.9.11, fol. 1, pp. 260–354.
6. According to ITS documentation, the earlier transports went to Auschwitz directly, whereas transports that left Drancy in March 1943 likely went to Lublin and Sobibor. See ITS, 1.1.9.1, fol. 50, pp. 1–14, 15–158. For deportation lists of transports on February 26 and March 2, 1943, see ITS, 1.1.9.11, fol. 1, pp. 303–354.
7. For lists of German Jews deceased and buried at Gurs see ITS, 1.1.9.11, fol. 1, pp. 1–219; for fragments of ICRC correspondence on behalf of German Jewish inmates at Gurs, for instance, see ITS, 1.1.9.11, fol. 1, pp. 220–260.

JARGEAU

The camp at Jargeau was situated about 600 meters (0.4 miles) from the town center of Jargeau in the Loiret Département, located about 120 kilometers (75 miles) south of Paris. It was built in the winter of 1939 on requisitioned land as a provisional housing center (*centre d'hébergement*), in anticipation of housing refugees from Paris in the event of war, with an expected capacity of around 600.

After the Armistice in June 1940, the German occupying forces used Jargeau to confine French prisoners of war (POWs) as part of Frontstalag 153. The 900 French POWs who were held there experienced poor living conditions, because the camp was overcrowded and undersupplied by the Germans. The German authorities enclosed the camp with barbed wire after a series of escapes. On October 25, 1940, these POWs were dispatched via Orléans to POW camps in the Reich.

The camp was empty until the Feldkommandantur of Orléans ordered the French authorities to round up the Roma in Loiret, in accordance with a recent German decree and the earlier French decree of April 6, 1940, which forbade the free movement of Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) in France during the war. The Loiret prefect, Jacques Moranne, selected Jargeau as the detention site for Roma from Loiret and neighboring departments. The prefecture was in charge of the camp's administration.

After renovations, the camp was reopened at the end of March 1941. The first group of detainees arrived from the Cher Département on April 5. By the end of April there were 168 Roma at Jargeau. Prefects from other departments continued to send Roma to Jargeau: 45 arrived from Calvados on May 7, 64 from Eure on May 15, and 122 from Eure-et-Loir on May 22. From its reopening to its closure on December 31, 1945, 1,720 people were held at Jargeau, of whom 1,190 were Roma.

Roma families lived in 12 barracks that were each set up around a central common room with a stove for heat. Two corridors led off this common room to three compartments along each hallway. One family was assigned to each compartment.[1] Other buildings on the camp's 2.5 hectares (6.2 acres) of land included an infirmary (two barracks), sanitary facilities, a kitchen, administrative buildings, and a school for the children that operated from June 1941 to October 1945.

The main street in the Jargeau internment camp, 1941–1945.
USHMM WS #97416, COURTESY OF CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET DE DOCUMENTATION SUR LES CAMPS.

Jargeau held other groups of prisoners at the same time as the Roma, including small numbers of political prisoners (called "administrative internees," *internés administratifs*) and "undesirables" (*indésirables*). The second largest group of prisoners at Jargeau was prostitutes, who were housed in a dormitory-style barrack with its own dining hall that was isolated from the rest of the camp with barbed wire. Contact between this group and the other prisoners was forbidden.[2] Between October 1941, when authorities in Orléans began to arrest prostitutes who were not connected to brothels (*prostituées clandestines*), and November 1944, 307 prostitutes were held at Jargeau. In April 1942, after an agreement between the Feldkommandantur, the prefect, and a representative from a local public health

organization, the underage prostitutes at Jargeau were transferred to the convent of Bon Pasteur du Faubourg Madeleine in Orléans for "rehabilitation."[3]

Starting in March 1943, the camp also held defectors from the Obligatory Labor Service (*Service du Travail Obligatoire*, STO) after the prison in Orléans became overcrowded. Many of these prisoners were later deported to the Reich. There were few transfers from Jargeau to other camps in France or elsewhere other than those of the STO defectors and the underage prostitutes.

Prisoners were employed in various camp chores. Workshops were organized for tasks such as woodworking, tanning, and locksmithing.[4] The prostitutes worked in a sewing workshop where they refashioned old clothing. Some prisoners worked on farms outside the camp in order to produce more food supplies for the camp, and another group worked for a local company, producing fabric and twine on the camp's premises.

In addition to an attachment of gendarmes, 34 auxiliary guards were employed at Jargeau between March 28, 1941, and February 15, 1943. The gendarmes were replaced by a detachment of customs officers (*douaniers*) in September 1942. At least 140 internees escaped from Jargeau between March 1941 and December 1945. Historian Pascal Vion calculated that 51 (36 percent) of these escapees were found and returned to Jargeau.

Living conditions at Jargeau were harsh. In March 1942, the Regional Director of Health and Welfare wrote to the Red Cross that, in comparison to the other camps in the Loiret Département —Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande—health conditions at Jargeau were particularly unsatisfactory.[5] Conditions improved slightly after regular health inspections were ordered at the beginning of 1942: the number of prisoner deaths declined from 14 in 1941 and 13 in 1942 to 4 in 1943 and 2 in 1944.[6] Other preventive measures like vaccination were also undertaken, and between 21 and 35 children were sent to a so-called preventorium nearby in July 1942.[7]

Jargeau was chronically undersupplied with food. "Weight loss is prevalent," the Regional Director of Health and Welfare reported to the prefect on March 5, 1942, and indeed, in December 1941 a group of women and children was hospitalized in Orléans

due to malnutrition.[8] Most meals consisted of soup and a small amount of vegetables, and each individual received about 350 grams (12.3 ounces) of bread each day. Prisoners received meat only on Sunday and cheese on Thursday; according to a rationing report from the week of February 9 to 15, 1942, each prisoner received 72 grams (2.5 ounces) of meat and 15 grams (0.5 ounces) of cheese.[9] Children received milk at school, and the French Red Cross provided some supplementary food supplies. A December 1, 1944, report from the camp's director to the prefect noted that, due to a lack of fats and salt, soup could no longer be prepared for the prisoners because it "would resemble only hot water with added vegetables."[10] A former camp administrator interviewed by Vion alleged that some supplies never reached the camp because they were siphoned off by corrupt employees with connections in local government.

The clothing situation was particularly bad, especially for children. A workshop was created where detainees refashioned clothing and slippers for the camp's children from old military uniforms, and the December 1, 1944, report to the prefect described prisoners cutting up blankets provided by the camp to make into socks and clothes for their children.[11]

Jargeau remained open for several months after the end of the war. According to historian Jacques Sigot, the camp still held 120 detainees, 105 of whom were Roma, when it was finally closed on December 31, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources on Jargeau begin with Pascal Vion, *Le camp de Jargeau, juin 1940–décembre 1945*, preface by Serge Klarsfeld (Orléans: CERCIL, 1994); Jacques Sigot, "L'internement des Tsiganes en France," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 29–196; Gérard Ferrand, *Camps et lieux d'internement en région Centre (1939–1947)* (Saint-Cyr-l'École, France: Alan Sutton, 2006); and Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002) and *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2010). Insa Meinen's *Wehrmacht und Prostitution während des Zweiten Weltkriegs im besetzten Frankreich* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2002) contains a discussion of the detention of prostitutes at Jargeau.

Primary documentation on Jargeau can be found in ADL 6392; 6425–6429; 25323; 25872; 25859–25861; 28120; 28175–28177; 29774; 34100; 34105; 34111; and 34177. Some of this documentation is held at USHMMA under RG-43.029M, which is not paginated. Other archives that hold primary source material on Jargeau are CDJC (under XXXVI-138a) and CERCIL. The testimony of detainee Jean-Louis Bauer can be found in Vion, *Le camp de Jargeau,* pp. 116–118.

Abby Holekamp

NOTES

1. Médecin-Inspecteur de la Santé to Directeur Régional à la Santé et l'Assistance, January 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.029M (ADL), reel 3, p. 34177 (USHMMA, RG-43. 029M/3/34177).

2. Ibid.

3. Préfet Régional/Orléans to P/L, June 14, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.029M/3/34177; Mlle. Le Coze, Assistante Sociale du Contrôle Sanitaire Anti-vénérien du Loiret to Préfet Régional/ Orléans, March 14, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.029M/3/34177.

4. Médecin-Inspecteur de la Santé to Directeur Régional à la Santé et l'Assistance, January 7, 1942.

5. Directeur Régional de la Santé et l'Assistance to Dr. Vaucher, Directeur des Activités Médicales de la Croix-Rouge Français, March 4, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43. 029M/3/34177.

6. "État Nominatif des internés décédés depuis le début de l'occupation du Camp (4 mars 1941)," March 5, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.029M/3/34177.

7. Directeur Régional de la Santé et l'Assistance to Médecin-Inspecteur de la Santé du Loiret, July 13, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.029M/3/34177.

8. Quotation from Directeur Régional de la Santé et l'Assistance to P/L, March 5, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43. 029M/3/34177.

9. “Moyenne de Rationnement, semaine du 9 au 15 février 1942,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.029M/3/34177.

10. Quotation from Officier de Paix Berret to P/L, December 1, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.029M/6/34111.

11. Directeur Régional de la Santé et l’Assistance to P/L, March 5, 1942; Officier de Paix Berret to P/L, December 1, 1944.

LA BOURBOULE

La Bourboule was a spa resort that opened in 1875. It was located in the Puy-de-Dôme Département of the Auvergne region, just over 34 kilometers (21 miles) southwest of Clermont-Ferrand. This site was chosen as a center for residential assignment (*assignation á residence*) for Jews, as defined by an Interior Ministry memorandum of November 3, 1941.[1] Hotels unused in wartime were utilized for such purposes. This center was still operational in July 1943, as evidenced by the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF) correspondence regarding Simone Lévy's authorization to reside at La Bourboule.[2]

Among the places for the residential assignment of Jews was the Hôtel des Anglais, which was rented by the Baroness Germaine de Rothschild to accommodate her house hold. In June 1940, she had the German and Austrian Jewish refugee children from La Guette (a castle located in Villeneuve-leComte, in the Seine-et-Marne Département) come to her hotel; those children had been evacuated in September 1939. The hotel, which was directed by Mrs. Georges Loinger, closed in 1942 and the children were dispersed among various houses belonging to the Children's Aid Society (*Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants*, OSE). Among the children taken in at La Guette and the Hôtel des Anglais was an Austrian-born boy who celebrated his bar mitzvah while in La Bourboule and subsequently emigrated to Australia.[3]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the residential assignment center at La Bourboule are Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75; and Gilles Levy, *L'Auvergne des années noires 1940–1944* (Paris: Gérard Tisserand—De Borée, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the residential assignment center at La Bourboule are AD-P-D, file 277W, which combines general information, census documentation, and documentation regarding the regrouping and removal of local Jews. Additional documentation about the center for the gathering of Jews in La Bourboule can be found in AN 38 AJ/3589 (CGQJ collection), May 1942. CDJC holds a number of relevant files: file XLII-100, letter from March 29, 1943, from A. Bousquet, regional prefect of Clermont-Ferrand, to the secretary of state to the Interior Ministry regarding an operation to monitor the Jews in La Bourboule; file CDXVI-121 (UGIF correspondence); file CDXI-77, Mr. Levine's application files, which were submitted to UGIF between January 26 and February 11, 1943, with a view to organizing some type of assistance to the Jews assigned to La Bourboule; and file LXXXIX-55, correspondence from November 5 to December 12, 1942, from CGQJ to the directors of the Investigation and Control Section, which denounced an official named Gaston Prunier for helping Jankiel Krajn obtain a permit to stay in La Bourboule, despite his residential assignment in Chateauneuf-les-Bains (Puy-de-Dôme Département).

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NOTES

1. Bill No. 39, November 3, 1941, ADAu 04 6 J, as cited by Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes," p. 71.

2. UGIF correspondence, July 2 to July 30, 1943, CDJC, file CDXVI-121.

3. "Gerhard Mahler poses with the children of a family in La Bourboule who hosted his bar mitzvah," USHMMPA WS #64109 (USHMM, Courtesy of Gerald Watkins).

LACAUNE-LES-BAINS

Lacaune-les-Bains is a resort town in the Tarn Département, located approximately 101 kilometers (63 miles) east of Toulouse. The town was sufficiently remote that the prefectural authorities designated it as a center for residential assignment (*assignation à residence*). On January 13, 1942, a letter from the Tarn prefect to the mayor of Lacaune, Henri Viguier, announced that the prefect of the Toulouse area, Léopold Chénaux de Leyritz, designated Lacaune as the regional center for residential assignment for unwanted foreigners, in accordance with the November 3, 1941, memorandum.[1] According to historian Sandra Marc, more than 750 Jews, most of whom were foreigners, were detained there between 1942 and 1943.

The first Jews to be detained in Lacaune originated from three locations: Luchon, the spa resort of the Haute-Garonne Département that had been turned into a center for residential assignment (209 people); Toulouse and its surroundings (184 people); and Pau (140 people). During the months of March and April 1942, 201 Jews from Luchon arrived in Lacaune. In September 1942, 160 Jews, mostly from Pau, were added. The Jews were mostly housed in local homes, hotels such as the Central Hôtel, and, in a few cases, cafes.

The influx of so many people into a town of roughly 2,500 inhabitants disrupted local life. The disruptions led to antisemitic accusations against the new arrivals: increasingly, the local population and authorities complained about black market activities, idleness, and food hoarding.[2] On July 22, 1942, Viguier promulgated a series of 12 municipal decrees on "the general policy on Jews." Emphasizing that "assignees" (*Assignés*) were required to report every Monday to the gendarmerie, the mayor further stressed their obligation to obey the laws against black markets and price gouging like every one else.[3] Despite these local anti-Jewish initiatives, as Marc found in interviews with survivors and Lacaune residents, tensions between locals and detainees

actually eased over time. The improvement in relations led to friendly exchanges and, in at least one case, to a marriage.

The Jews at Lacaune were deported in two major waves. On August 26, 1942, 90 Jews, including 22 children, were arrested during a roundup. They passed through the Saint-Sulpice camp (Tarn Département) and then the Drancy transit camp before being sent to Auschwitz on convoys 30 and 31 in September 1942. No one survived. The violence of this first deportation shocked local residents, one of whom likened it in a letter to the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre.[4] Under the direction of the local militia (*milice*), a second roundup took place on February 20, 1943: 29 men were sent to Gurs and then Drancy, before being sent to Lublin-Maidanek on convoys 50 and 51 in March 1943. No one survived.

The shock of the first roundup prompted local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and Lacaune residents to become active in the organization of rescue and resistance. The NGOs involved were the French Children's Aid Society (*Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants*, OSE); the French Jewish Scouts (*Eclaireurs Israélites de France*, EIF); and the Unionist Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts of France (*Éclaireuses et Éclaireurs unionistes de France*, ÉÉUF). Individual Catholics and Protestants from Lacaune were also involved. The first Jewish maquis unit linked to the EIF started on a small farm located in Malquière, between Vabre and Lacaune (Vabre is almost 22 kilometers or 13.5 miles southwest of Lacaune). The unit was under the command of Robert Gamzon, who joined the Franc Corps of Liberation (*Corps Franc de Libération*, CFL) of the Tarn Département in the spring of 1944. Jewish children from Lacaune were hidden on the Malquière farm. Several other Lacaune detainees, such as Jacques Fogelman and Maurice Fridlander, joined the Resistance.

SOURCES The most detailed secondary source describing the Lacaune-les-Bains residential assignment center is Sandra Marc, *Les juifs de Lacaune sous Vichy 1942–1944: Assignation à résidence et persécution* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001). Marc's book includes a list of Jews (pp. 157–170) deported from Lacaune. See also Marc's article, "L'assignation à résidence des Juifs par le

gouvernement de Vichy: L'exemple de Lacaune," available at ajl.celeonet.fr/docs/MARCSandra.pdf. Additional information on the Lacaune center can be found in Jean Estèbe, *Les Juifs à Toulouse et en Midi-Toulousain* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mi-rail, 1996); Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnold-son, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); and Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75.

Primary sources on the Lacaune-les-Bains center for residential assignment can be found in AD-T, 506W36 (Israélites); 506W77 (Personnes suspectes); Cont. 16 (Commission de Contrôle Postal d'Albi, Rapports mensuels); and Cont. 17 (Contrôle Postal, Interceptions 1942). At AML, there are several files dealing with the residential assignment center, including "Assignés, état-civil." A published testimony by a former detainee is Berthe Buko Falcman, "Quelques souvenirs du temps des Juifs," *CRm* 29 (July 1995): 15–24. Marc, *Les juifs de Lacaune sous Vichy*, draws on interviews with survivors and local residents.

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NOTES

1. P/Tarn au Maire de Lacaune, Objet: "Groupement des indésirables français et étrangers dans les centres régionaux et départmentaux," January 13, 1942, "Assignés, état-civil," AML, reproduced in Marc, *Les juifs de Lacaune sous Vichy*, pp. 180–181; for the memorandum, see Bill No. 39, November 3, 1941, ADAu 04 6 J, as cited by Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes," p. 71.

2. On the black market charge, see Commission de Contrôle Postal d'Albi, Rapports mensuels, Rubrique: "Information générale sur l'étranger et investigations étrangères en France," April 1942, AD-T, Cont. 16, reproduced in Marc, *Les juifs de*

Lacaune sous Vichy, p. 201.

3. See "Assignés, état-civil," AML, reproduced in Marc, *Les juifs de Lacaune sous Vichy*, pp. 68–69.

4. Mme X à Mlle. B, August 30, 1942, Cont. 17, AD-T, reproduced in Marc, *Les juifs de Lacaune sous Vichy*, p. 196.

LA GUICHE

Between 1916 and 1918, the entrepreneur François Mercier decided to open a sanatorium in the little town of La Guiche in the Saône-et-Loire Département in central France, about 92 kilometers (57 miles) northwest of Lyon. Mercier selected this location because he thought the rural Charolles air was ideal for recuperation. The sanatorium consisted of an elongated brick building with a house and two wings attached. After the defeat in June 1940, a border between the Occupied and Southern zones divided the department in two. During this period, the sanatorium fell into disuse.

Beginning on October 15, 1941, the sanatorium reopened as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) for tuberculosis (TB) sufferers. TB spread in the French internment camps because of poor living conditions and malnutrition. The French authorities directed the local prefect, Paul Demande, to admit and hold all TB sufferers in La Guiche from camps throughout the Southern Zone, regardless of the reason for their detention, gender, or nationality. Demande oversaw the camp until 1943, when he was replaced by J. B. Thomas, who performed the same function between 1943 and 1944.

Because of La Guiche's status as a sanatorium, a surgeon general jointly directed the camp with the camp chief (*chef du camp*). From February 3, 1941, to May 1942, the first surgeon general was Dr. Ferret. From May 1942 until January 1, 1943, Dr. Arribeauthe filled the post. Then from January 1943 until the Liberation, Dr. Jean-Marie Joly was La Guiche's surgeon general. According to a June 30, 1943, report, the camp chief was François Urruty, and together they managed nearly 80 employees. This fragmentation of command generated numerous conflicts between the directors, who respectively complained about the situation in reports to their supervisor. Beginning on December 21, 1941, 31 guards and 2 police sergeants undertook camp surveillance.

La Guiche had a total capacity of 260 detainees. The camp population consisted of foreigners, French nationals, political detainees, Resistance members, Jews, stateless persons, and common-law criminals. According to historian Jean-Yves Boursier, the inmate population even included one Chinese immigrant, 64-year-old Tsan Wong-ling, who was admitted in 1943. Once cured, the detainees were to be returned to their original camp. On average, approximately 200 detainees stayed at any given time at La Guiche. When it opened as a CSS, the first 121 inmates consisted of 19 TB sufferers from the Récébédou camp in the Haute-Garonne Département, 70 from the Noé camp, 11 from the penal camp at the LeVernet camp in the Ariège Département, 12 from the Gurs camp, 5 from the Rivesaltes camp, and 4 from the Rieucros camp. On February 16, 1942, in a letter sent to Rabbi J. Kaplan, Rabbi N. Hirauski mentioned the presence of 74 Jews among the 180 internees held at that time. The French censors (*Contrôle postal*) intercepted Hirauski's letter, however.[1] According to historian Denis Peschanski, there were 140 internees in February 1943 and 239 in February 1944. In March 1944, 150 internees were still being treated in La Guiche.

According to Edgard H. Dreyfuss, there were 64 deaths during the entire period that La Guiche was open. Dreyfuss opined, "La Guiche is the only French sanatorium where the patients get skinnier."[2] Rations, which should have been more abundant, must have been seized by administrators, doctors, and guards. This situation was all the more egregious because La Guiche inmates received intermittent support from several nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), including the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced (*Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprés des Évacués*, CIMADE).[3]

On March 24, 1944, irregulars and French partisans (*Francs-Tireurs et Partisans Français*, FTPF) from Charolles freed 27 prisoners from La Guiche, an unusual event in the annals of French camps. Leading the maquisards in the March 24 assault were Jean Pierson (code-name "Sarcelle"), Léon Allain ("Hector"), and Louis Boussin ("Charlot"). During a second FTPF raid, which took place on June 8, 1944, some guards and detainees joined the maquisards, effectively disrupting lines of

communication between the CSS and the outside world for well over a month. La Guiche was gradually emptied and became, during the early days of the Fourth French Republic, an internment camp holding approximately 200 suspected French female collaborators until September 20, 1945. In an example of institutional continuity, the guards and camp director remained unchanged, and the same people operated the camp under the same conditions until the camp closed.

SOURCES The following secondary sources provide information on the camp at La Guiche: Jean-Yves Boursier, *Un camp d'internement vichyste: Le sanatorium surveillé de La Guiche* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps fran-çais d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources on the camp at La Guiche may be found in ADS-L, files W127, 233–234, 409, 422–423, 425, 800, 105148, 108881, 123871, 123950–123952, 127232–127237, and 137687. The report by Camp Inspector Robert Lebègue on the sanatorium's administrative system, December 10, 1943, can be found in AN F 7/15106.

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NOTES

1. ADS-L, W116713.
2. Report on the 5th Directorate, 3rd section activity, March 3, 1943, AD 04, 6J14.
3. ADS-L, W127232, as cited in Boursier, *Un camp d'internement vichyste*, p. 84.

LA LANDE-À-MONTS

The La Lande-à-Monts camp was located in La Lande in the Indre-et-Loire Département, along the department road between Sorigny and Monts, about 16 kilometers (10 miles) southwest of Tours. Also called Monts, the camp was situated about one-third of a mile away from a little train station, on the line joining Paris to Bordeaux.

In 1939, 26 buildings were erected on this 7.5-hectare (18.5-acre) space to accommodate workers from the Ripault national gunpowder factory in Monts. However, starting in October 1940, the camp was abandoned. Then the German authorities who managed the Tours region took over La Lande and turned it into a "reception center for foreigners" (*camp d'accueil pour étrangers*). Of the 26 buildings, 23 were for housing, and the remaining structures were used for a kitchen, a hospital, and storage. In the center of the camp, there was a water tower containing about 8,000 liters (2,000 gallons). According to testimonies, such as the one by Huguette Rapetti-Engler, each building had basins, toilets, and a wash house.[1] The camp held foreigners who came from neighboring large cities and towns. Among them was a 71-year-old British Jewish woman.

On December 1 and 5, 1940, two convoys of Jews from eastern France, mostly from Moselle who had found refuge in Bordeaux, were sent to La Lande. The non-Jewish foreigners worked in Tours, under the camp administration's control. Others worked at the gunpowder factory or as lumberjacks. The detainees still benefited from the refugee status accorded them by Vichy, and they received allowances from Vichy's Directorate of Refugees (*Direction des Réfugiés*). Most Poles were sent to work in Nazi Germany. The Belgians were returned to their country. The situation of foreign Jews (three-quarters of whom were Polish) was different: it was difficult for them to obtain authorization to work, especially at the gunpowder factory because it was under German authority.

However, the initial status of the camp as a refugee camp allowed some freedom of movement, even for Jews. For instance, children attended school in Tours. But this freedom was controlled. The camp's Jewish chaplain, Elie Bloch, testified that solidarity reigned overall in the camp, expressed through mutual aid, sharing packages, and distributing clothes. Nonetheless, in an October 22, 1941, report submitted to the Vichy General Inspector of Internment Camps, André Jean Faure—the Indre-et-Loire prefect—mentioned an increase in local black market activity. He blamed the Jews for the problem and asked for increased security. On the date of the report, only three gendarmes were in charge of surveillance.

The camp gradually became a Jewish internment camp between November 1940 and September 1942.

The French prefectural authorities at Angers, Jean Roussillon, and at Indre-et-Loire, Jean Tracou, were in charge of setting up and supervising the camp. In the beginning, they entrusted its security to a lawyer from Tours, Michel de la Chapel. He was in charge until January 1, 1942, when he was fired after being charged with trafficking in ration cards and lying about food rations. A former prefectural traffic/circulation manager, Mr. Delcuze, temporarily succeeded him. Delcuze was replaced by Pierre Brellier, who was assisted by an accountant, Mr. Buhot-Launay. Brellier held this post from October 1941 until the camp closed. Ten other people were hired for camp maintenance, doing cooking, gardening, and heavy labor (done by five Senegalese workers). There were two doctors: a paid physician was located in the city, and the other doctor was an unpaid Jewish internee.

The French gendarmerie was in charge of camp security. On July 13, 1941, the local newspaper, *Tours soir*, published a job offer to hire an additional guard; the advertisement emphasized the absolute necessity of increasing the number of guards, because the camp had exceeded its original capacity. In June 1942, there were 22 guards, 4 gendarmes, and 1 adjutant.

In March 1941, there were 541 internees, giving La Lande the largest camp population in the region and making it one of the most significant centers of Jewish internment in France. At this time, there were only 93 non-Jewish Polish detainees and 29 other

non-Jews (Yugoslavs, Britons, Swiss, and Spaniards).

In August 1941, as living conditions worsened for Jews in the Occupied Zone, the camp officially became a "Jewish internment camp." Fences were tripled by using all the barbed wire from the former Roma camp situated at La Morellerie in Avrillé-lès-Ponceaux in the Indre-et-Loire Département. Before that time, 45 internees had managed to escape. From October 1941 on, Feldkommandatur 588 demanded regular patrols of the La Lande's surroundings. On April 2, 1942, the 17 Catholic internees were still the only prisoners on "liberty under surveillance" (*liberté surveillée*) in La Lande. La Lande's 283 Jews were held in the enclosed part of the camp.

In July 1942, following several roundups, especially in Tours, the camp became overpopulated. Therefore, over the next two months 422 Jewish detainees were transferred to Drancy and then directly to Auschwitz. Of the 604 Jews listed as being transferred from La Lande via Drancy to the extermination camp, only 14 survived.

La Lande was the first women's internment camp in Vichy and was in operation from October 2, 1942, to January 15, 1944. It held 298 female "political internees," 227 of whom were communist. The other women were either common-law detainees or prostitutes. The detainees had been transferred from towns and camps throughout the Occupied Zone, because La Lande was the only women's camp in that zone. Some arrived from Châteaubriant in the Loire-Atlantique Département and Gallion in the Eure Département. On August 23, 1943, the women were planning to revolt because of malnutrition, which they believed was causing the dysentery spreading in the camp. This situation was confirmed in a report written by the General Inspector of Health and Medical Care, Dr. Coulon, when he visited La Lande on February 23, 1943.[2] Twenty-five detainees were charged with organizing the rebellion and transferred to Mérignac.

In April 1943, the camp population increased again to 351 internees, including 11 prostitutes. On September 14, 1943, this overcrowding led to the transfer of all female foreigners and children to Jargeau. On December 20, 1943, four political female internees, who were also the last four Jewish women in La Lande,

were sent to Drancy. The camp closed on January 15, 1944, when the last female internees were transferred to Poitiers, to the "route de Limoges" camp.

In addition to detaining women between late 1942 and January 1944, the camp served as a refugee camp for survivors of an explosion that occurred in the Ripault gunpowder factory on October 18, 1943.

SOURCES The following secondary sources mention the camp at La Lande-à-Monts: Sophie Paisot-Béal, "Le camp de La Lande," *MJ* 153 (1995): 144–171; Paisot-Béal, *Histoire des camps d'internement en Indre-et-Loire: 1940–1944,* foreword by Roger Prevost (Tours: La Simarre ed., 1993); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the camp at La Lande-à-Monts include the main archives of La Lande that can be found in Monts. Other archives holding documentation on the camp are ADI-L, series ZA, files XIV and XV (German archives about the local occupation, which were either seized or turned over to authorities in 1944, including La Lande and La Morellerie camp management); and series 5W15 to 120W1–12W36 (starting in file 8, specific to La Lande). Under signature CCXIII-100_001, CDJC contains material on social services by the "Centre d'accueil de La Lande" in the FSJF collection. Survivor testimonies may be found in VHF for Max Fajgelman (#29050), Michel Gelber (#6237), Dagobert Oster (#4217), Simone Pragier (#24100), and Jérôme Scorin (#6235). Other testimonies, such as Huguette Rapetti-Engler's, are quoted in Paisot-Béal's article. A published account is by Jérôme Scorin, *L'Itinéraire d'un adolescent juif de 1939 à 1945: Nancy, Bordeaux, La Lande, Nancy, Lyon, Drancy, Auschwitz, Stuttof, Vaihingen, Ohrdruf, Erfurt, Buchenwald, Crossen, Nancy* (Paris: Imprimerie Christmann, 1997).

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NOTES

1. Paisot-Beal, “Le camp de La Lande,” *MJ*, p. 149.

2. ADI-L, 120W8.

LAMALOU-LES-BAINS

In the spa resort of Lamalou-les-Bains, located in the Hérault Département nearly 66 kilometers (almost 41 miles) west of Montpellier, the prefectural authorities chose to use its hotels to accommodate refugees and foreigners: Spaniards in 1939, refugees from Alsace-Lorraine in 1940 and 1941, Belgian workers between 1940 and 1942, and finally Jews. Lamalou served thus as a reception center (*centre d'accueil*) and was once a candidate to become a center for the residential assignment of foreign Jews (*centre de résidence assignée*). The preparations for the roundup of Jews in the Hérault Département on August 26, 1942, stipulated that it involved 14 Jews in Lamalou.

An exchange of letters from January 11 to 15, 1943, between the head of the information service for the youth camps (*chef du service d'informations auprès des chantiers de jeunesse*), Jean Sarcueil, and the chief of staff of the General Commissariat on the Jewish Question (*Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives*, CGQJ), considered whether to requisition some villas in Lamalou-les-Bains for the accommodation of Jews.[1] However, that discussion was already moot, as correspondence dating from late 1942, involving the departmental representative of the Office of Social Services for Foreigners (*Service Social des Étrangers*, SSE) and the Committee of Assistance to Refugees (*Comité d'assistance aux Réfugiés*, CAR) stated that "residential permits for the Hérault Département could no longer be granted."[2] In so stating, the SSE denied the septuagenarian Esther Kohn the opportunity to remain in a home for the elderly in Lamalou.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Lamalou-les-Bains reception center are Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75; and Michaël Iancu, *Vichy et les Juifs: L'exemple de*

l'Hérault (1940–1944) (Montpellier, 2007).

Primary sources for the Lamalou-les-Bains reception center can be found in ADH: 15W252 (regarding its opening) and 12W10 and 12W119 (on the measures taken to receive refugees from Alsace, Spain, and Poland). Additional primary sources on the Lamalou center can be found in CDJC (CGQJ, official correspondence, CXV-94).

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NOTES

1. CDJC, CXV-94.
2. Lettre du délégué départemental du SSE, au camp de Rivesaltes au sujet d'Esther Kohn, November 21, 1942; lettre du délégué départemental du SSE au CAR de Montpellier au sujet d'Esther Kohn, December 20, 1942, reproduced in Iancu, *Vichy et les Juifs*, pp. 366–367 (quotation on p. 367; originals ADH, No. 285).

LA MEYZE

La Meyze (La Meyse; Haute-Vienne Département) was a small Vichy reception center (*centre d'accueil*) during World War II located in the town of the same name, more than 224 kilometers (139 miles) south of Toulouse and almost 20 kilometers (12 miles) southeast of Sereilhac. Foreigners, Jewish and non-Jewish, whom Vichy perceived as threatening the public order or violating the law, were detained in the Limousin region camps. The La Meyze camp, a Social Control of Foreigners camp (*Contrôle Social des Étrangers*, CSE), CSE No. 12, was in operation from April 1940 to July 1946 under the jurisdiction of the Labor Ministry. It was originally reserved for Jewish families from Spain.[1]

The camps at La Meyze and Sereilhac are often written about and documented in conjunction with one another, but under the Vichy regime they did not share a single command. As of January 28, 1946, the two camps still had different commandants: Frédéric Garrec at Sereilhac and Émile Lacroix at La Meyze.[2] Camp security at La Meyze was provided by the managerial staff (including an assistant accountant and a supply supervisor).[3]

CES No. 12 comprised eight barracks that were each 40 meters (131 feet) in length and were situated along the Janailhac Road; these buildings were not surrounded by barbed wire or guard towers. Six of the barracks were for internees, one was for management staff, and another housed the camp store and the common room. In addition to the six barracks a brick building was used as a kitchen, and there were a stone washtub and five lavatories situated at the back of the camp. The camp had running water: a faucet in the kitchen and one for bathing in the washtub. All of the camp barracks had electricity.[4]

As of November 1, 1942, there were 98 internees at La Meyze: 53 men, 25 women, and 20 children under the age of 18. At this stage the state of morale was mostly good, and the internees considered the barracks comfortable and the food adequate. The

internees prepared their own meals with the help of one cook and three aides. However, their clothing was inadequate: internees had to wear their summer clothing during the harsh winter months. The men had to wear military clothing, whereas the women and children wore clothes donated from the National Mutual Social Aid (*l'entre'Aide Sociale*). Each internee had one pair of shoes. The internees were considered well behaved, appearing regularly at roll call and eating and working when ordered.[5] La Meyze had a more flexible regime than that at the nearby Sereilhac camp.

The internees' nationalities before 1943 included Polish, German, Czech, French, Spanish, Dutch, Hungarian, Austrian, Russian, Belgian, Romanian, and Turkish.[6] Professions represented at La Meyze included a businessman, lawyer, and financial manager.[7] Many internees worked doing camp maintenance. The most capable workers were sent to work with local farmers during the summer harvest.

The internees from 1943–1945 were mostly Spanish (men, women, and children) and Central European refugees (many were Jewish). As of March 23, 1943, La Meyze held 23 men, 38 women, and 35 children making a total of 96 internees.[8] That July the camp held 43 men, 56 women, 39 children, totaling 138 internees, 78 of whom were Jews. The following year on July 20, 1944, La Meyze held 189 people.[9]

In the camp's common room the internees could play games, listen to the radio (which broke by the start of 1945), and find books in a number of languages available in the camp's library. The barracks were segregated by gender, and one barrack was constructed with rooms for families. Each internee was issued a sleeping bag and a minimum of four blankets. The camp's infirmary was run by a general doctor, and a specialist nurse (an internee who was a doctor) gave routine medical examinations to the people at the camp. The state of the internees' health was excellent despite the lack of heat.

Circulation from the camp was limited to the town of La Meyze. The occupations of the internees varied. Inside the camp they were able to do chores and work as secretaries, while women in homes with families outside the camp would be in charge of the children and the house hold. Sometimes, specialists (such as tailors) were

able to work in their trade. In general the French local population strongly critiqued the idleness of the internees, suggesting that they could have been taught useful skills (such as basket weaving) in order to support themselves.[10]

Following D-Day, the Vichy bureaucracy of oppression began to disintegrate. However although the internees were in principle not allowed to leave the town of La Meyze, they did make frequent trips without a permit after Liberation.[11] La Meyze's infirmary was equipped to perform surgical operations, but these materials were requisitioned in July 1944 by the French Forces of the Interior (*Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur*, FFI) to supply a hospital near Dournazac in the Haute-Vienne.

Very few releases were recorded after the establishment of the Provisional Government. As of October 1, 1944, the total number of internees was 189, which decreased drastically in 1945. As of January 20, 1945, La Meyze still held 165 internees.[12] Ten days later 16 internees were liberated.[13] No deaths were recorded in the camp for the year of 1945. On February 15, 1946, the Labor Ministry planned for the remaining Jewish internees at Sereilhac and La Meyze to be transferred to the Château du Coudeau and the non-Jewish internees at Sereilhac would be transferred to La Meyze.[14]

SOURCES Secondary sources covering the camp at La Meyze include Yves Soulignac, *Les camps d'internement en Limousin: 1939–1945* (Saint-Paul, France: Soulignac, 1995); Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001); Pascal Plas and Simon Schwarzfuchs, eds., *Mémoires du grand rabbin Deutsch: Limoges 1939–1945* (Saint-Paul, France: Lucien Souny, 2007); Jacques Fredi, *L'internement des Juifs sous Vichy* (Paris: Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, 1996); Shannon L. Fogg, *The Politics of Everyday Life in Vichy France: Foreigners, Undesirables, and Strangers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Pascal Plas and Michel Kristophe Kiener, eds., *Enfances juives: Limousin-Dordogne-Berry, terres de refuge, 1939–1945* (Saint-Paul, France: Lucein

Souny, 2006); and Maurice Moch and Claire Darmon, *L'Étoile et la francisque: Les institutions juives sous Vichy*, edited by Alain Michel (Paris: Éditions du CERF, 1990).

Primary source material documenting the Sereilhac and La Meyze camps can be found in AD-H-V, available at USHMMA under RG-43.047M, reels 3, 4, 8, and 9. VHA holds a rich interview on La Meyze by Rosette Baronoff (#9053, November 20, 1995). Digital records about La Meyze are available at USHMMA in ITS 6.1.1 (folder 106) and 1.1.0.6. (folder 1412) and the CNI.

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NOTES

1. "Rapport sur les Centres du Contrôle Social des Étrangers," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 1117.
2. "Le Ministre du Travail à Monsieur le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne," January 28, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.047M (AD-H-V), reel 3, p. 958.
3. "Désignation exact des Centres," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 1102.
4. "Centre de la Meyze," September 26, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 9, p. 3172.
5. "Le Délégué-Régional du Service Social des Étrangers à Monsieur sur le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne 1ère Division 3ème Bureau," November 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, pp. 1108–1109.
6. "Liste des Héberges au Centre d'Accueil de la Meyze," September 9, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.047MK, reel 4, pp. 2737–2740.
7. "Skorecka, Czarna," September 26, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 9, p. 146.
8. "Etat No. 2," March 31, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 1119.
9. "Le commissaire divisionaire Chef du Service Régional des

Renseignements Généraux," July 20, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 1059.

10. Ibid.

11. "Le Commissaire Principal Chef de Service à Monsieur le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne 1ère Division 3ème Bureau," January 20, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, pp. 1033–1036.

12. Ibid.

13. "Le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne a Monsieur le Ministre de l'Intérieur Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale," January 30, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, pp. 1040–1041.

14. "Le Contrôleur Regional de la Main d'Ouevre Étrangers," February 23, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 957.

LA MORELLERIE

Located in the Indre-et-Loire Département, La Morellerie is equidistant between the villages of Avrillé-les-Ponceaux and Continvoir and is 33 kilometers (21 miles) west of Tours. The camp at La Morellerie was also known as "Avrillé-les-Ponceaux" and by the German authorities as "Avrillé." Set out on flat land in the former estate of La Morellerie, the site was near a farm on Sonzay Road 70 that connected Avrillé to Continvoir. During the Phoney War of 1939 to 1940, the French Army commandeered the property from the owner, Georges Jouffreaud, and used it to detain some North Africans. Beginning on November 30, 1940, all of the department's Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) were confined to La Morellerie.[1]

Four big barracks and two small ones were built in the courtyard and the garden adjoining the estate's house and farm. The camp also had kitchens, a laundry room, and an infirmary run by Dr. Bodet, physician emeritus and the mayor of Gizeau. According to a report written by the prefect of Indre-et-Loire, Jean Chaigneau, the barracks were "very rudimentary," with low ceilings and shiplap board sidings.[2] Three-meter-high (almost 10-feet) poles connected by eight rows of barbed wire enclosed each barrack. Once the site was equipped with electricity, the camp administration further tightened security with the installation of eight searchlights and, in the early spring of 1942 at the instruction of the German authorities, an electrified fence.[3] The sub-prefect of Chinon, Paul Cay, requested that a school be built for the camp's approximately 80 children. Heading the school were the O'Reillys, an Alsatian refugee family who went on to direct the school for Roma at the Montreuil-Bellay camp.[4]

The camp's director-manager was Jean Renard, the son of the chief roadmender from Continvoir and a cook by training. He later became assistant director of the Montreuil-Bellay camp and was arrested in September 1943 as a member of the Resistance. According to a report from January 7, 1941, 11 gendarmes and a

noncommissioned officer were in charge of camp surveillance. The guards were poorly armed. According to Chef d'Escadron Gendreau, the commandant for the Gendarmerie Nationale (GN) company in Indre-et-Loire, their weapons cache consisted of two pistols with 18 rounds and six carbines with bayonets and 60 bullets.[5] By October 1941, the number of guards reached 23, in addition to which there were 10 civilian auxiliary guards. In emergencies, the camp could call for assistance on a 40-man force from the GN stationed in Tours.[6]

According to a partial list of Roma detainees at La Morellerie, there were eight escapes recorded during the camp's existence.[7] Some, such as the mid-August 1941 escapes by Pierre Scheid and Léopold Marin, took place while the prisoners were outside the camp on foraging details (*corvée de bois*). Recaptured later that month in the town of Montreuil-Bellay, Scheid and Marin were returned to La Morellerie. In November 1941, they were part of the first transport to the new Montreuil-Bellay camp.[8]

According to a report from October 16, 1941, the camp population peaked with a total of 273 Roma, including 77 females (age 13 and older) and 105 children.[9] When the camp closed on November 8, 1941, there were 238 Roma left in La Morellerie. According to an invoice from Albert Blanchet, a blacksmith and carriage maker in Avrillé-les-Ponceaux, the camp paid 750 francs for caskets, graves, and transport for the burial of three prisoners—one child and two adults.[10] In this case, the camp's partial list of prisoners at La Morellerie agreed with the death total.[11]

Between July and November 1941, La Morellerie also held 25 communists, whom the French police classified as administrative internees (*internés administratifs*). They came from the Haute-Barde camp in Beaumont-La-Ronce (Indre-et-Loire Département), where they had been held since January 1941 after the gendarmes in that area began arresting the department's leftists. Among them was Robert-Pierre Hénault, nicknamed Robes pierre, the former mayor of Saint-Pierre-des-Corps, who refused to deny his affiliation with the French Communist Party (*Parti communiste française*, PCF). He was arrested on April 12, 1941, and was imprisoned in the camp at La Morellerie on July 1.

From the outset, the French authorities gave privileges to the

political prisoners that the Roma prisoners did not receive. Sub-prefect Cay took great interest in the communists, inspecting their "annex" and catering to their needs. The political prisoners had separate living quarters, a different kitchen, better rations, and even access to a barber. In a situation in accordance with practices under the 1929 Geneva Convention, the authorities dealt with the political prisoners through the camp spokesman, Hénault. Describing the political detainees as "calm," Cay took them at their word that they would not try to escape.[12] In a letter to Chaigneau, the Delegate of the Occupied Territories of the General Secretariat for the National Police (*Délégué des les Territoires Occupés du Sécrétariat Général pour la Police Nationale*, DTOSGPN) complained about the "great inconvenience" caused by the "mixing of these individuals with other categories of detainees, such as the nomads."[13] He therefore requested the transfer of the political prisoners to the camp at Châteaubriant.

In the absence of prisoner testimonies, some details about the interaction between the prisoners and their overseers can be gleaned through prefectural correspondence. Although Dr. Bodet and two nurses provided immediate medical care at the infirmary, serious cases were referred to the Bretonneau General Hospital in Tours under armed guard. In the case of two prisoners, a communist and a Roma, Bodet attested to their urgent need for release on medical grounds.[14] Other prisoners were able to travel outside the camp under escort. A Roma was permitted to travel to Tours to be ordained as a Protestant minister.[15]

The partial listing of La Morellerie's detainees recorded the release of 12 prisoners.[16] Appeal to the Feldkommandantur in Tours typically yielded the terse reply, "denied" (*abgelehnt*). Such was the case for detainee Jules L.[17] An important exception, which took place in the winter of 1941, was the case of a Roma prisoner from Alsace, L. G., his wife, and five children, whom the Feldkommandantur ordered to be sent to a refugee camp in Dijon. The German authorities made the exception because L. G. was a decorated veteran of the Royal Bavarian Army in World War I.[18] Another Roma inmate, L. M., was released in October 1941, together with his family, because he had a home and was a skilled laborer. He wrote the following appeal to the Indre-et-Loire prefect: "I do not understand anything of my situation and I would

call upon you, Monsieur Prefect, to agree with my request of my freedom on just grounds."[19]

On November 8, 1941, with the onset of winter, the Roma were transferred to the Montreuil-Bellay camp. The order to do so came at the demand of the German authorities.[20] On November 17, the communists were sent to Rouillé, in the Vienne Département, except for five released detainees and four foreigners who were sent to Châteaubriant in the Loire-Atlantique Département.[21] The Indre-et-Loire Prefecture then reassigned La Morellerie's guard force to the camp for Jews at La Lande.

SOURCES Secondary works documenting the camp at La Morellerie are Jacques Sigot, "Le camp d'internement d'Avrillé-Ponceaux," *MT* 28 (Oct. 1988): 53–62; Jacques Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire: Un Camp pour les Tsiganes … et les autres; Montreuil-Bellay 1940–1945*, preface by Alfred Grosser (1983; Bordeaux: Wallada Ed., 1994); Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation,* 4 vols. (Paris: University of Paris XNanterre, 1997); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 2: 6 (1995): 79–148.

Primary sources on the camp at La Morellerie can be found in ADI-L in collections 120W1, 120W3, 120W6, and 4M221. Some of this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA under RG-43.096M. Of particular importance is the 700-page camp correspondence found in signature 120W3 (RG-43.096M, reel 3). As reproduced in Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire*, and "Le camp d'internement d'Avrillé-Ponceaux," Vichy propaganda reports in 1941 on the camp appeared in *PetC* and *DdC*.

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NOTES

1. S-P Chinon to P/I-L, December 4, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.096M (ADI-L), reel 3, 120W3, p. 3573 (USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3 with page).

2. Quotation from P/I-L to IGC/Ambassadeur Délégué Général du Gouvernement Français dans les Territoires Occupés, October 22, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W1, p. 3232.

3. On searchlights, S-P Chinon to Robineau, Commissaire spécial à la DGPN, October 16, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, 3650–3651; on the electrified fence, P/I-L to Chef de la FK 528 à Tours, February 27, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3699.

4. S-P Chinon to P/I-L, February 7, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 4114.

5. Chef d'Escadron Gendreau to P/I-L, Objet: "le camp de la Morellerie," January 7, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3658.

6. S-P Chinon to Robineau, Commissaire spécial à la DGPN, October 16, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, pp. 3650–3651.

7. "Liste des internés Camp de la Morellerie," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, pp. 3739–3752.

8. GN, all-points bulletin for Scheid and Marin, August 18, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, pp. 3773–3775; on the corvée de bois and the Scheid and Marin escapes, S-P Chinon to P/I-L, August 20, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3776; "Les deux nomades," *PetC*, August 24, 1941, reprinted in Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire*, p. 213.

9. S-P Chinon to Robineau, Commissaire spécial à la DGPN, October 16, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3650.

10. Albert Blanchet, Forge & Charronnage, to CSS La Morellerie, Invoice, inscribed for accounting, December 12, 1941,

USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3797, and reprinted in Sigot, "Le camp d'internement d'Aurillé-Ponceaux," p. 58.

11. "Liste des internés Camp de la Morellerie," pp. 3739–3752.

12. S-P Chinon to Préfet d'I-L, July 8, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3690; on the barber request, S-P Chinon to P/I-L, July 11, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3690.

13. DTOSGPN to P/I-L, October 13, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3666.

14. On the two cases, see the cover letter, P/I-L to Directeur de l'Hôpital Général Bretonneau à Tours, October 31, 1941; Bodet's appended certifications; and the prisoners' appeals, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, pp. 4044–4046, 4063, and 4065–4066.

15. S-P Chinon to P/I-L, September 25, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 4030.

16. "Liste des internés Camp de la Morellerie," pp. 3739–3752.

17. FK 588/Tours, Verwaltungsgruppe, an den Herrn Präfekten in Tours, Betr.: "Entlassung des Jules L. aus dem Lager La Morellerie," September 3, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 4187.

18. See FK 528 (V), Verwaltungsgruppe 213/41, Tours, an den Herrn Präfekten in Tours, January 28, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 4268; for L. G., Königlich Bayerische Militär Verdienstorden, Verleihungs-Urkunde, Militär-Verdienstkreuz 3. Klasse mit Schwertern, June 21, 1918, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 4265.

19. Quotation in L. M. to P/I-L, September 22, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 4173.

20. P/I-L to Préfet Délégué du Ministère d'Intérieur—SGPN, October 31, 1941, Objet: "Transfer de nomades internés," USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3626.

21. "Un nettoyage indispensable," *DdC*, November 18, 1941,

reprinted in Sigot, “Le camp d’internement d’Avrillé-Ponceaux,” p. 57.

LAMOTTE-BEUVRON

The Lamotte-Beuvron camp was located in the Sologne region in the Loir-et-Cher Département in central France, approximately 34.5 kilometers (21.4 miles) south of Orléans. Established in a sanatorium facility—the Sanatorium des Pins on Veuve Boucher Street—it consisted of a central house, the Pavillon Pasteur, with two adjacent buildings, one of which was called the Pavillon Jeanne d'Arc.[1] The sanatorium was founded in 1900 by Dr. Raymond Hervé as part of the fight against tuberculosis. From February to September 1939, the camp held Spanish refugees. Between June 1940 and November 1942, it was an internment camp under the authority of the local prefect, Jacques Moranne. Moranne was the prefect at the camp's opening and was then replaced by Jacques-Félix Bussière, who continued to be the prefect until February 1944.

Beginning in October 1940, Lamotte-Beuvron, under the administration of camp director Maurice Gouillon, held individuals sent from the Calvados Département: 501 "undesirable" foreigners (mostly Poles, along with seven Jewish women and two Jewish children) from the coastal departments of Normandy were sent from Calvados to Lamotte-Beuvron under orders from the German authorities.[2] The Loir-et-Cher prefect was to receive them in Lamotte. Many members of this group found work on neighboring farms and in other enterprises such as manufacturing and construction.[3] Lamotte also served as a collection point for the local Roma families before their dispatch to Jargeau.

According to departmental correspondence, several incidents of unrest occurred among detainees, especially in January 1941. On January 8, 100 prisoners protested in front of the dining hall against the inadequate food, and the dozen women who were employed in the kitchen refused to continue working.[4] Arrest reports from the gendarmes charged with guarding the camp record that on January 30, 200 to 300 inmates trapped five guards

in a corridor for a half-hour and verbally attacked them with insults after two of the guards questioned two female detainees they saw reentering the camp about whether they had previously obtained permission to leave.[5] Chef d'Escadron Laurent, the commandant of the gendarmerie company of Loir-et-Cher, doubled the number of guards per shift after this incident.[6]

Escapes were also frequent. The camp, which was not enclosed, sat on 12 hectares (29.7 acres) of land with a perimeter of more than 2,000 meters (1.2 miles) and was typically guarded by five gendarmes and a small number of auxiliary guards.[7] In addition to escaping from the camp itself, detainees also left their outside work placements and never returned.[8] Several of them returned to Calvados and the farms of their former employers.[9] At least one female detainee was aided by a railway employee in her escape effort.[10] The prefect subsequently proposed several different solutions for enclosing the camp, but Lamotte was never fully enclosed.[11]

In February 1941, the number of detainees dropped to 320 and continued to steadily decline.[12] On April 4, there were 278 prisoners and, by June 16, only 39. By August 20, 1941, only three detainees remained at Lamotte.[13] On February 28, 1942, Moranne offered Lamotte-Beuvron as a detention site for Jews, according to a note sent to André-Jean Faure, the inspector of Camps and Internment Centers (*Camps et Centres d'Internement*, CCI).

On March 12, 1942, 100 French and foreign Jews were transferred to Lamotte from the Poitiers camp under the surveillance of French gendarmes.[14] By this point, the camp had a new director, Maurice Grandjean. Inmates were no longer employed in labor outside the camp, but performed camp chores such as cleaning and food preparation. Grandjean considered organizing a workshop for work such as shoemaking, but this did not happen.[15]

Five prisoners escaped during this period.[16] Two of them, a pair of Polish brothers, were later caught and detained at the camp at Poitiers.[17] Unrest also continued in the camp. A June 1, 1942, letter from Grandjean to the prefect gives a list of six detainees who sought "to organize demonstrations and create disorder" in the camp.[18] Several Jewish prisoners petitioned the prefect

unsuccessfully for liberation on the grounds that they were naturalized French citizens.[19]

Henri Drussy, the mayor of Blois between 1941 and 1944, managed to hide a little girl while her mother, Chaja Golberg, was hospitalized. In another case, 23-year-old Léa Attali was separated from her mother during her mother's transfer from Lamotte-Beuvron to the town hospital. Léa was taken in by Blanche and Pierre Allart and stayed with this family until the war ended. Yad Vashem honored the Allarts as Righteous Among the Nations in 1999.

Following an order from the German authorities, on July 27, 1942, the Loir-et-Cher prefect supervised the transfer of 98 Jews from Lamotte-Beuvron to the Pithiviers camp in the Loiret Département.[20] Four days later, 52 Jews were directly deported to Auschwitz, and an additional 13 women were dispatched on August 3, 1942. The remaining 33 Jews, including the children, were transferred from the Pithiviers camp to Drancy. Of the group of Jews originally transferred from Poitiers to Lamotte-Beuvron, only one woman survived.

Living conditions in Lamotte were especially harsh. There was very little health monitoring, and the prefecture did not allot a sanitary bud get, exclusively relying on Red Cross intervention. There was malnutrition, as well as a total absence of showers and hot water.[21]

After July 28, 1942, the camp was emptied before it began holding patients transferred in January 1943 from the Kerpape sanatorium in the village of Ploemeur in the Morbihan Département.[22]

SOURCES The following secondary sources provide information on the camp at Lamotte-Beuvron: Gérard Ferrand, *Camps et lieux d'internement en région Centre (1939–1947)* (Saint-Cyrl'Ecole: Alan Sutton, 2006); Simon Osterman, "'Les Pins' à Lamotte-Beuvron: Du Sanatorium au Centre médical, de 1900 à nos jours," *BGRAHS* 26: 4 (2004): 91–114; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources about Lamotte-Beuvron can be found in ADL-C, signature RV 1617, available in microform at USHMMA under RG-43.112M; and in testimonies by former prisoners of Lamotte-Beuvron and Jargeau, Jean-Michel Namur and Jean Wladislav Olejnik, in "Sologne et Solognots dans la Seconde Guerre mondiale," *BGRAHS* 31:4 (2009): 39–62.

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NOTES

1. "Authorisation pour l'établissement des fils téléphoniques," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.112M (AD-L-C), reel 9, RV1617, p. 578 (USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, with page); map of buildings, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 18.

2. "État numérique des internés par nationalités," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 8.

3. Directeur-Général/René Marion to P/L-C, May 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 50.

4. Chef d'Escadron Laurent, "Rapport sur des incidents survenus au Centre d'internés à Lamotte-Beuvron," January 8, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 203.

5. Laurent Bataille, Adrien Gillaizeau, Paul Navion, André Gauthier and Jean Sillon, "Constatant l'arrestation de la Polonaise KATARZYNA, Baran," January 31, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, pp. 125–127; Laurent Bataille, Adrien Gillaizeau, Paul Navion, André Gauthier and Jean Sillon, "Constatant l'arrestation du Polonais OLEJNIK, Wladislaw," January 31, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, pp. 128–129.

6. Chef d'Escadron Laurent, "Rapport sur un incident survenu au Camp d'internés de Lamotte-Beuvron," January 31, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 179.

7. P/L-C to P/Délégué du Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur, July 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 697; list of personnel, "Camp de Lamotte-Beuvron," n.d., USHMMA,

RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 660.

8. P/L-C to FK/Orléans, July 23, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 501.

9. Gouillon to Secrétaire Général/Préfecture de Blois, May 14, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 544.

10. P/L-C to FK/Orléans, May 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 529.

11. P/L-C to P/Délégué du Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur, July 7, 1942, pp. 696–698.

12. Gouillon, "Effectif Lamotte-Beuvron le 23/2/41," February 23, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 293.

13. "Effectif en date 4/4/41," April 4, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, 299; "État des effectifs du camp d'internés de Lamotte-Beuvron: Période du 16 Juin au 20 Août 1941," August 22, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, pp. 339–340.

14. P/Vienne to P/L-C, March 9, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 758.

15. Grandjean, "Rapport pour les mois de mai et juin 1942," July 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 673.

16. Inspecteur de Police Jonas to Commissaire de Police/Blois, April 30, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 895; Grandjean to P/L-C, June 29, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 852.

17. Sous-Lieutenant Dahuron, "Rapport sur l'évasion de deux juifs du Camp d'internés de Lamotte-Beuvron," June 20, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 837.

18. Quotation from Grandjean to P/L-C, June 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG.43-112M/9/RV1617, p. 675.

19. Bella Croitorin to P/L-C, May 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 1158.

20. P/L-C to Préfect Régional, July 30, 1942, USHMMA,

RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, pp. 4–7.

21. L'Inspecteur de la Santé/L-C to P/L-C, April 22, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 1027.

22. Inspecteur de la Santé/L-C to P/L-C, September 26, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, pp. 630–631.

LANNEMEZAN

Lannemezan is a village in the Hautes-Pyrénées Département, 101 kilometers (63 miles) southwest of Toulouse. In accordance with earlier Vichy legislation forbidding the freedom of movement for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) in France, on April 25, 1941, the prefect of Hautes-Pyrénées designated a plateau near Lannemezan as the location for the assigned residence (*assignation à résidence*) of the local Roma population. The plateau, which served this purpose until the winter of 1941–1942, was an unarable, treeless swamp. It was located between the city of Lannemezan, which was 3.2 kilometers (2 miles) north of the site, and the Pyrenees Mountains to the south, a forest to the east, and a chemical factory to the west. According to historian Sylvaine Guinle-Lorinet, Roma lived on this plateau either in their caravans or in tents.

During the winter of 1941, harsh conditions at the site led the authorities to transfer all Roma to an abandoned hospital, the Rothschild Hospital, which had been constructed during World War I. The hospital was 500 meters (0.3 miles) outside of Lannemezan, and though its construction was unfinished, it still had walls—an improvement compared to the first camp's open plateau that was swept by winds and beset by drought and snakes, according to the Roma novelist and witness, Matéo Maximoff.[1]

Neither location was enclosed, nor was there any barbed wire, according to the testimony of Louis Gussman, whose family was assigned to Lannemezan. A roll call was held daily, which enabled the authorities to monitor the situation and control possible escapes. The local gendarmerie brigade was in charge of surveillance.

It was possible for the detainees to get work authorizations and for women to get passes to go grocery shopping in town, provided that every one was back for the midday roll call. If detainees did not comply with that rule, they were fined. Starting in December 1941, the town of Lannemezan opened an additional classroom

"for the nomads" who were school aged.[2]

Some detainees managed to escape to nearby towns undetected. Gendarmerie reports from Hautes-Pyrénées and the neighboring department of Gers indicate several arrests in 1942–1943 of people from Lannemezan, sometimes more than a year after they escaped.[3] A number of them cited bad living conditions for the reason they ran away: "I didn't want to stay there, in view of the fact that I could not find food to meet the needs of my family," one man told the gendarmes who arrested him.[4] Another said he escaped the camp at Lannemezan because "I was fed badly and housed badly there."[5] Once arrested, escapees were typically sent back to the camp.

Assigned residence at Lannemezan remained in effect until the Liberation in August 1944.

In addition to the assigned residence of the Roma, there was a second detention site in the village of Lannemezan. Between 1940 and the summer of 1943, the Psychiatric Hospital of Lannemezan (*Hôpital Psychiatrique de Lannemezan*, HPL) served simultaneously as a psychiatric facility and a "reception center" (*centre d'accueil*) or "supervised sanitorium" (*sanatorium surveillé*), initially for French refugees and then foreigners. The region's industrial potential appealed to the Germans; however, the occupiers were even more interested in using the hospital to hold foreigners. Starting in the fall of 1940, the persecution of Roma and Jews by the German and Vichy authorities led to HPL's admission of additional prisoner categories. Altogether, there were 255 detainees: first Germans and then Roma and Jews. All were transferred from the Gurs camp because of health problems.

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the camp at Lannemezan are Sylvaine Guinle-Lorinet, "Le 'camp' pour nomades de Lannemezan: Éléments pour une histoire, éléments pour une mémoire, 1940–1944," *RC* 121: 4 (2005): 599–614; Claude Laharie, *Le camp de Gurs, 1939–1945: Un aspect méconnu de l'histoire de Vichy*, preface by Arthur London (NP: Société Atlantique d'Impression, J&D ed., 1993); Willy Laspalles, François Martin, and Alessandra Sallès, eds., *De l'asile de la Demi-Lune aux hôpitaux de Lannemezan, 1938–2008*

(Clermont-Ferrand: Un, deux, quatre, 2008), which contains a detailed survey of HPL during the war years, but only obliquely alludes to its use as a detention site; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources on the Lannemezan camp can be found at ADH-P, file 14W59 (gendarmerie minutes prior to the arrest of nomads, 1941–1943); 1M156-159 (individual dossiers of nomads, 1916–1941); and 4M155 (instructions and circulars, 1884–1940, and reports); some of this documentation is copied to USHMMA as RG-43.131M. Matéo Maximoff's autobiographical novel, *Routes sans roulottes* (Romainville: Éd. Matéo Maximoff, 1993), gives a brief but precise portrait of the assigned residence at Lannemezan. Two other published testimonies on the camp are Irène Israël (née Krämer), "Ma déportation," *NO* (October 22–28, 2009), p. 29, on her detention at HPL; and an interview with Louis Gusmann, extracted in "'Né coupable' d'être Rom au camp de Lannemezan (Hautes-Pyrénées)," *DM* (April 8, 2011), n.p.

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NOTES

1. Quoted by Guinle-Lorinet, "Le 'camp' pour nomades de Lannemezan," p. 605.

2. According to the Lannemezan town archives (records of municipal deliberations held on December 14, 1941), quoted by ibid., p. 610.

3. Louis Millet and Dieudonné Jacquerin, "Procès-Verbal d'arrestation pour avoir quitté le camp où elle était assignée, de la nomade Mereaux Julienne demeurant au camp de Lannemezan," March 16, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.131M (ADH-P), reel 3, file 14W59, p. 49 (RG-43.131M/3/14W59).

4. Paulin Milhas and Paul Sartoni, "Procès-Verbal constatant l'Arrestation du nomade Lunes, Auguste, pour abandon de résidence assignée," October 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.131M/3/14W59, p. 43.

5. Jean Beaux and Léon Wipf, “Procès-Verbal constatant l’Arrestation du nomade Loustalot (Pierre), pour abandon de résidence assignée,” October 24, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43. 131M/3/14W59, p. 21.

LE BARCARÈS

The camp at Le Barcarès was situated along a beach north of the town of Le Barcarès (Pyrénées-Orientales Département), which is located 22 kilometers (almost 14 miles) northeast of Perpignan, the departmental center in southwestern France.

It was established in February 1939 by order of the French Defense Ministry to receive Spanish refugees.[1] By March 1939, there were as many as 13,000 Spanish refugees living in improvised dwellings such as tents and sand dugouts on the beach at Le Barcarès. When war was declared in September 1939, all of the Spanish refugees were sent to the camp at Argelèssur-Mer (Pyrénées-Orientales Département).[2] Le Barcarès' facilities were then further developed and used by military authorities.

According to testimony by Oscar Freedman, Salomon Wolk, and Andre Marosy, barracks were built at Le Barcarès after the Spaniards left. It was then used as a training camp in late 1939 and early 1940 for foreigners who volunteered to fight for the French Army (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG). All three men who gave testimony were foreign Jews who had immigrated to France from Eastern Europe several years earlier.[3] Freedman and Wolk both noted that many of these volunteers for the French Army were either Jewish or Spanish refugees. Not all of the foreign volunteers were deemed acceptable for service; in particular those who were identified as revolutionaries, communists, or anarchists and therefore likely to engage in propaganda were deemed ineligible.[4] In January 1940, 17 of the EVDG volunteers training at Le Barcarès were transferred to Le Vernet (Ariège Département) for "attitude ill-suited to military service."[5] In April 1940, the regiments trained at Le Barcarès were sent first to Alsace and then to the Ardennes.[6]

After the June 1940 Armistice, Le Barcarès reverted to a camp for foreigners (*camp d'hébergement*).[7]

In time, many nationalities were represented in the camp, and

women and children were accommodated. In the summer of 1940, Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) were expelled from the Alsace-Moselle region, and many arrived at Le Barcarès; at this point, the camp reports began to note the need for a school, and eventually one was started.[8]

Toward the end of 1941 the camp at Argelès-sur-Mer was closed, and its remaining detainees (listed as "unfit, nomads, or women") were transferred to Le Barcarès.[9] The camp was renovated to house 3,600 prisoners in four blocks of barracks of 900 beds each and was pronounced ready in November 1941.[10] Monthly reports from the camp during 1941 and 1942 list its capacity as 3,360 people, although the actual number of detainees at this time was much smaller, increasing from 177 at the end of November 1941 to 579 by the end of February 1942.[11]

The camp had two sets of barbed wire installed around each barrack bloc.[12] The Mediterranean Sea was initially seen as a natural barrier, but it did not deter escapes. A January 1942 report noted that it was possible to escape by walking up the beach to the town of Leucate and its train station. (Leucate is approximately 13 kilometers [8 miles] north of Le Barcarès.) There were a number of escapes from Le Barcarès.[13]

The prefecture oversaw the maintenance of the camp's facilities. The French Army provided guards in addition to ones recruited from the local police force. Ongoing complaints were registered in monthly reports about understaffing: for example, some guards were working 12-hour shifts.[14] The camp's commandant suggested in the January 1942 monthly report that a workforce of at least 80 guards was needed to secure the camp.[15]

From the spring of 1940 on, Le Barcarès also served as a detainment center for foreigners who performed labor in groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs). Several GTEs were based at Le Barcarès, including GTE Nos. 153, 154, 155, 156, and 227.[16] It appears that other GTEs were at least temporarily housed at Le Barcarès when performing labor nearby, as Hugo Wildmann, who was part of GTE No. 416, described in a letter to his brother.[17]

Detainees at Le Barcarès also were employed in workshops that were set up for shoe repair and sewing. The camp's commandant

also requested materials for the fabrication of espadrilles.[18]

Camp conditions varied. Although illness was less widespread than in many other camps, a monthly report for November 1941 conveys a number of problems, including flood damage, limited variety in food, and a lack of warm clothing and shoes for the detainees.[19] In January 1942, the monthly report noted that the lack of wood for heating caused women to pull driftwood out of the sea.[20] Insufficient food was reported in both the January and February 1942 reports.[21]

Vichy's decision to dissolve the camp was conveyed by letter in February 1942. The rationale was that few foreigners remained there and the camp was no longer needed, but given the physical improvements that were made, it was recommended that the facility revert to a camp solely for GTE workers.[22] The combined report for May and June 1942 indicated that 456 detainees were still in the camp by the end of the period.[23] Ultimately, all of them were transferred to other camps, a process that was completed by early August 1942.[24]

The closing of the camp was orderly, and a legal agreement was executed between the Interior Ministry and the Commission for the Fight against Unemployment (*Commissariat à la Lutte contre le Chômage*) that spelled out the terms of the transfer of the property to the commission.[25] Every thing was inventoried, and all camp personnel were accounted for as they departed. By the end of August 1942 the camp was completely closed.[26]

SOURCES Secondary sources that include information on the camp at Le Barcarès are Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement, 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002); and Anne Grynberg, *Les camps de la honte: Les internés juifs des camps fran-çais (1939–1944)* (Paris: La Découverte, 1991). Two articles addressing the origins of Le Barcarès as a camp for Spanish refugees are in Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994): Lilian Pouységur, "Les réfugiés républicains espagnols dans le sud-ouest de la France," and Jean-Claude Fau, "Les camps de réfugiés espagnols de Septfonds

(1939–1940)."

Primary documentation on the camp at Le Barcarès can be found in AD-P-O under classifications 38W167, 109W330 (list of names), 134W28 (Spanish refugees), 1260W68, 1260W84, 1260W106–1260W110 (GTEs), and 1287W1-2 (monthly reports, health statistics). Some of this material is held at USHMMA under RG-43.036M. Additional documentation can be found in AN F7 15105, held at USHMMA under RG-43.016M. Descriptions of life in GTE No. 416 at Le Barcarès can be found in the Manfred Wildmann family letters in USHMMA under 1998.A.0037. VHA holds five survivor testimonies that mention Le Barcarès, including those by Oscar Freedman (#23202) and Salomon Wolk (#16178). A detainee's published account is Francisco Pons, *Barbelés à Argelès et autour d'autre camps* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993) in which the author describes his detention at Le Barcarès.

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NOTES

1. Note: Internement des réfugiés espagnols dans les camps d'Argelès-sur-Mer et du Barcarès notamment, October 24, 1967, USHMMA, RG-43.036M (AD-P-O), reel 10, 1260W68 (USHMMA, RG-43.036M/10/1260W68).

2. Historique du Camp d'Argelès, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.036M/10/1260W68.

3. VHA #23202, Oscar Freedman testimony, November 19, 1996; VHA #42545, Andre Marosy testimony, June 8, 1998; and VHA #16178, Salomon Wolk testimony, June 5, 1996.

4. Général de corps d'armée Hanote to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, December 22, 1939, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/10/1260W68.

5. Quotation from Capitaine Poulain (Commandant du Camp du Vernet) to P/Ariège, January 22, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/10/1260W68.

6. VHA #23202 and VHA #16178.

7. Note: Internement des réfugies espagnols dans les camps d'Argelès-sur-Mer et du Barcarès notamment, October 24, 1967.

8. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, January 30, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/11/1287W2; Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, February 28, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/11/1287W2; Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, June 30, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43. 036M/11/1287W2.

9. Quotation from Conseiller d'État Secrétaire Général pour la Police to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, October 8, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W167; P/Pyrénées-Orientales to Ministère de l'Intérieur, June 3, 1957, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/10/1260W68.

10. Conseiller d'État Secrétaire Général pour la Police to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, October 8, 1941.

11. Camp du Barcarès: Rapport mensuel de novembre 1941, November 30, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/11/1287W2; Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, January 30, 1942; Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, February 28, 1942.

12. VHA #30484, Abraham Goldfarb testimony, June 19, 1997.

13. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, January 30, 1942.

14. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, February 28, 1942.

15. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, January 30, 1942.

16. Relevé Général des ressortissants espangnols bénéficiaries du droit d'asile résidant dans les Pyrénées-Orientales, April 8, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/11/1260W106-110.

17. Wildmann Letter #36 (Hugo and Mama to Manfred), July 15, 1942, USHMMA, 1998.A.037, folder 6, pp. 192–193; Wildmann Letter #38 (Hugo and Mama to Manfred), July 31,

1942, USHMMA, 1998.A.037, folder 6, pp. 203–204.

18. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, January 30, 1942.

19. Camp du Barcarès: Rapport mensuel de novembre 1941, November 30, 1941.

20. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, January 30, 1942.

21. Ibid.

22. Conseiller d'État Secrétaire Général pour la Police to Commissaire à la Lutte contre le Chômage, February 11, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W167.

23. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, June 30, 1942.

24. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to Conseiller d'État Secrétaire Général pour la Police, August 11, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W167.

25. "Procès verbal de cession du Camp du Barcarès," August 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W167.

26. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to Conseiller d'État Secrétaire Général pour la Police, August 11, 1942.

LE CHEYLARD

For a brief time, Le Cheylard was an internment camp located in the Ardèche Département, Rhône-Alpes region, 23.5 kilometers (14.6 miles) northwest of Privas, the departmental capital. When it first became operational, the camp was used to hold the enemies of the Phoney War, namely Reich nationals and Poles. The combined German-French commission of Ernst Kundt visited the camp on July 30, 1940.[1] At that time, 116 of a total of 125 internees in Le Cheylard were Jewish. In September 1940, 360 Austrian and German nationals were still held in Le Cheylard. In all likelihood, the camp closed at the end of 1940.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the internment camp at Le Cheylard are Christian Eggers, "Le périple de la mission Kundt: Les camps du midi de la France d'après le journal de voyage de Jubitz (juillet–août 1940)," in Jacques Grand-jonc and Theresia Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944: Exil et internement d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dans le sud-est de la France* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1990), pp. 213–226; and Hervé Mauran, "Étrangers internés en Ardèche: D'un régime à l'autre (1939–1940)," in Vincent Giraudier, Hervé Mauran, Jean Sauvageon, and Robert Serre, eds., *Des Indésirables: Les camps d'internement et de travail dans l'Ardèche et la Drôme durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Valence, France: Peuple libre; Notre temps 1999), pp. 109–125.

Primary sources for the internment camp at Le Cheylard are scarce. Some mention is found in PAAA (Akten der KundtKommission). An eyewitness is former internee Richard Levy, a Jew of German origins who was held in several French camps, including Le Cheylard (VHA #8625, November 13, 1995). According to Mauran, the abbot of Le Cheylard, P. Clauzier, also mentioned the camp in his memoir, *Souvenir d'un curé vivarois de 1876 à 1956* (Saint-Étienne, France: Imprimerie Dumas,

1955), pp. 130–132.

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NOTE

1. 1. Bericht von Oberstleutnant von Studnitz, September 18, 1940, Akten der Kundt-Kommission, PAAA, R XII, Zu Kult E/Nf., vol. 67, cited in Eggers, “Le périple de la mission Kundt,” p. 218.

LE MONT-DORE

The resort and spa town Le Mont-Dore (Puy-de-Dôme Département), which is located some 32 kilometers (20 miles) southwest of the prefecture capital, Clermont-Ferrand, was just south of the boundary between the Occupied and Southern Zones. Between 1942 and 1943, Le Mont-Dore was the site of a "national relocation center" for "foreign undesirables" and was officially termed a "center of assigned residence" (*centre de residence assignée*). It held mainly foreign Jews with some financial means in the town's hotels.

Le Mont-Dore was one of four national centers established after the Vichy Interior Ministry ordered prefects and police to streamline the detention and expulsion of Jews in November 1941.[1] Two of the centers were located at nearby La Bourboule and St. Nectaire. Another site was located in Eaux-Bonnes (Pyrenées-Atlantiques Département). Additional centers were established on a regional and district level. Although the aim as expressed in official documents was to detain "undesirable refugees" and black marketeers, it was mainly foreign Jews who entered France after January 1, 1936, who were targeted. The Jewish detainees also included naturalized citizens.[2]

Prefects were responsible for identifying and assigning eligible Jews to residence centers. To qualify for residence, the inmates had to be able to support themselves financially. If not, they were assigned to labor battalions. By the summer of 1942, several hundred Jews had been assigned to the relocation centers in the region, including the center at Le Mont-Dore.

Center residents were under constant police supervision. Their residence permits were only valid for the center, although prefects could grant leave permits; for example, to emigrate. The inmates also had to check in routinely with local police, every two weeks or more frequently if ordered by the prefect. Thus physically isolated and registered, they became easy targets of the three major

roundups (*ramassages*) in the Puy-de-Dôme on August 26, 1942, and in the spring of 1943.[3]

Several sources relating to the Heidingsfeld family, detained in Le Mont-Dore, confirm that Chanonat Villa was among the assigned residences. The husband of Hélène Heidingsfeld, Auguste (or Gusta) Hirsch, was a toymaker with business interests in France and Switzerland.[4] Another family member, 73-year-old Leopold Heidingsfeld, applied to the consulate of El Salvador in Geneva, Switzerland, for citizenship papers. The First Secretary of the Consulate General, the Holocaust rescuer George Mandel-Mantello, granted him such documents, but by then it was too late —the date of issuance was December 24, 1943, months after Jews had been deported from Le Mont-Dore.[5] Heidingsfeld's son, Bernard, had already been taken to the Drancy camp during the August 1942 roundup, when approximately 50 Jews from the Southern Zone in Puy-de-Dôme were arrested. He entered Auschwitz on April 1, 1944, and after the evacuations from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen, died two days after arriving in the Buchenwald concentration camp, on February 22, 1945.[6] According to Yad Vashem, Auguste Hirsch was murdered while attempting to cross the Swiss border in 1943.

In 1943, according to French police records, Le Mont-Dore also briefly served as a temporary internment camp for foreign journalists.[7]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources mentioning the Le Mont-Dore center of assigned residence include John F. Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France: The French under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Oxford Press, 1986); and Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press in association with USHMM, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Le Mont-Dore center of assigned residence can be found in AD-P-D, which holds among others relevant reports by police and gendarmerie in the M Series. Additional documentation is available in ITS, 2.3.5.1, fol. 19a (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form

at USHMMA. USHMMPA holds the Mantello certificate for Leopold Heidingsfeld (WS #86024). Le Mont-Dore's brief use as an internment camp is mentioned in AN (Police Générale collection), available in microform at USHMMA under RG-43.016M.

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NOTES

1. AD-P-D, M07199, as cited in Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France*, p. 125.
2. ITS, 2.3.5.1, fol. 19a, pp. 82370908–82370910.
3. Ibid., pp. 82370953–82370957.
4. Claims Resolution Tribunal, In re Holocaust Victim Assets Litigation Case No. CV96-4849, Certified Award to Claimant Therese Heidingsfeld in re Account of Auguste Hirsch, Claim Number: 002151/MG, May 28, 2004, www.crt-ii.org/_awards/_apdfs/Hirsch_Auguste.pdf.
5. Mantello, Certificat de Nationalité à Monsieur Léopold Heidingsfeld, December 24, 1943, USHMMPA, WS #86024 (USHMM, Courtesy of Enrico Mandel-Mantello).
6. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Bernard Heidingsfeld, Doc. No. 24362633.
7. USHMMA, RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 15, carton 15103.

LES ALLIERS

Situated in the south Bretagne region (Ille-et-Vilaine Département), the camp at Les Alliers was established in July 1938 by order of the prefecture of the Bretagne region. The camp was located some 31 kilometers (19 miles) northwest of Rennes. It served as a receiving center for 800 Spanish refugees between July 1939 and August 1940, when they were deported to Mauthausen. In September 1940, about 60 Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) who had been evacuated from Lorraine were imprisoned as a group in the camp. Beginning in October 1940, the German authorities demanded that all the Roma from Charente and Charente-Maritime be interned in Les Alliers.

The staff of the camp consisted of a director, 11 administrators, 2 religious workers, 2 policemen, and 5 civilian guards. The first director was Police Inspector Soulier, followed in December 1941 by a police officer named Faye. The last director was Noël Verneiges. Father Le Bideau provided religious services for the Roma prisoners.

Men and women could work outside the camp after receiving permission from the camp authorities. The movement of internees, for labor purposes, was limited to between 7 A.M. to 9 P.M. In September 1942, 45 Roma worked either for the Germans in the munitions factory or foundry at Ruelle, in agriculture, or for the city of Angoulême. The others worked to maintain the camp.

Various reports underscore the deplorable conditions of imprisonment (torn roofs not fixed, insufficient food, inappropriate clothes, planks of wood serving as wall dividers). There were numerous escapes, some of which were successful. The director noted that there was about one per week.

Between 1940 and 1946, 450 Roma were imprisoned at Les Alliers, the number not exceeding 350 at any time. According to the departmental archives, about 60 percent were children. The census of the Inspection General of the Camps (*Inspection*

Générale des Camps, IGC) indicated that the number of prisoners fell to 197 in December 1943 and then to 194 in April 1944. In December 1944, the number of internees rose to 215.

After the French Fourth Republic was established on May 10, 1946, the legal date for the cessation of hostilities from World War II, the last of the Roma prisoners left the camp. On July 8, 1946, the camp was permanently closed.

SOURCES Secondary sources concerning the camp at Les Alliers begin with Emmanuel Filhol, *La mémoire et l'oubli: L'internement des Tsiganes en France 1940–1946* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004); Guy Hantarrède, "Les Tsiganes au camp des Alliers," *ET* 13 (1995): 120–128; Marie-Christine Hubert, "The Internment of Gypsies in France," in Karola Fings, Herbert Heuss, and Frank Sparing, eds., *In the Shadow of the Swastika: The Gypsies during the Second World War*, 3 vols., trans. Donald Kenrick (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999), 2: 59–88; and Denis Peschanski with Marie-Christine Hubert and Emmanuel Philippori, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946* (Paris: CNRS Edition, 2010).

Archival sources on the camps at Les Alliers may be found in ADC (1W41 and 9W42).

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LES MILLES

Located in the Bouches-du-Rhône Département, about 23 kilometers (14 miles) north of Marseille and 5.1 kilometers (3 miles) southwest of Aix-en-Provence, the camp at Les Milles was set up in the eponymous village on a space measuring about 25,000 square meters (about 30,000 square yards). It consisted of two buildings of three floors each that had once been part of a tile and brick factory. There was also an open space measuring about 45,000 square meters (about 54,000 square yards) where 14 barracks were built for the detainees.

Les Milles opened when France declared war against Germany on September 3, 1939, to intern enemy aliens, including Central European Jews. On September 6, the 4th Batallion, 156th Regiment (Ardèche), commanded by Captain Charles Goruchon, assumed direction of the camp. A number of detainees were artists or intellectuals, including Walter Benjamin and Max Ernst. On April 18, 1940, the camp closed and its internees were transferred; however, it reopened on June 10 to hold approximately 3,500 foreigners in southeastern France. After the June 22 Armistice, Goruchon arranged for more than 2,000 detainees to leave France via Bayonne. The plan miscarried, leading to their re-internment, first in Saint-Nicolas (Gard Département) and then in Les Milles. When Ernst Kundt's Franco-German commission inspected Les Milles on August 1, 1940, 747 of the 1,000 internees chose repatriation to Germany.

In November 1940, under the Interior Ministry, Les Milles became the sole emigration camp in Vichy France. The camp assumed this function given its proximity to Marseille. Les Milles' first director was divisional commissioner Maurice Laurens, and the guards were French gendarmes. Inspector Louis Gaude oversaw emigration. On August 16, 1941, Robert Maulavé succeeded Laurens. Maulavé was arrested in August 1942 for opposing the deportations then and encouraging escapes, and the last French director, Paul Brun, succeeded him.

A comparatively relaxed disciplinary situation was instituted at Les Milles during the years 1940 to 1941. Prisoners were allowed to go to Marseille to apply for U.S. immigration visas, and they exchanged letters and occasional visits with relatives held at other detention sites.[1] According to a February 25, 1941, intake manifest, 69 detainees from the Gurs camp holding immigration papers for Australia, Paraguay, Siam, the United States, and elsewhere entered Les Milles awaiting overseas passage.[2]

Prisoners in front of a barrack at Les Milles internment camp, 1942. USHMM WS #63407, COURTESY OF ILSE COHN ROTHSCHILD.

Many artists created artworks while at Les Milles. Adorning the guards' cafeteria was a series of murals produced by the detainees. A satirical mural, titled the "Pro cession of Paramilitaries in Horizon Blue Uniforms Transporting Gigantic Victuals," shows small men, most of whom are staggering under the weight of the food they are carrying. A member of a paramilitary (*prestataire*) group slips underneath the wine barrel, but lustily sips from the tap. *Prestataire* referred to a form of release from French camps by volunteering for military service. A more sinister mural, "The Banquet of Nations," shows the nations represented by stock characters like King Henry VIII for Great Britain and an African chief with exaggerated facial features seated at a table and overseen by the "International Jew." Other detainees participated in theater. A former passenger on the MS *St. Louis*, Moritz

Schoenberger, participated in a theatrical production and painted a number of pictures while in Les Milles.[3] Intellectuals wrote essays while at the camp.

The Les Milles' administration also oversaw groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs). Some, like the Aubagne (*Groupe Palestinien des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GPTE), GPTE No. 706, to which Joseph Brenig was assigned, were punitive. GPTE denoted a "Palestinian" group; in French police nomenclature "Palestinian" was a euphemism for Jew. At another GTE affiliated with Les Milles, Bivert (Bouches-du-Rhône Département), Harry Weiss worked in a coal mine where the lighting was so poor that he lost all sense of time.[4]

Although conditions may have been less harsh at Les Milles than at other French camps, the food situation was untenable. Even with assistance from many nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), corruption was rife. Maulavé himself was implicated in such activity.

In June 1942, the French authorities redesignated Les Milles as an assembly camp for Jews from southeastern France, in preparation for deportation to the East via the Drancy and Châlons-sur-Saône transit camps or directly to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Additional deportees arrived from the Gurs camp. The redesignation followed the June 16, 1942, pledge by René Bousquet, the Secretary General for Pierre Laval's government, to hand over 10,000 Jews from the Southern Zone to the German authorities. Regional police officer Maurice Anne Marie de Roddellec du Porzic, and his chief of cabinet, Robert-Stéphane Auzanneau, oversaw the conversion of the camp to its new purpose. A July 15, 1942, inspection report prepared by SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker, the chief of the Gestapo's Jewish Department in France, declared that there were 1,306 Jews at Les Milles, an increase of 102 from the roll call of July 31, 1941. Of this number, some 1,192 Jews were selected for deportation: 781 Germans, 290 Austrians, 92 Poles, 16 Czechoslovakians, and 13 Russians.[5]

The first transfers occurred between August 11 and 13, 1942, conducted by 170 police officers from the Mobile Reserve Groups (*Groupes Mobiles de Réserve*, GMR). The dissolution of the

Jewish GTEs began at this time.[6] According to historian Renée Poznanski, there were some 80 escape attempts during early August. Maulavé's arrest took place in this context, because he was opposed to the deportations and encouraged escapes. Many attempted suicides also took place around this time, including 10 on August 10 alone. Four more convoys departed on August 23 and September 2, 10, and 11, 1942. Included in the August 23 convoy, according to Grand Rabbi Israël Salzer of Marseille, were 123 men removed from GTEs. A total of 1,928 Jews were deported from Les Milles.

The Jewish chaplaincy under Grand Rabbi Salzer and other Jewish social service organizations attempted to ameliorate the Jews' plight.[7] The Jewish relief organizations were the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS); Hebrew Immigration/Jewish Colonisation Association/Emig-Direkt (HICEM); the Society for Handicrafts and Agricultural Work (*Obshchestvo remeslennogo i zemledel'cheskogo truda*, ORT); Children's Aid Society (*Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants*, OSE); and the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF). Assistance also came from the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and French Protestant Federation (*la Fédération protestante de France*). The latter's representative, Pastor Henri Manen, and his wife Alice rescued Jews from Les Milles. In 1986, Yad Vashem recognized them as Righteous Among the Nations. Guard August Boyer helped Marcel Neiger, his brother, and sister escape during the August 13 transfer.

An example of how social service organizations helped is provided by OSE's work with the Dreyfuss family. In letters to relatives in the United States from Les Milles, Wilhelm Dreyfuss urged support—material, moral, and official—be given to his family while his wife, Clara, and recently widowed mother were held in Rivesaltes. Reuniting with Clara and his mother would cost 1,000 francs, a prohibitive sum. Dreyfuss's children, Bertha and Rudi, were under OSE care. In July 1942, Dreyfuss performed forced labor with the GTE No. 167 at La Ciobat under the supervision of guards from Les Milles. OSE saved Rudi and Bertha, but Clara and Wilhelm died at Auschwitz.[8]

In September and October 1942, most of the remaining 217

detainees were dispatched to the Hôtel de Bompard and Hôtel le Terminus du Port camps in Marseille, from which they were sent to camps at Mees (Alpes-Maritimes Département) and La Roquebrussane (Var Département). At least eight detainees received assigned residences (*assignations à résidence*). Nevertheless, in reports for the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Oscar W. Deutsch recorded several successful escapes during this period.[9] On November 1, 1942, Les Milles closed. Historian André Fontaine estimates that some 10,000 prisoners passed through the camp between 1939 and 1942.

On December 4, 1942, the Wehrmacht converted Les Milles into a munitions cache. After the January 23, 1943, roundup of Jews in Marseille, the camp temporarily reopened to hold prisoners. On March 15, 1943, the German authorities deported the last 30 internees to Compiègne.

SOURCES The following secondary sources document the camp at Les Milles: André Fontaine, *Le Camp d'étrangers des Milles, 1939–1943: Un camp de concentration à Aix en Provence?* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud ed., Cahors, 1989); the anthology by Jacques Grandjonc and Theresa Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944: Exil et internement d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dans le sud-est de la France* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1990), particularly three articles by Fontaine on the history of Les Milles, the theater in the camp, and the murals; Doris Obschernitzki, *Letzte Hoffnung-Ausreise: Die Ziegelei von Les Milles 1939–1942 vom Lager für unerwünschte Ausländer zum Deportationszentrum* (Teetz: Verlag Hentrich & Hentrich, 2000); Donna F. Ryan, *The Holocaust & the Jews of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Policies in Vichy France* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), pp. 92–127, which is particularly strong on the role of NGOs at Les Milles and on Robert Maulavé; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000). For sources on art at Les Milles, see Bouches-du-Rhône, Conseil Général, Espace 13, *Des peintres au camp des Milles: september 1939–été 1941: Hans Bellmer, Max Ernst, Robert Liebknecht, Leo Marschütz, Ferdinand Springer, Wols* (Arles:

Actes sud, 1997). Some information on the care for children at Les Milles is in Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II*, trans. by Nathan Bracher (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press, published in association with USHMM, 2001).

Due to its role as an emigration camp, there is a wealth of primary documentation on Les Milles. At AN, signature F7 15094, is a report on Les Milles prepared by IGC André Jean-Faure on November 4, 1941. At ADH-P in the Commission of Jewish Work to Help Refugees (*Commission des camps des œuvres israélites d'assistance aux réfugiés*) collection, signature 6J15, is the concentration camp annual report for 1943, which includes Les Milles. In ADB-R are files 142W24–142W43 (Les Milles administrative records and detainee dossiers); 5W365; and 56W7 and 56W101 (Auzzaneau's and Roddellec du Porzic's trials). Files 142W24–142W43 are copied to USHMMA in RG-43.038M. At CDJC under signature XXVI-27 is a report, possibly dated June 11, 1942, on the camp; under signature CCXIII-115_001 is an August 24, 1942, report about visits made to hospitals and Les Milles (FSJF collection). At AAIU, under Fond Maurice Moch, file 24, is the activity report, 1940 to 1945, on the general chaplaincy for camps, including Les Milles. VHA holds 59 survivor testimonies that mention Les Milles, including Rudolph Adler (#44846), Joseph Brenig (#12005), and Harry Weiss (#48402). USHMMA holds a number of collections relating to this camp. Copied from AFSC are Records Relating to Humanitarian Work in France, 1933–1950 (RG-67.007), including a file mostly concerning humanitarian relief and daily reports on Les Milles. It appears in Series VIII, Marseilles Foreign Service, Box 57–62, Folder 17 of 100, Concentration Camps—Reports, 1942. The AFSC documentation is particularly strong for the months of August through October 1942. Hedy Epstein's unpublished memoirs (Acc. No. 1994.A.0117) recount her internment at Les Milles. The typewritten diary by Hans J. Steinitz (RG-04.072), "Das Buch von Gurs: Ein Weissbuch über das südfranzösische Interniertenlager Gurs," briefly mentions his time in Les Milles. The letters of Clara and Wilhelm Dreyfuss, 1940 to 1942, are found in RG-10.269. Among the photographs collected on Les Milles at USHMMPA, the Julie Klein collection is significant for

documenting the life of an artist, her father Moritz Schoenberger, while in the camp. One of his watercolors is in Acc. No. 1988.108.98, and photos from this collection are found under WS #78985, 78590–78591, 80313, and 80313–80314. Published primary sources are found in Henri Monneray, ed., *La persécution des juifs en France et dans les autres pays de l'Ouest: presentée par la France à Nuremberg; recueil de documents*, preface by René Cassin, introduction by Edgar Faure (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1947); and Grandjonc and Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944*. The latter includes a report on the deportations at Les Milles by Grand Rabbi Israël Salzer, written in 1942 and first published in *Q* 4–5 (February 15–March 1, 1947).

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-10.269, Clara and Wilhelm Dreyfuss letters, 1940–1942, Wilhelm Dreyfuss letter of November 27, 1941; VHA #44846, Rudolph Adler testimony, August 31, 1998.

2. Le Commissaire Divisionnaire Commandant le Camp des Milles (Laurens) to Monsieur le Directeur Général, Sûreté Nationale, 2e Bureau, reproduced in Grandjonc and Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944*, between pp. 257–258.

3. The murals, "Cortèges des prestataires en uniforme bleu horizon transportant des victuailles gigantesque" and "La banquêt des nations," are reproduced in Bouches-du-Rhône, Conseil Général, Espace 13, *Des peintres au camp des Milles*, pp. 78–79; WS #80314, Moritz Schoenberger in a production of *The Lady Singer* in Les Milles.

4. VHA #12005, Joseph Brenig testimony, February 13, 1996; VHA #48402, Harry Weiss testimony, November 22, 1998.

5. Dannecker report, July 20, 1942, reproduced in Monneray, ed., *La persécution des juifs en France et dans les autres*

pays de l'Ouest, pp. 158–159, 163.

6. Salzer, "Un rapport sur le camp des Milles," reproduced in Grandjonc and Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944*, p. 393.

7. Ibid., p. 397.

8. USHMMA, RG-10.269, Clara and Wilhelm Dreyfuss letters, 1940–1942, Wilhelm Dreyfuss, letters of November 27, 1941; March 25, 1942; July 26, 1942; ITS, 0.1 (CNI), cards for Wilhelm Dreyfuss (DOB November 25, 1898), Doc. No. 19438500; and Clara Dreyfuss (née Pollak) (DOB February 17, 1900), Doc. No. 3240260; "Remaining at Les Milles 19-8-42" (p. 3), in USHMMA, RG-67.007 (AFSC), Series VIII, Marseilles Foreign Service, box 57–62, folder 17 of 100, Concentration Camps—Reports, 1942.

9. For example, Oscar W. Deutsch to Mlle. Montagnon, October 24, 1942, in USHMMA, RG-67.007 (AFSC), Series VIII, Marseilles Foreign Service, box 57–62, folder 17 of 100, Concentration Camps—Reports, 1942.

LE VERNET D'ARIÈGE

Le Vernet d'Ariège is located in the Ariège Département, approximately 48 kilometers (more than 30 miles) southeast of Toulouse. In February 1939, the French Army reactivated the World War I army base and prisoner of war (POW) camp at Le Vernet for the internment of 26,000 troops of the 26th Catalonian Division, anarchist refugees from the Spanish Civil War. The mass influx required tents to be set up to supplement the 19 existing barracks. Overcrowding and poor rations prompted complaints by the French Left and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Shortly after war began in September 1939, most of the Catalonian internees were sent to foreign worker companies (*Companies de Travailleurs Étrangers*, CTEs) throughout France. The most famous internee from this period was Arthur Koestler, who published a testimony in exile that, in broad outline, described Le Vernet's tripartite structure that largely continued under Vichy: the camp consisted of three compounds (*îlots*), A, B, and C. Compound A held convicts, Compound B held political extremists, and Compound C held "suspects."[1]

From September 1939 until July 1940, the camp held refugees (*hébergés*) and, increasingly, interned foreigners deemed to be German sympathizers or political extremists. Among them were Belgian Rexists, notably Léon Degrelle and Gerard Libot, and members of the Flemish fascist movement, the Flemish National Union (*Vlaamsch Nationaal Verbond*, VNV), including Ward Hermans and Antoon Mermans. All of these internees became Nazi collaborators after their release by a Belgian commission on July 26, 1940.[2] Among those entering Le Vernet in this period were several hundred leftists, mostly Germans and Austrians, including Franz Dahlem, Hermann Langbein, Paul Merker, and Friedrich Wolf, as well as Albanian communist Mehmet Shehu. Most were International Brigade (Interbrigade) veterans of the Spanish Civil War.

On August 9 and 17, 1940, the Armistice French-German

Commission of Ernst Kundt visited Le Vernet to identify Germans and Austrians for repatriation to Nazi Germany. When the Austrians rejected characterization as Germans, a Wehrmacht officer declared them German nationals from the Ostmark, the Nazi term for Austria, and promised that they could join the German workforce after "three or four months in a reeducation camp."[3] According to Langbein, some of the Austrians considering repatriation were torn between family obligations and political hostility toward the Nazis. Most refused to return to the Reich.[4]

On November 1, 1940, the Vichy Interior Ministry took over Le Vernet from the French Army. The camp had a succession of directors, all former military, during its Third Republic and Vichy phases: Duin; Pratx (from the summer to the fall of 1940); Pinot (interim, from October or November 1940 to early 1941); Louis Royer (from the winter of 1941 to March 1943); and Jehan d'Armancourt (from March 1943 to the spring of 1944). The Vichy guards consisted of French civilian recruits. According to historian Kelsey Williams McNiff, the recruits joined the staff mostly for economic reasons and, later, to avoid Obligatory Labor Service (*Service du Travail Obligatoire*, STO). The guard force was chronically understaffed and, as was the case in other French camps, poorly armed.

French police guard the entrance to Le Vernet penal camp, 1940.

USHMM WS #22146, COURTESY OF SERGE KLARSFELD (BEATE KLARSFELD FOUNDATION).

The Vichy Interior Ministry designated Le Vernet as a men's penal camp and intended it to be the harshest such camp. In this regard, the compound structure carried over from the late Third Republic served its needs. Compound B inmates were subjected to the strictest discipline and surveillance and generally were not granted the privilege of working. The increasing need for forced labor led to the addition of a fourth compound, designated "T" (*tirailleur* or worker).

The camp's population steadily decreased in wartime. In February 1941, there were 3,200 detainees, but only 1,900 in February 1942. In February 1943, the camp population declined to 1,195 and was only 697 in February 1944. Between 1940 and 1944, there were 156 deaths recorded at Le Vernet. The camp held a wide variety of nationalities: Americans, Austrians, Belgians, Chinese, Czechoslovaks, Ethiopians, Finns, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, Luxembourgers, Poles, Portuguese, Romanians, Russians, Spanish, Swiss, Turks, Ukrainians, and Yugoslavs.[5]

On February 24, 1941, Compound C staged a revolt when Le Vernet administrators attempted to transfer two detainees. Another visit by German commissioners days before and poor rations also helped precipitate the uprising. Protests, including hunger strikes, broke out, and compound B joined the fray. As Langbein recalled, "'Hunger!'—it was shouted in every language. Hundreds pushed to the exit, standing in front of the gate. And the cry was taken up by our comrades in other compounds."[6] On February 25, the administration arrested 102 prisoners in Compounds B and C, some of whom faced criminal charges as instigators.[7]

In 1941 and 1942, the camp intensified the suppression of leftists. Such measures included the deportation of 748 detainees to North Africa, where some worked on the trans-Saharan railway. In successive waves, Austrian and German leftists were deported to the Reich, especially those perceived as troublemakers, such as Dahlem. Many were sent via Castres prison, 70 kilometers (almost 44 miles) northeast of Le Vernet. Of the 171 Austrians held in Le Vernet, 50 (29%) were forcibly sent to the Reich. Langbein's

repatriation came on April 23, 1941, when he was transferred to the Dachau concentration camp.[8] The administration also pitted the anarchists and other noncommunists against the communists in the competition for privileges. The administration's anti-communist battle spilled over into its relations with the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). Royer accused the AFSC of trying to assist 21 communists, some of whom had already been transferred elsewhere or had escaped, and of having a "political goal."[9] In response, Howard E. Kershner of the Marseille office vigorously denied that AFSC's purpose was anything other than "to relieve suffering."[10]

Although never constituting a majority, there were some Jews in every compound. In August/September 1942 and May 1944, Compounds C and T served as a transit camp for Jews rounded up in Ariège and neighboring areas for deportation via Drancy. In August/September 1942, 465 Jews were dispatched in two transports, and in May 1944, the number was 220. Some Jews remained in the camp on a permanent basis. They received succor from Rabbi René Kapel on behalf of the Committee on Assistance to Refugees (*Comité d'assistance aux Réfugiés*, CAR) and the chief rabbinate of France. Kapel incurred Royer's wrath for complaining that Jews were singled out for especially harsh treatment. Royer banned him from the camp in August 1942 at the start of the deportations.[11] Rabbi Georges Vadnaï recalled that, during two stints of imprisonment at Le Vernet, he was able to play chess, read, and chat. While being transferred to Gurs, as part of, in d'Armancourt's words, a "convoy of Jews," Vadnaï jumped off a deportation train. Following recapture, he was returned to Gurs and then Le Vernet, where he subsequently fell ill with typhoid fever. D'Armancourt agreed to his three-month hospitalization at Lyon.[12]

After the occupation of the Southern Zone in November 1942, German interference at Le Vernet intensified. Despite repeated complaints by d'Armancourt, the German authorities not only staged surprise inspections but, in December 1943, also stripped Le Vernet's guard staff of all firearms, except revolvers.[13] D'Armancourt's protests against German highhandedness led to his transfer to the French Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (*Inspection Générale des Camps*, IGC) in the spring of 1944.

On June 15, 1944, a German territorial guard unit, Landesschützbataillon 726, took over Le Vernet. The German authorities removed more than 400 prisoners who were part of the "ghost train" (*train phantôme* or *Geisterzug*).[14] Most were sent to Dachau. After the Liberation on August 23, 1944, Le Vernet became a POW camp for German captives, including members of Landesschützbataillon 726.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Le Vernet d'Ariège are Kelsey Williams McNiff, "The French Internment Camp Le Vernet d'Ariège: Local Administration, Collaboration, and Public Opinion in Vichy France" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Prince ton University, 2004); Claude Delpla, *Le Camp du Vernet d'Ariège, 1939–1944* (n.p.: N.P., 1990); Sibylle Hinze, *Antifaschisten im Camp Le Vernet: Abriss der Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Le Vernet 1939 bis 1944* (Berlin (East): Militärverlag der DDR, 1988); and Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement, 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002). On the "ghost train," see Jürg Altwegg, *Geisterzug in den Tod: Ein unbekanntes Kapitel der deutsch-französischen Geschichte 1944* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag GmbH, 2001).

Primary sources on the camp at Le Vernet can be found in ADA, especially collections 5W129-130, 5W148, 5W380, and 5W374. Some of this documentation is available at USHMMA in microform under RG-43.052M. Other useful documentation can be found in AN, F7 15094. On Jewish detainees, see CDJC, folders XXXVII-134; CCXIX-152; and, copied to USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0101, Camp du Vernet: Fiches individuelles des internés. The AFSC collection, digitally copied to USHMMA as RG-67.007, has some documentation related to Le Vernet, especially Records relating to Humanitarian Work in France, 1933–1950, Series VIII Marseille Office, Sub-series: Correspondence. Additional documentation on Le Vernet can be found in ITS, 1.1.47.1 (VCC), available digitally at USHMMA, relating to Jewish detainees and Austrians dispatched to the Reich. VHA holds six testimonies by former prisoners of Le Vernet, including Georges Vadnaï (#41555). Le Vernet has generated a

wealth of memoirs by former prisoners and aid workers, which encompass a wide range of political and religious beliefs and cover different phases of the camp's history: Bruno Frei, *Die Männer von Vernet: Ein Tatsachenbericht*, foreword by Lion Feuchtwanger (Berlin (East): Deutsche Militärverlag, 1961); Ward Hermans, *Le Vernet d'Ariège: Van het belgisch Parlement naar het fransch concentratiekamp*, illustrated by Leo Campion (Turnhout: Uitgeverij "De Klok," 1940); Ljubomir Ilić, "Interbrigadiste dans les camps Français," in Karel Bartosek, Rene Gallissot, and Denis Peschanski, eds., *De l'exil à la Résistance: Réfugiés et immigrés d'Eu rope centrale en France 1933–1945* (Paris: Arcantere, 1989), pp. 131–142; René S. Kapel, *Un rabbin dans la tourmente (1940–1944): Dans les camps d'internement et au sein de l'Organisation Juive de Combat*, preface by Georges Wellers (Paris: Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, 1986); Arthur Koestler, *Scum of the Earth* (New York: Macmillan, 1941); Hermann Langbein, *Die Stärkeren: Ein Bericht aus Auschwitz und anderen Konzentrations-lager*, 2nd rev. ed. (Cologne: Bund Verlag, 1982), pp. 44–54; Antoon Mermans, *De parachutisten van Orleans* (Antwerp; Brussels: N.V. uitgerevij "De Scheldel," Boekhandel "Volk en staat," 1941); Francesco Fausto Nitti, *Chevaux 8—Hommes 70: Le train fantôme 3 juillet 1944* (1945; Perpignan: Éditions Mare nostrum, 2004); Georges Vadnaï, *Jamais la lumière ne s'est éteinte: Un destin juif dans les ténèbres du siècle*, preface by Jacqueline Tanner (Lausanne: Age d'homme, 1999); and Friedrich Wolf, *Concentration Camp Vernet: Two Stories*, trans. M. S. Korr (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, 1942).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Koestler, *Scum of the Earth*, pp. 96–98.
2. Hermans, *Le Vernet d'Ariège*, pp. 11, 49, 51–52.
3. Quotation in Langbein, *Die Stärkeren*, p. 47.
4. Ibid., pp. 47–48.

5. ITS, 1.1.47.1, Ord. 9, "Listen von Verstorbenen in den Lagern Vernet, Noé, und Brens," June 23, 1946, Doc. No. 5159379–5159381.

6. Quotation in Langbein, *Die Stärkeren*, p. 52.

7. On the revolt and number of arrests, ADA 5W374, cited in McNiff, "The French Internment Camp Le Vernet d'Ariège," pp. 125–126.

8. ITS, 1.1.47.1, Ord. 73, "Namentliche Liste von österreichischen bzw. ehemaligen österreichichen Staatsangehörigen, welche in den Jahren 1939–1943 im Lager Vernet inhaftiert waren (postwar)," Doc. No. 5166101–5166111 (Langbein on 5166106).

9. Typewritten copy of letter HR/GA, Chef du Camp, Camp du Vernet d'Ariège, Direction Générale de la Police Nationale, and Préfet, IGC, February 4, 1942, marked secret, RG-67.007 (AFSC), Series VIII Marseille, Sub-series: Correspondence, box 54 of 84, folder 49 of 95, pp. 24–25 (RG-67.007/VIII/54/49, with page).

10. Unsigned draft letter (English) for Howard E. Kershner, Director of Aid, AFSC Marseille, to Préfet, IGC, February 16, 1942, RG-67.007/VIII/54/49, pp. 32–33; file copy of French translation, Kershner to IGC, February 17, 1942, in the same collection, pp. 34–35.

11. Kapel, "Rapport sur le Camp du Vernet," August 1941, CDJC, XXXVII-134, cited in McNiff, "The French Internment Camp Le Vernet d'Ariège," p. 116; Kapel, *Un rabbin dans la tourmente*, pp. 61, 69.

12. VHA #41555, Georges Vadnaï testimony, March 10, 1998; d'Armancourt quotation, Vadnaï dossier, ITS, 1.1.9.1, Ord. 68, "Verschiedene Verzeichnisse von in Frankreich lebenden und später deportierten Juden," Doc. No. 11185217.

13. Chef du Vernet to M. le Préfet, IGC, M. le Secrétaire Général de la Police, and M. le Préfet d'Ariège, December 24, 1943, AN F7 15089, cited in McNiff, "The French Internment Camp Le Vernet d'Ariège," p. 184.

14. Nitti, *Chevaux 8—Hommes 70*, pp. 27–29.

LORIOL

The Loriol internment camp was located between the cities of Valence and Montélimar in the Drôme Département in the Rhône-Alpes region, 168 kilometers (104 miles) north of Marseille. Its site, south of the town of Loriol, was a Serre chemical factory that had been built in 1936 and that later became a Rhône-Poulenc factory.

Between September 1939 and June 1940, this site held a total of 300 foreign internees from enemy countries. Among them was the artist Max Ernst. From the start, the site was enclosed with barbed wire. Nearly 40 armed reservists guarded it, under the authority of Regional Prefect Alexander Angeli. In theory, a roll call took place every morning and night. Tasks were given according to local needs: helping farmers, working in quarries, cutting down trees and sawing them into boards, and clearing away snow from roads and railroads. Living conditions were harsh (two people generally shared a straw mattress on a wooden bunk bed). Winters were especially severe, and the buildings were poorly insulated. Writing found on the building's walls indicates temperatures as low as –10° C (14° F) and icy winds. As the Germans approached, the original internment camp was evacuated and relocated to the Cheylard camp in the Ardèche Département.

On August 20, 1940, the French authorities resumed Loriol's use as an internment camp, but this time for "undesirable" foreigners. Germans, Austrians, Spaniards, and Italians were held in the camp. Many were either political leaders, journalists, or intellectuals close to the German anti-Nazi parties. Members of the Franco-German Kundt Commission pointed out the German Social Democrats and communists when they inspected the camp on August 28, 1940. Kurt Baldauf and Harry Balke were among them. Because of the strong political ties of the internees, the camp required very strict surveillance. As a direct consequence, mail underwent censorship during both periods of the camp's operation.

From January 14, 1941, until its closure on March 5, 1941,

Loriol held French trade unionists, communist activists, anarchists, and even pacifists. During that period of operation, 200 people were interned in the camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Loriol camp are Jean Sauvageon, Robert Serre, Vincent Giraudier, and Hervé Mauran, *Des indésirables: les camps d'internement et de travail dans l'Ardèche et la Drôme durant la seconde guerre mondiale*, preface by Denis Peschanski (Valence: Peuple Libre/ Notre Temps, 1999); Robert Serre, *De la Drôme aux camps de la mort, les dé-portés politiques, résistants, otages, nés, résidants ou arrêtés dans la Drôme* (Valence: Peuple Libre/ Notre Temps, 2006); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources on the Loriol camp are available in ADDr in André-Vincent Beaume's collection, 132 J 17.

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LOUVIERS

The Louviers camp was located in the Haute-Normandie region in the Eure Département, 95 kilometers (59 miles) northwest of Paris. At the time, the mayor of Louviers was the future prime minister, Pierre Mendès-France.

On November 17, 1940, the prefecture ordered the gathering of the Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) in this region. Louviers was chosen as a temporary camp. The camp site was a small quarry called le Plumet.

Approximately 60 Roma lived in their own caravans on site. Although the camp was not enclosed, living conditions were dangerous, which forced the prefect of Eure, René Bouffet, to look for another solution. On May 7, 1941, all the internees were transferred to the Jargeau camp in the Loiret Département.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Louviers camp are Emmanuel Filhol, *La mémoire et l'oubli. L'internement des Tsiganes en France, 1940–1946,* (Paris: Centre de recherches tsiganes; Harmattan, 2004); Denis Peschanski, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946* (Paris: CNRS ed., 2010); and Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

A primary source concerning the camp at Louviers is the testimony of Denise Weiss, a Roma woman who was interned in Louviers, as presented in Raphaël Pillosio's documentary film, *Des Français sans Histoire* (L'Atelier documentaire/Le Mans Télévision, 2009, 84 min).

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MALAVIEILLE

In Marvejols in the Lozère Département, the farms known as "Malavieille" were used as an internment camp for a short period of time between August 6 and August 21, 1940. The camp was located some 179 kilometers (111 miles) northeast of Toulouse in the Languedoc-Roussillon region. Sixty-two Germans, Austrians, and a few stateless people, both Jewish and non-Jewish, were interned in this camp before being handed over to the German authorities or transferred to the Saint-Cyprien camp (Pyrénées-Orientales Département). The Franco-German Kundt Commission purportedly visited the camp when it opened on August 6.[1]

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the camp at Malavieille are Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); and Christian Eggers, "Le périple de la mission Kundt: Les camps du midi de la France d'après le journal de voyage de Jubitz (juillet-août 1940)," in Jacques Grandjonc and Theresia Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944: Exil et internement d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dans le sud-est de la France* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1990), pp. 213–226.

Primary sources on the camp at Malavieille can be found in AD-Lo, 1735W1-5, and PAAA (Akten der Kundt-Kommission).

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NOTE

1. Bericht von Oberstleutnant von Studnitz, September 18, 1940, Akten der Kundt-Kommission, PAAA, R XII, Zu Kult E/Nf., vol. 67, cited in Eggers, "Le périple de la mission Kundt," p. 219.

MARSEILLE/HÔTEL DE BOMPARD

The Hôtel de Bompard was located in Marseille (Bouches-duRhône Département), which is 661 kilometers (410 miles) southeast of Paris. Along with the Hôtels Levant, Atlantique, and le Terminus du Port, it was converted to house foreign detainees after the war began. Of the four hotels, Bompard and Levant became detention centers primarily for Jewish women and children. Bompard housed evacuees forced out of Belgium, Germany, and Austria between the spring and fall of 1940. The center also took in a small number of Spanish, Czech, and Polish women. Many of the women detained in Bompard had husbands who were being held in the largest camp in the department, Les Milles. From its opening, Bompard was run by the camp administration of Les Milles, located 30 kilometers (19 miles) north of Marseille.

Bompard began as a reception center, but in November 1940 when Les Milles became a transit camp for detainees slated for deportation, Bompard's status changed with it. From then on, Les Milles and its associated camps were the only emigration camp complex in Vichy France. That was because, as a major port, Marseille had a significant consular presence, and it was also the seat of the prefecture of Bouches-du-Rhône, upon which arrangements for ship passage strictly depended. The destination of detainees being sent out of Bompard varied, depending on their standing in the emigration application process. For example, married women at Bompard could not leave the camp until their husbands were cleared to leave Les Milles. Camp records indicate that those who were not deported to a specific destination were re united for "deportation to an unknown destination."[1]

The Hôtel de Bompard contained 25 rooms in a two-story building that could hold up to 250 people. A number of the unmarried women who were detained there were brought in for suspected prostitution instead of being sent to a municipal jail. By law their internment was not to exceed 48 hours, but many of the

women were kept well beyond that limit. The defined age limits for camps were not followed at Bompard. On any given day, between 10 and 30 children were among the detainees. They received education from a teacher who was one of the adult inmates. The roundups in Marseille that took place in May 1941 nearly tripled the population at Bompard, bringing it from 64 to 180. By the time the camp closed, the population was at its full capacity of 250.

As with Les Milles, discipline in Bompard and the other three hotels was less strict than in many camps, and detainees were typically free to leave the hotels during the day. However, conditions were anything but comfortable for the women and children who were living at Bompard. Food, clothing, lighting, heat, and bedding were insufficient. A lack of hot water made for poor hygiene. To make matters worse, the hotel owner's son embezzled money from the camp's daily governmental allotment. In addition, he profited from inflated food prices at the adjacent canteen and also used inmates' ration cards for his own benefit.

Jewish refugee children in the internment center at the Hôtel de Bompard in Marseille, receiving food from relief worker Margot Stein, July 1942. USHMM WS #17802, COURTESY OF JULIA PIROTTE.

Bompard closed in August 1942. The hotel's 250 detainees were deported to Auschwitz by way of Les Milles and Drancy.

SOURCES Secondary sources typically treat the Hôtel de Bompard in association with the camp at Les Milles. Helpful works in this vein include André Fontaine, *Le Camp d'étrangers des Milles, 1939–1943: Un camp de concentration à Aix en Provence?* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud ed., Cahors, 1989); and Jacques Grandjonc and Theresa Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres, 1933–1944: Exil et internement d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dans le sud-est de la France* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1990). Other scholars provide a brief treatment of Bompard, such as Donna F. Ryan, *The Holocaust & the Jews of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Policies in Vichy France* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

Primary documentation on the hospital can be found in ADB-R under classification 7W and 147W (Board of Health). A portion of this material is held in microfilm at USHMMA under RG-43.038M. USHMMA also holds documentation from the American Friends Service Committee relating to Bompard under RG-67.007M, including a list of names of detainees in September 1942 (Series VIII, box 57, folder 17). Other collections of personal papers held by USHMMA mention detention in Bompard, such as the Lakhovitzky family collection held under 2012.416.1. VHA holds 10 survivor testimonies that discuss Bompard.

Abby Holekamp

NOTE

1. Quotation from Ryan, *The Holocaust & the Jews of Marseille*, p. 93.

MARSEILLE/HÔTEL LE TERMINUS DE PORT

In Marseille, which is 661 kilometers (410 miles) southeast of Paris, the Hôtel le Terminus de Port was used as an annex for the camp of Les Milles near Aix-en-Provence in the Bouchesdu-Rhône Département between September 1939 and the end of 1942. While male foreign Jews were sent to the Les Milles camp, women and children were sent to live in various hotels of the port district. Located in the new part of the harbor on the Boulevard of the Dames, the Hôtel le Terminus de Port had enough space to accommodate between 250 and 300 beds.

From June 1940 onward, the French Children's Aid Society (*Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants*, OSE) advocated on behalf of the detainees at the hotel through one of its assistants, Ni-cole Weil Salon, who helped women at the hotel leave the hotel, so that they could work. The Franco-German commission of Ernst Kundt visited the site on August 2, 1941.[1]

In 1942, historian Christian Oppetit estimates that there were 145 Jewish women and children, including 115 of German origin, living in the hotel. In May 1942, administrative documents noted that there were 90 adults and 13 children in this inexplicably named "embarkation camp" (*camp d'embarquement*).[2]

The Hôtel le Terminus dé Port in Marseille, 1941. USHMM WS #07621, COURTESY OF THE ETABLISSEMENT DE COMMUNICATION ET DE PRODUCTION AUDIOVISUELLE DE LA DEFENSE.

Under police supervision, the detainees were permitted freedom of movement around the city. There was even a provision for absence from the premises at night, which required written permission. As one detainee, Miriam Gerber, recalled, the hotel's provisions were poor and inadequate.[3] Historian Donna Ryan described the site, which with some 90 refugees was not overcrowded, as ramshackle.

With the help of Dr. S. M. Weill-Raynal, at least four children from 6 to 12 years old managed to escape the Hôtel le Terminus de Port and join a colony under the authority of Christian Friendship

(*Amitié Chrétien*). They thus escaped the convoys that transferred deportees from Les Milles to Drancy in August and September 1942.[4]

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the camp of Marseille, Hôtel le Terminus de Port, are Renée Dray-Bensousan, *Les Juifs à Marseille pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres Éditions, 2004); Donna F. Ryan, *The Holocaust & the Jews of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Policies in Vichy France* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996); André Fontaine, *Un camp de concentration en France: Le camp d'étrangers des Milles: Aix-en-Provence, 1939–1945* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1989); Jacques Grandjonc and Theresia Grundtner eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944: Exil et internement d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dans le sud-est de la France* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1990), in particular André Fontaine, "L'internement au camp des Milles et dans ses annexes (septembre 1939–mars 1943)," pp. 227–268, and Christian Eggers, "Le périple de la mission Kundt: Les camps du midi de la France d'après le Journal de voyage de Jubitz (juillet–août 1940)," pp. 213–226; Christian Oppetit, ed., *Marseille, Vichy et les nazis: Le temps des rafles. La déportation des Juifs* (Marseille: Amicale des déportés d'Auschwitz et des camps de HauteSilésie, 1993); Serge Klarsfeld, *Le transfert des Juifs de la région de Marseille vers les camps de Drancy ou de Compiègne en vue de leur déportation. 11 août 1942–24 juillet 1944* (Paris: FFDJF, 1992); Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75; and Renée Dray-Bensousan, "Nicole Salon née Weil, assistante sociale et résistante," *Aju* 31: 2 (1998): 122–124.

Primary sources on the camp at Marseille, Hôtel le Terminus de Port, can be found in ADB-R, collections 2Y787-789 (the prisons for exceptional political detainees); 76W1-8 (prefect's cabinet/office); 7W112 (Terminus des Ports emigration center); and 142W (camps at Les Milles, Saliers, which mentions detainees' origins).

Additional documentation can be found in CDJC, collection FSJF CDJC-CCXIX-69a_001 (statistics from May 1942 regarding the population of internment camps in France). USHMMA holds a collection of sketches by Lili Andrieux (Acc. No. 1988.1), which represent Marseille, Hôtel le Terminus de Port, among other camps. VHA holds one interview with a survivor of Hôtel le Terminus de Port, Jules Wallerstein (#15926). A published testimony is Miriam Gerber, *The Life of Miriam* (n.p.: Xlibris Corp., 2010).

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NOTES

1. Bericht von Oberstleutnant von Studnitz, September 18, 1940, Akten der Kundt-Kommission, PAAA, R XII, Zu Kult E/Nf., vol. 67, cited in Eggers, "Le périple de la mission Kundt," p. 218.

2. CDJC, collection FSJF CDJC–CCXIX-69a_001.

3. Gerber, *The Life of Miriam*, pp. 55–56.

4. Weill-Raynal's letter to the prefect, June 12, 1942, ADB-R, 76W111, quoted by Dray-Bensousan, *Les Juifs à Marseille pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, p. 168.

MARSEILLE/LE BRÉBANT

As early as September 1939, the performance hall, "Le Brébant," which was located on Chartreux Avenue in Marseille, was converted into a screening center for foreigners (*centre de criblage pour les étrangers*). Marseille is 661 kilometers (410 miles) southeast of Paris. After the Fall of France in June 1940, Le Brébant became a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS), which held communists, foreigners, and common-law prisoners. Historian Donna Ryan characterizes the site as a prison.

Before the German occupation of the Southern Zone in November 1942, Le Brébant, in the Bouches-du-Rhône Département, also functioned in part as an emigration center. In December 1940, German left-wing publisher Alfred Kantorowicz, a Jew, was released from Le Brébant in preparation for immigration to the United States via Haiti. He received sponsorship through the American Committee of Assistance (*Comité americain de Secours*, CAS), which was affiliated with the American rescuer, Varian Fry.[1]

The Brébant camp appeared on the list of various internment camps in France and North Africa at the end of 1941.[2] In his testimony, Albert Reich mentioned his arrest in August 1942 and transfer to the "sorting camp" (*camp de triage*) at Le Brébant, before being sent to the Rivesaltes camp.[3] Le Brébant remained operational until Marseille was liberated by American forces on August 28, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the camp at Marseille Le Brébant are Renée Dray-Bensousan, *Les Juifs à Marseille pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres Ed., 2004); André Fontaine, *Le camp d'étrangers des Milles: 1939–1943: Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1989); Jacques Grandjonc and Theresia Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres*

1933–1944: Exil et internement d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dans le sud-est de la France (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1990); Christian Oppetit, ed., *Marseille, Vichy et les nazis: Le temps des rafles. La déportation des Juifs* (Marseille: Amicale des déportés d'Auschwitz et des camps de Haute-Silésie, 1993); Donna E. Ryan, *The Holocaust & the Jews of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Policies in Vichy France* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996); and Serge Klarsfeld, *Les transferts de Juifs de la région de Marseille vers les camps de Drancy ou de Compiègne en vue de leur déportation, 11 août 1942–24 juillet 1944* (Paris: FFDJF, 1992).

Primary sources on the camp at Marseille Le Brébant can be found in ADB-R in collections 2Y787-789 (regarding special political prisons); 142W (Les Milles, Saliers camps, with camps of origin); and 142W103-107 (regarding detainees held between 1941 and 1944 at Marseille-Brébant). Files 142W24 to 142W43 are copied to USHMMA in RG-43.038M. At CDJC, two relevant collections are FSJF CDJC-CCXV-40 (list of various camps in France and North Africa from the end of 1941); and FSJF CDJC-CCXVIII-23_021 (Albert Reich's testimony given to Léon Poliakov on June 22, 1945). A published testimony is Alfred Kantorowicz, *Exil in Frankreich: Merkwürdigkeiten und Denkwürdigkeiten* (Hamburg: Christians, 1983).

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NOTES

1. Kantorowicz, *Exil in Frankreich*, pp. 196, 203.
2. CDJC collection FSJF CDJC-CCXV-40.
3. Reich testimony, June 22, 1945, CDJC collection FSJF CDJC-CCXVIII-23_021.

MASSEUBE

The Masseube camp was located in the Gers Département in southwestern France, approximately 72.3 kilometers (44.9 miles) southwest of Toulouse. It was built in the spring of 1940 to hold French refugees coming from the northern and eastern part of France. In all, the Gers Département probably received about 23,000 exiles, mostly from the Alsace-Lorraine region.

From the June 1940 Armistice until February 1941, the camp was gradually emptied until it resumed its activities in March 1943. At that time, according to the Masseube city archives, approximately 20 detainees—Spaniards and Jews from the Récébédou camp in the Haute-Garonne Département—prepared the camp for the arrival of 250 internees from the Nexon camp in the Haute-Vienne Département; in addition a few dozen interns from Gurs in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques Département were detained in Masseube between June and September 1943. German Jews from Baden, Palatinate, and the Saarland who had been expelled from the Reich to the southwestern French camps as early as October 22, 1940, made up 94 percent of the camp population. These male and female detainees were all over 60 years old, which gave Masseube the nickname "old men's camp." Most of them remained in the camp until 1945. However, 85 internees were redirected to other camps during the summer of 1943, and 58 were arrested in 1944 and deported to Auschwitz via Drancy. Between 1943 and 1945, there were 364 internees and 26 deaths (12 from March to May 1943) in Masseube.

According to archives and maps dated from March 19 to July 1, 1943, the camp consisted of 16 wooden barracks that were well built and had tiled roofs. It was located along a main artery. There were two entrances, one in the north and the other in the east. One building served as a staff room and another as the hospital, which had 22 beds. Another building had a foyer with a reading room. Various activities were offered in the reading room, such as social services meetings conducted by the Committee to Coordinate

Activities for the Displaced (*Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprés des Évacués*, CIMADE), Quakers, Secours Suisse, and Secours National. Yet another building was reserved for the major and head nurse, and the last two barracks were designated for the storage of equipment and stock.

The camp was under the local prefecture's authority. It was managed by regional prefect Léopold Chénaux de Leyritz and Michel Cacaud, the Gers prefect until August 1942. André Aulanier was in charge of Masseube from its opening until April 8, 1943. Aulanier came from the Gurs camp, where he had been temporarily in charge before the arrival of Colonel Louis Royer. On May 1, 1943, Aulanier was succeeded by police officer Paul Périnat. Approximately 21 to 26 officers from the Garde Civil and the French gendarmerie were in charge of surveillance. Suzanne Galerne was the head nurse.

During the night of January 20, 1944, two Allied planes strafed the camp, seriously injuring five female internees.

It is important to note that the towns of Gers and Masseube were liberated in July 1944, but the camp itself was not "freed" at that time. Living conditions improved, but it took several campaigns of questioning and protesting before the authorities decided to handle the case of the Jews at the Masseube camp. The organizations that made the protests were the Jewish Committee for Community Care and Reconstruction (*Comité Juif d'Action Sociale et de Reconstruction*, COJASOR) and the National Movement against Racism (*Mouvement National contre le Racisme*, MNCR).

As of November 1945—five months after the cessation of hostilities in Europe—there were still 90 Jews living in the Masseube camp. They were all released and directed to Lacaune in the Tarn Département, where they received medical attention.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the camp at Masseube are Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1,

2000). Emmanuel de Luget has posted online his research on the Masseube camp at http://e.de-luget.pagesperso-orange.fr/.

Primary sources on the camp at Masseube can be found in ADGe under signatures R 1059 and in 1W591–W617. Survivor Wilhelm Byk's testimony on Masseube may be found in CDJC, CCXVI-47—FSJF collection. Additional testimonies by survivors Roger Misrahi and Gabriel Saint-Mézard may be found at de Luget's website.

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MÉRIGNAC

Mérignac is a small town in the Gironde Département in southwestern France, 5.2 kilometers (3.2 miles) west of Bordeaux. A former laundry was located in the district of Beau-Désert, near Fort du Hâ, where the Germans ran a prison. In 1939, the French prefectural authorities decided to repurpose the laundry as a camp for Spanish refugees. In 1940, it became a confinement center (*camp de séjour surveillé*). Shortly after the Fall of France, the German authorities briefly used the former laundry as a prison. Starting on November 17, 1940, in accordance with an order from the Bordeaux Feldkommandantur, the prefect of Gironde, François-Pierre Alype, arranged for the internment of between 297 and 321 Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) in the Mérignac camp. All of the internees came from coastal departments; half were children.

At that time, the camp only comprised a wooden barrack and a barbed-wire fence. In February 1943, an electrified fence was added, but was never used. The Roma lived in their own caravans and were in charge of building additional barracks. By the end of December 1940, they had built a total of 20 barracks.

René Rousseau managed the Mérignac camp. The French gendarmerie was in charge of surveillance. According to a February 26, 1943, report, 16 civil guards (*gardes civils*) were appointed to assist the 5 police sergeants.[1] An escape by two inmates on April 21, 1941, prompted the French authorities to restrict the movement of internees. In response, the detainees initiated a hunger strike.

Beginning on December 10, 1940, the police redirected the Roma internees to the Poitiers camp, called La Route de Limoges. Soon thereafter, political detainees from the Bordeaux region replaced them: 148 communists arrested and held in a commandeered building in Bordeaux were transferred to Mérignac in March 1941. From then on, the camp was divided into two

zones of “undesirables”: one for the French and the other for foreigners.

Beginning in April 1941, foreign Jews as well as prostitutes were held in Mérignac. In June 1941, 40 French members of the Resistance were arrested following the sabotage of a voltage transformer in Pessac and were first held in Fort du Hâ prison before being sent to the camp adjacent to Beau-Désert. In May 1942, 173 people were interned for “economic” reasons; that is, mainly for black marketeering.

On several occasions, the German authorities selected detainees to be shot in retaliation for anti-German actions. On October 24, 1941, 50 hostages were killed in the Souge military camp in response to an attack that had occurred three days earlier. Thirty-five of these victims came from the Mérignac camp. In September 1942, an additional 70 Mérignac internees were killed as “hostages” in Souge.

The number of internees at Mérignac continued to fluctuate until November 1943, when the camp held 560 detainees. By April 1944, there were 224 prisoners.

Jews in the region were rounded up, arrested, and temporarily held in Mérignac, and later transferred to the Drancy camp via the Bordeaux train station. On July 18, 1942, the first convoy left with 171 Jews, 38 of whom were French. On August 26, 1942, the second convoy had 444 Jews (including 140 French and 57 children). On October 19, 1942, the third convoy deported 73 people. Between February and June 1943, 107 Jews held in Mérignac were deported. In November 1943, there were only 70 to 85 Jews left in the camp. In December 1943, there were none. Meanwhile, the deportations continued in the department until June 1944, as facilitated by the prefect of Gironde, Maurice Papon (appointed in June 1942).

Among the Jewish prisoners who passed through Mérignac was Fernand Bybelezer. Bybelezer was first held by the German authorities at Fort du Hâ where he subsisted on watery soup and bread. He was later dispatched to Mérignac. He recalled that Jews in the camp were segregated from other prisoners, but could receive mail and were permitted to work. He exchanged wood that he chopped for food. He subsequently escaped near Orléans from a

transport bound for Drancy.[2]

On August 26, 1944, with the German abandonment of Bordeaux, the Forces of the French Interior (*Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur*, FFI) freed the remaining detainees at Mérignac and at the neighboring German prison at Fort du Hâ and replaced them with collaborators awaiting trial.

SOURCES The camp at Mérignac is discussed in Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sudouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); Peter Gaida, "Camps de travail sous Vichy: Les 'Groupes de travailleurs étrangers' (GTE) en France et en Afrique du Nord Française pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Bremen University and University of Paris 1, 2008), pp. 1–13; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources on the Mérignac camp begin with AN F7 15099 (Report from l'Inspecteur général des camps, André Jean-Faure, on the Mérignac camp, February 18, 1942); ADG 61W6; ADG files A8, A33, and A43; CDJC/ADG (photographs of the Mérignac camp, files MII_1058–1070 or MII_65–80); and CDJC, signature CCXXXVI-72 (letter from the camp director listing Jews deported to Drancy between July 1942 and November 1943). Unpublished survivor testimonies on the Mérignac camp may be found in VHF: Jacques Graubart (#49095), Charles Strassberg (#12576), Felix Dratwa (#8762), Fernand Bybelezer (#44268), Ida Bar (#18740), Jean Weill (#29599), and Salomon Goutmann (#5032). As part of his Ph.D. research, Gaida interviewed former communist prisoner Georges Durou.

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NOTES

1. ADG A43.

2. VHF #44268, Fernand Bybelezer testimony, May 19, 1998.

MIRAMAS

Miramas is located in the Bouches-du-Rhône Département, about 43.5 kilometers (27 miles) northwest of Marseille between Arles and Aix-en-Provence. Since it was connected to the southern French railroad network, Miramas was selected as a collection point for foreigners and Spanish refugees in 1939. Beginning on September 27, 1940, in accordance with a Vichy law on foreign workers, two groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs) were created and quartered in the Miramas camp. Most were foreign Jews removed from the internment camp at Les Milles, which was located in the same department. The other workers came after being arrested in a series of roundups conducted in southern France after August 1942. Between 1940 and 1944, the Miramas camp also accommodated Indochinese forced laborers assigned to the Saint-Chamas gunpowder factory about 5.8 kilometers (3.6 miles) southeast of the city.

The camp at Miramas was located in the countryside, about 1.6 kilometers (a mile) outside the city. To increase the daily food ration, the camp major allowed the prisoners to cultivate a few nearby plots of land, on which there were a hen house and rabbit hutch. Brick barracks were built to accommodate approximately 30 forced laborers. The camp was divided into two distinct parts. The first part was designated GTE No. 701 and was populated by Spaniards and foreign Jews in approximately equal numbers. The second part, GTE No. 212, contained mostly young Jews.

In June 1942, in GTE No. 212, there were 160 foreign Jews and 140 Spaniards. This part of the camp was directed by Organisation Todt (OT), the Nazi building directorate. The prisoners used dynamite to remove rocks and made gravel to be used in construction work, including fortification.

Under German authority, Dutch soldiers guarded the camp. In his testimony, former prisoner Albert Veissid recalls that a

member of the French militia (*Milice*) was also appointed to the Miramas camp.

Living conditions were harsh and included frequent roll calls, censorship of letters, and inspection of packages. Very often the guards confiscated the prisoners' mail. For their labor in the camp, the detainees received payment from which was deducted the cost of food and housing.

On February 26, 1944, the Gestapo came to Miramas to deport the Jews from GTE No. 701. Ten Jews were absent because they had been given a day-leave pass immediately before the Germans arrived. Two days later, on February 28, 1944, the Gestapo deported 10 Jews from GTE NO. 212 to make up for the shortfall of prisoners from the previous roundup. Once arrested, the Jews were imprisoned in Baumettes (Marseille) and then transferred to Auschwitz by way of Drancy.

In March 1944, all the Jews remaining in GTE No. 212 were deported toward Estonia and Lithuania, where they were shot.[1]

SOURCES One secondary source that mentions the Miramas camp is Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000)

Primary sources that document the camp at Miramas can be found in ADB-R, signature 142W6, and 9AV21 (testimony of Albert Veissid, a survivor of the Miramas camp). The report made by Rabbi I. Salzer on GTE 701 in Miramas, June 2, 1942, is CDJC, under signature CCXIX-49_001 (FSJF coll.).

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NOTES

1. Testimony of Albert Veissid, ADB-R, signature 9AV21.

MOISDON-LA-RIVIÈRE

Moisdon-la-Rivière is located approximately 10.6 kilometers (6.6 miles) south of Châteaubriant in the Loire-Atlantique Département. The local prefecture selected Moisdon-la-Rivière as the site for a camp at the same time as Juigné-des-Moûtiers, a camp for Spanish refugees, was opened on May 31, 1939. The Moisdon-la-Rivière camp was built in a basin at the location of an abandoned ironworks. At the center of the camp was a large open square, which was still covered in leftover waste from the ironworks when the site was selected.[1] Most of the surrounding buildings were in very poor condition and lacked windowpanes, and the main building was not used because its dampness made it uninhabitable. Barracks were built to supplement the living space carved out of the buildings on site.

By mid-October 1940, the Feldkommandantur of Nantes issued a decree to detain all of the so-called nomads in the department, the local Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) replaced the Spanish refugees in the camp.[2] In a letter to the Feldkommandantur on the selection of the site, the prefect noted that in its current state, the camp could hold no more than 150 people.[3] The sub-prefect of Châteaubriant, Raymond Arnaud (soon to be replaced by Roland Manescau), was responsible for organizing the camp's administration. Direction of the camp was delegated to an administrative team that included both a director (Charles Moreau, who was also in charge of the neighboring camp Choisel) and an administrator (Captain Louis Leclercq, who had previously commanded a disciplinary unit of Moroccans working in the iron mines at nearby Rougé). The sub-prefect also appointed an assistant to Leclercq named Brellier, who was a former prisoner of war. The camp's infirmary, located in three buildings at its entrance (two with around 10 beds each for housing sick prisoners and one for medical visits), was staffed by a nurse named Fignon, who lived on the premises, and two doctors named Faivre and Bourrigault.[4]

Also known as "The New Forge" (*La Forge Neuve*), the Moisdon-la-Rivière camp was guarded by 21 French gendarmes (1 warrant officer, 2 field marshals, and 18 gendarmes). They lived in a manor 150 meters (492 feet) south of the camp with its administrators. In addition to its natural eastern border—a local river called Don or Rivière des Bourbiers—the camp was also enclosed by barbed wire. Living conditions were harsh. For instance, floorboards were used as fuel to heat the barracks in winter.[5]

The chief of the gendarme detachment was in charge of organizing work, which primarily consisted of general camp chores: men and boys able to work were charged with cleaning, repairs, and collecting wood and drinking water, and women were given tasks such as peeling vegetables.[6] According to a December 6, 1940, report from Sub-Prefect Manescau to the prefect, it was determined to be too difficult to organize a communal workshop, so each family was allowed to practice its chosen craft, such as basket weaving or repairing chairs. The chief was to facilitate the procurement of raw materials and the selling of finished goods.[7]

On November 24, 1940, 116 Roma (32 men, 28 women, and 56 children) were brought to Moisdon-la-Rivière from Pontivy in the Morbihan Département, and by December 6 there were 242 Roma (52 men, 44 women, and 146 children) at the camp.[8] Most of them arrived in their caravans and were allowed to live in them on the camp's grounds. Those who arrived on foot were given a place in the barracks.[9] On January 1, 1941, there were 308 Roma and itinerants in the camp (151 adults, 103 children aged 5 to 15, and 54 children under 5).[10] That same month, an anonymous letter from some prisoners protesting camp conditions (signed "a group of fathers and mothers") was sent to the prefect. "Our physical and moral strength is beginning to leave us," they wrote, due to forced manual labor and a lack of food, wood, and clothing and shoes for their children. They did not understand why conditions at camps in neighboring departments (Sarthe, Vienne and Mayenne) were better than at Moisdon.[11]

In a refutation of this letter sent to Sub-Prefect Manescau, Leclercq noted that, although "it would be inaccurate to claim that every thing is for the best at the camp," conditions were not as bad as stated. With regard to rationing, he reported that 123 kilograms

(271 pounds) of bread, 250 kilograms (551 pounds) of potatoes, or 18 kilograms (40 pounds) of vegetables plus a smaller quantity of potatoes were distributed daily to the prisoners, as well as 39 kilograms (86 pounds) of meat every other day and 19 kilograms (42 pounds) of sausage or boudin each Sunday and Wednesday. Each prisoner of age was also given one quart of cider twice a day. In turn, he accused the prisoners of bad behavior such as stealing wood and trading the meager clothing and shoes distributed to the worst-off children for tobacco and extra cider.[12]

In March 1941, all the Roma were temporarily transferred to the camp at Choisel. Indeed, the harsh winter of 1940 made the Moisdon-la-Rivière buildings uninhabitable. Four new barracks were built to accommodate the detainees, who were transferred back in early July. German authorities considered transferring a group of political prisoners to Moisdon instead, but according to Manescau, they felt this was a bad idea because political prisoners would be less tolerant of the lack of cleanliness and comfort.[13] A September 1941 supply request from the prefect puts the number of prisoners at Moisdon as 354.[14]

Yet living conditions did not improve much, according to a December 1941 report by a M. H. Billot, president of the Central Council of the Nantes chapter of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, who visited the camp on December 11 and 26. Billot noted that adult prisoners received only 400 grams (14 ounces) of bread a day plus a portion of vegetables so small that it could have fit "without any exaggeration" in the palm of his hand.[15]

There was at least one escape from the camp. According to a report from Captain Biteau, the commandant of the gendarme detachment at Choisel, a prisoner named André Adam escaped from Moisdon on May 11, 1942, while on a foraging detail outside the camp. Biteau wrote that Adam might be headed toward Rennes, as an earlier request he had made for permission to visit a sick relative there had been denied.[16]

As 1942 began, it became clear that the camp still needed too many costly improvements, and outside observers, including Billot and a Dr. Aujaleu who inspected the camp on March 9, 1942, suggested that the best solution was to transfer all of the prisoners to the camp at Montreuil-Bellay in the neighboring Maine-et-Loire

Département.[17] In a January 23 letter to the prefect, Manescau wrote that if improvements could not be made, he hoped the transfer could take place as soon as February 15; however, it did not happen for several months.[18] On May 13, 1942, 267 Roma, including 150 children, were transferred from Moisdon-la-Rivière under an escort of 50 gendarmes to the Mulsanne camp (Sarthe Département) and from there to Montreuil-Bellay.[19]

SOURCES The following secondary sources contain information on the camp at Moisdon-la-Rivière: Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–133; Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000) and *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946* (Paris: CNRS ed., 2010); and Émilie Jouand, "L'internement des nomades en Loire-Inférieure: Les camps de La Forge et de Choisel, novembre 1940–mai 1942," *ABPO* 115: 1 (2008): 189–220.

Primary documentation on the camp at Moisdon-la-Rivière can be found in AN F7 15100 (Dr. Aujaleu's report on Moisdon-la-Rivière, March 9, 1942); and ADL-A, in collections 43W3–17; 43W148; and 1694W59–60. Some of this documentation is available on microfilm at USHMMA under RG-43.053M.

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NOTES

1. S-P Châteaubriant to P/L-I, January 23, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.053M (ADL-A), reel 6, 43W148, p. 384 (USHMMA, RG-43.053M/6/43W148, with page).

2. FK/Nantes, October 1940, USHMMA, RG-43. 053/4/1694W59, p. 1799.

3. P/L-I to FK/Nantes, November 7, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, p. 1797.

4. S-P Châteaubriant, "Note sur la fonctionnement présent et à venir du camp du concentration Moisdon-la-Rivière," February 27, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.053M/6/43W148, pp. 378–383; structure of the infirmary, Le Médecin Inspecteur de

la Santé/L-I, "Camp de Concentration de la Forge à Mosidon-la-Riviere, Organisation Sanitaire," November 30, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1641–1642; names of doctors and other paid staff, S-P Châteaubriant, "Complément au rapport du 6 décembre 1940 sur la fonctionnement du camp de concentration des nomades de Moisdon-la-Rivière," January 10, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.053M/6/43W148, pp. 453–460.

5. S-P Châteaubriant to P/L-I, "Rapport sur le fonctionnement de camp de concentration des nomades de Moisdon-la-Rivière (Loire-Inf.)," December 6, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1643–1653.

6. Leclercq to S-P Châteaubriant, January 25, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1680–84.

7. "Rapport sur le fonctionnement de camp de concentration des nomades de Moisdon-la-Rivière (Loire-Inf.)."

8. S-P Châteaubriant to P/L-I, November 26, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1638–1639.

9. "Rapport sur le fonctionnement de camp de concentration des nomades de Moisdon-la-Rivière (Loire-Inf.)."

10. Leclercq to S-P Châteaubriant, January 25, 1941.

11. Quotations from an anonymous letter attached to P/L-I to S-P Châteaubriant, January 1, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1685–1688.

12. Quotation from Leclercq to S-P Châteaubriant, January 25, 1941.

13. S-P Châteaubriant to P/L-I, April 3, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, p. 1698.

14. P/L-A to Directeur Interdepartmental de l'ONACVG, September 7, 1962, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W60, pp. 1808–1809; supply list, P/L-I to P/Délégué du Ministre de l'Interieur–Délégation Generale du Gouvernement français dans les territoires occupés, September 2, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W60, pp. 1823–1826.

15. Quotation from Billot, “Rapport sur les camps de Romanichels de Moisdon-la-Riviere,” January 10, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.053M/6/43W148, pp. 387–390.

16. Biteau to S-P Châteaubriant, May 12, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1590–1591.

17. Billot to P/L-I, January 22, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1713–1714; Dr. Aujaleu, March 9, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1719–1722.

18. S-P Châteaubriant to P/L-I, January 23, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1709–1711.

19. S-P Châteaubriant to P/Sarthe, May 5, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1574–1575.

MOLOY

The Moloy camp was located in the Bourgogne region in the Côte d'Azur Département. Surrounded by forests in the locality of En Cimeraux, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside of the village of Labergement-lès-Moloy, the Moloy camp was just over 28.9 kilometers (about 18 miles) north of Dijon. In response to a prefectural order issued in the summer of 1941, the camp, also called Labergement-lès-Moloy, opened to detain all the Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) in the department. According to the monthly report of July 21, 1941, written by the regional prefect Charles Donati, the camp opened in response to pressure from local communities. Donati rationalized its creation by citing accusations of larceny made against local Roma.[1]

The Moloy camp held approximately 80 inmates, confined in two wooden barracks surrounded by a three-meter (approximately nine-foot) barbed-wire fence. Of these, 50 to 60 prisoners were Roma. The remaining inmates were foreigners: two foreign Jewish families and six Spanish republicans were held as illegal immigrants. The Roma families were mostly French.

Moloy's male internees worked under the direction of Water and Forest (*Eaux-et-Forêts*) agents, cutting wood in the surrounding Ignon Forest. Female internees cooked and made baskets. The food was inadequate, particularly in light of the heavy labor performed, and consisted mostly of soups and vegetables. The children were privileged to receive a daily ration of milk. There were instances of tuberculosis in Moloy, and at least four people, all members of the Weiss family, died as a result. According to local historian Joël Mangin, two Spanish prisoners attempted to escape in December 1941. A subsequent attempt to stage a mass breakout miscarried in March 1942.

The Moloy camp closed in December 1942. In small groups the prisoners were dispatched throughout the fall of 1942 to camps at Arc-et-Senans (Doubs Département), Peigney (Haute-Marne Département), and St. Maurice aux Riches Hommes (Yonne

Département).

SOURCES To date the most important secondary source on the Moloy camp is Joël Mangin, "Des Barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire (Labergement-lès-Moloy internment camp)," *BSHTI* 1 (2003), n.p. This local historian's account contains detailed information, but is somewhat polemical; he attributes the camp's founding to a conspiracy of local French and German business interests, based on discussions he had with his father's erstwhile employer, the former French IMT prosecutor, François de Menthon. Brief mention of the Moloy camp may be found in Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); Emmanuel Filhol, "L'indifférence collective au sort des Tsiganes internés dans les camps français, 1940–1946," *GMCC* 55: 226 (April 2007): 69–82; François Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–147; and Christian Bernadac, *L'Holocauste oublié: Le massacre des Tziganes* (Paris: France Empire ed., 1979), p. 59. In 2005, a commemorative stele was erected in Moloy; see www.memoires-tsiganes1939-1946.fr/steles.html.

Primary sources on the camp at Moloy may be found in AN, collections AJ 40 and AJ 41 369; and ADC-O, series W 6568 (an invoice for barracks construction).

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Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTE

1. AN, AJ 40, as cited in Mangin, "Des Barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire," n.p.

MONSIREIGNE

For a few weeks in 1940, in the village of Monsireigne in the Vendée Département, located in the Occupied Zone of the Pays de la Loire region, there was a camp that held Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports). Monsireigne is 69.9 kilometers (43.4 miles) southeast of Nantes. The authorities selected its open granite quarries as the camp's location. In 1914, the French Army had erected barracks just yards away from the quarries to house units of workers formed from the ranks of deserters during World War I. During the interwar period, foreign workers stayed there.

On April 6, 1940, the French Third Republic decreed the assignment of all Vendée Roma to residences (*assignations à residence*). In conformity with the German authorities' order on October 24, 1940, requiring the internment of all Roma in Occupied France, six centers (Cheffois, Velluire, Treize-Septiers, La Verrie, St Julien-des-Landes, and Sallertaine) were ordered to transfer the local Roma to Monsireigne.[1]

The Monsireigne camp was under the authority of Vendée prefect Gaston Jammet, who in turn answered to the regional prefect of the Poitiers area, Louis Bourgain.

According to historian Christophe Potier, on November 18, 1940, the German authorities ordered the camp's closure. The prisoners were sent to Montreuil-Bellay (Maine-et-Loire Département) and Boussais (Deux-Sèvres Département). The camp was only used again after the Liberation in September 1944 to hold about 10 German POWs.

Among the few available sources on the camp, there is an administrative report made during a police check in Maine-et-Loire.[2] It noted that an itinerant grinder (*rémouleur*), whose name was Alphone A., had been arrested in Mortagne-surSèvre and sent to Monsireigne where he stayed for the first two weeks of November 1940. Afterward, he was transferred to Boussais and then to several other camps for Roma.

SOURCES Secondary sources that discuss the short-lived camp at Monsireigne are the pamphlet by Christophe Potier, *1940: Un camp de nomades à Monsireigne* (La Roche-sur-Yon: ONACVG, 2001); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); Jacques Perruchon, *Camps d'internement en Poitou-Charente et Vendée, 1939–1948* (Saintes: Le Croît Vif ed., 2003); and François Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6:2 (1995): 79–147.

Primary sources on the camp at Monsireigne are found in AN, file 737/MI/2, and in AD-Ve, file 4M59.

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NOTES

1. AD-Ve 4, M 59.
2. Administrative report, ADM-L, as quoted in Sigot, "Les Camps," p. 115.

MONTECH

Located 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) southwest of Montauban in the area of the Midi-Pyrénées region closest to Toulouse, Montech was the third camp hastily created in the Tarn-et-Garonne Département following the September 27, 1940, law for the formation of groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs). The other two GTE camps were Septfonds and Caylus. GTE No. 881 was quartered in Montech.

According to Montech resident Jean Gailhard, the camp was established in the facilities of a bankrupt cellulose factory that had been shuttered since 1926. In 1939, the French Army commandeered the buildings to set up a POW camp, but the site was never used for that purpose. After the June 1940 Armistice, Montech opened as a camp for foreign workers—Spanish, Hungarian, Polish, and Russian, some of whom were Jewish. Gailhard characterized Montech as more of a refugee camp (*camp d'hébergement*) than an internment camp, because the GTE workers could move freely around town and the site was not enclosed with barbed wire.

In the spring of 1942, Rabbi Marc Kahlenberg visited the camp.[1] Noting that a former captain of the enlisted volunteers managed the camp, he added that workers were divided into teams and sent to various local construction sites to do tasks the rabbi characterized as "hard." Those who were unfit for hard labor and who could not be part of those teams remained in camp and cut wood. The rabbi's report highlighted the authorities' "benevolence" and the barracks' "good equipment." According to him, Passover services were held in Montauban that all Jewish families from Montech were able to attend, as no authorizations were denied. The 30 Jewish workers in GTE No. 881 were also able to obtain unleavened bread from the rabbi.

Kahlenberg reported that the Friends of Enlisted Volunteers of Montauban (*Amicale des Engagés Volontaires de Montauban*)

subsidized Montech's operation beginning in January 1, 1942, giving the camp some 20,000 francs to improve living conditions for the workers. Seventeen thousand francs were used to purchase 100 pairs of shoes. A later report, from July 1942, observed that the same association had spent a total of 30,000 francs for Montech "since 1940."[2]

According to that July 1942 report, the camp closed between May and July 1942, when GTE No. 881 was transferred to Corrèze at Neuvic-d'Ussel under the management of reserve officer Emile Moulinet. In addition, Rabbi Kahlenberg was denied a visit to the camp around that same time.

In 1943, the Wehrmacht settled in Montech, in the former camp for "auxiliaries," who were also nicknamed the "Mongols" (referring to their Central Asian origins). Between August 10 and August 19, 1944, the camp was liberated. Montech then became a POW camp for Germans until September 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the GTE camp at Montech are Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); and Jean Estebe, *Les Juifs à Toulouse et en Midi toulousain au temps de Vichy* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail ed., 1996). Jean Gailhard collected much information on the history of his town. His report about the cellulose factory appeared in the city's local newspaper, *MMVNV* 10 (January 2011), p. 10.

Primary sources on the camp at Montech are found in CDJC, FSJF collection: file CCXIX-41_001 (general report on the chaplains' work in camp and groups of foreign workers during the month of April 1942); and file CCXIX-6_001 (report from July 1942 on general chaplaincy).

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NOTES

1. CDJC, file CCXIX-41_001, Kahlenberg report, April 15–May 15, 1942, p. 5.

2. CDJC, file CCXIX-6_001, July 1942, p. 4.

MONTÉLIMAR

Montélimar is located in the Drôme Département in the Rhône River Valley, about 149 kilometers (92 miles) northwest of Marseille. In the town, an internment camp was set up inside the facilities of a former tannery near Teil Road on Bauvais Street (later Ducatez Street). After the war, the site served as the Chareton caserne. The camp was sometimes described as the "camp of the tannery" (*le camp de la Tannerie*).

The Montélimar camp opened in September 1939 and most likely closed at the beginning of 1944. Enclosed with barbed wire, the camp was made up of permanent structures from the former tannery and at least four wooden barracks. The buildings were set up in an overall U-shape. Montélimar interned undesirable foreigners whose activities allegedly jeopardized the peace. The camp came under the authority of Alexandre Angeli, the Lyon regional prefect, because the Drôme Département fell under his prefecture.

The internees came and went as they wished, but had to remain in town. According to historian Jean Sauvageon, it is not possible to give the camp's precise chronology or the number of prisoners, because only scant archival material about the Montélimar camp exists. Indeed, all the archives were destroyed when the Drôme Prefecture was bombarded in 1944. In his book, Sauvageon relied on many oral testimonies to piece together the camp's history.

The foreign internees' nationalities varied according to phases in the camp's operation. Between 1939 and June 1940, most were Spanish; then from July 1940 until the end of 1941, Germans, Austrians, Belgians, and at least one Russian were interned there. Finally, the camp held British and a few Americans from 1943 to early 1944. The Union of Jewish Charitable Associations (*Union des sociétés de bienfaisance israélites*) in Toulouse reported that many Jews were among the internees during the 1940–1941 phase. The report mentions the concentration of Jewish foreigners

in Clairfond Center, "a selection center from which foreigners are sent either to Montélimar, Agde, Gurs, [Le] Vernet, or Argelès."[1] On November 28, 1940, in a note to his colleague from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Vichy Interior Minister announced the internment of German Jews from Baden and the Saar in both Montélimar and Agde (Hérault Département). He also announced the intention to transfer those German prisoners to Rivesaltes camp (Pyrénées-Orientales Département).[2] Until at least March 5, 1941, French communists, anarchists, and pacifists were also interned in Montélimar.

According to letters exchanged between the German Embassy in Paris and the General Delegation of the French Government in the Occupied Territories, Russian attorney Wladimir Schwarz was arrested with his wife, in the Free Zone, by French police for being "Soviet nationals." The two were interned at Montélimar and freed on July 4, 1941, following a decision made by the Prefecture's Screening Committee (*commission de criblage*).[3]

An average of 550 to 600 individuals were interned in Montélimar from 1939 to 1941, a number that dropped to approximately 50 internees when the camp held British and Americans from 1943 to 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources about the Montélimar camp are Vincent Giraudier, Jean Sauvageon, Robert Serre, and Hervé Mauran, *Des indésirables: Les camps d'internement et de travail dans l'Ardèche et la Drôme durant la seconde guerre mondiale*, preface by Denis Peschanski (Valence: Peuple Libre/Notre Temps, 1999), especially chapter 5 by Sauvageon, "Des camps d'internés étrangers et français à Loriol et Montélimar (1939–1941)," pp. 126–223; Robert Serre, *De la Drôme aux camps de la mort, les déportés politiques, résistants, otages, nés, résidants ou arrêtés dans la Drôme* (Valence: Peuple Libre/Notre Temps, 2006); Jean Sauvageon, "Les camps d'internement: Un chaînon manquant dans l'histoire de la Drôme," *ED*, 3/4 (1998): 19–38; Robert Serre, "Quatre lieux d'internement dans la Drôme," *EI* 115 (2009): 62–70; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources that document the Montélimar camp may be found in AN F7 15104–15105; ADDr 711W76–77 (about Loriol and Montélimar camps; those archives are in the process of being reclassified); CDJC, file CCXVIII-99_001, FSJF collection (Union des sociétés de bienfaisance israélites report on Jewish refugees' status in Haute-Garonne, November 8 to 18, 1940); and file CDJC-II-72 (German Embassy collection: correspondence, August 29, 1941, to September 7, 1941, on the internment and release of Wladimir Schwarz).

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NOTES

1. CDJC, CCXVIII-99_001, FSJF collection, November [1]8, 1940.

2. Note from Interior Ministry (DGSN) to the vice-president of the Council, Minister of Foreign Affairs (Direction politique—Europe), November 28, 1940, AN F7 15104, and a letter from DGSN to the Pyrénées Orientales prefect, on December 10, 1940, AN F7 15105, as cited by Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)," p. 393.

3. CDJC-II-72, German Embassy collection: correspondence, August 29, 1941, to September 7, 1941.

MONTLHÉRY (LINAS-MONTLHÉRY)

Montlhéry or, to be more accurate, Linas-Montlhéry, was a Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) camp located in the Essonne Département, in the Parisian suburbs, 23.7 kilometers (14.7 miles) southwest of Paris. This camp was operational from November 27, 1940, to April 21, 1942. Established near the Montlhéry motor raceway in barracks that were still unfinished, it seemed to appear overnight. The camp was unfenced and lacked bathrooms. The food was so insufficient that German authorities demanded that the French, who managed the camp, improve its living conditions. Camp officials included Edmond Bartaux and René Desoyard, the latter an inspector of special police who at one time served as camp director. Altogether approximately 250 Roma were detained in the Montlhéry camp during its existence.[1]

Historian Marie-Christine Hubert noted that on November 27, 1940, about 200 Roma were arrested by French gendarmes in the neighboring department (Seine-Inférieure), many in Rouen. The prisoners were first dispatched by train to Brétigny-sur-Orge and then marched the remaining 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the Montlhéry camp. Later, all Roma from the Normandy coast were sent to Montlhéry, because the Germans did not want to establish a camp in that strategically important zone.

Testimony by former prisoner Raymond Gurême gives some idea of Montlhéry's deplorable living conditions. Following their arrest near Rouen, Gurême and his family were held in the "assembly camp for nomads of Darnétal" (*camp de rassemblement des nomades de Darnétal*) and then dispatched to Montlhéry as part of the Brétigny-sur-Orge convoy. Describing the camp at Montlhéry as "glacially cold," he recalled that it lacked electricity and that hunger was an "obsession." Despite the cold, the French authorities rejected entreaties to burn wood in the barracks because of the fire hazard. The detainees had to appear at morning and evening roll calls, but otherwise were able to move about the camp, except near the periphery. Montlhéry, recalled

Gurême, was filthy and infested with vermin. Conditions were so poor that Gurême's sister, Henriette, and two companions escaped on June 23, 1941. Subsequently rearrested, Henriette, her friends, and Gurême were subjected to punishment. Ultimately, Gurême fled the camp on October 6, 1941, and joined a Roma caravan for a time before being arrested for lacking identification papers.[2]

On April 21, 1942, the camp closed, and the 201 Roma were taken to the Mulsanne camp in the Sarthe Département. From there they were sent to the huge Roma camp at Montreuil-Bellay in August 1942. Among those transferred were Raymond Gurême's family. Historian Jacques Sigot noted that the Montlhéry prisoners sent to Mulsanne included 45 men, 35 women, 101 children under age 16, and 20 young people. Among the French and Belgian Romas deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau on January 15, 1944, on convoy Z (*Zigeuner*: German for "Gypsy") from Malines, Belgium, were 40 Roma who had been arrested near Rouen in 1940 and interned in France until 1943, including at Montlhéry between 1940 and 1942.

SOURCES Secondary accounts that discuss the Roma camp at Montlhéry are Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation,* 4 vols. (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET*, 6: 2 (1995): 79–148. On November 28, 2010, a plaque in tribute to the Montlhéry detainees was placed at the entrance of the Essone Prefecture in Evry. On November 27, 2011, another memorial was unveiled on the Place de la Gare square in Brétigny-sur-Orge.

Primary sources on the camp at Montlhéry may be found in AN, 737-MI-2 (various information on Roma camps, including Montlhéry); and F1a 4585 (report made by the general inspection of administrative services following visits in Linas and Aincourt). A published testimony of a Roma formerly interned in the Montlhéry camp is by Raymond Gurême with Isabelle Ligner,

Interdit aux nomades (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 2011).

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NOTES

1. Gurême with Ligner, *Interdit aux nomades*, pp. 76–77, 87–88.

2. Ibid., pp. 56, 60–62, 70–71, 75, 77, 79, 81–82, 87–89, 93, 95–97, 113–114.

MONTMÉLIAN

Montmélian (Savoie Département) is located in southeastern France in the Rhône-Alpes region, near the Swiss and Italian borders, almost 469 kilometers (more than 291 miles) southeast of Paris and just over 46 kilometers (almost 29 miles) northeast of Grenoble. The camp was located in the Montfort military barracks, and its official name was the Montfort Center for the Social Control of Foreigners (*Centre Montfort Contrôle Social des Étrangers*, CSE). It was administered by the Office of Social Services for Foreigners (*Service Social des Étrangers*, SSE).[1]

The internment center had a capacity of approximately 100 people. Children were sent to Montmélian from camps and children's homes, and adults were transferred there from the Gurs and Rivesaltes camps.[2] From Montmélian Jews were released or sent to other camps such as Drancy and Auschwitz.

Created after the Franco-Italian Armistice of June 25, 1940, to be an accommodation center (*centre hébergement*) for foreign Jewish women, Montmélian was subsequently transformed on May 9, 1942, into a triage center for foreign workers who were deemed unfit to work.[3] Men and women of all ages (including children) were detained at Montmélian over the course of the war. The camp held both French and foreign Jews, including Belgian, Turkish, Lithuanian, Polish, German, and Spanish Jews. Many Polish prisoners of war (POWs) were also interned at Montmélian.[4] In March 1943, eight foreign workers from the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 133, were sent to Montmélian for being unfit.[5] As of July 31, 1943, 166 men and 7 women, including 20 Jews, were interned at Montmélian. According to the prefect's report on April 17, 1944, there were always Jews at Montmélian,[6] and at that date 156 internees were detained there.[7] Roll call was held every day at 9 P.M. Workers worked both inside the camp doing chores and outside of the Montfort barracks doing such jobs as farming, tailoring, cooking, and cobbling.[8]

Marie Butchen was a French Jewish child internee at Montmélian. She recalled that the camp conditions were bad: there was no health care, the camp area was small, the internees were very hungry and were not issued clothing, each internee only received one blanket, and there was only a small square to walk around in. She and 10 to 15 children from the camp attended a nearby school during the day where they were ignored by the local children, humiliated by their teacher, and segregated in the classrooms and during lunch. The internees were neither asked to participate in class nor given homework. The soldiers marched them through the streets to the school, and passersby would look at them and laugh, calling them "gypsies." Butchen said that "[she] used to think that people were very mean."[9]

In contrast, Janet Herman, a French and Lithuanian Jewish internee who was a teenager at the time, found the Montmélian camp to be clean during her nine-month stay there with her mother and sister. The women had to clean and scrub the camp and were responsible for janitorial work. There were sheets on each bed, and a wake-up call and bedtime were strictly enforced. The director of the camp made Herman his secretary because of her clerical background in Paris. He sexually harassed and propositioned her relentlessly. When he finally got the message that she was not going to give in to his advances, he replaced her with a teenaged German female internee and made Herman the teacher and caretaker of the kids in the camp. He would go on romantic excursions in the nearby hills with the German girl. Meanwhile Herman would take the children on hikes through the same hills, walking through fields of vegetables. She and the children began to steal the vegetables and give them to her mother and other women to prepare soup in the camp. Finally the fields' farmer stopped her while on a hike and asked her why she was stealing from him. He did not know what was happening at Montmélian. He asked her, "Are you Jewish?" with tears in his eyes. When she said "Yes," and described the situation at the camp, he promised to give her vegetables every week and asked her never to steal again.[10]

Herman recalled that there was much fraternizing between the men and women in the camp. There was not a great deal of Jewish life in the camp, although two women held private religious

services. At Christmas every one was forced to sing "*Oh, Tannenbaum*." Herman and others spent their free time reading books from the camp's library and writing letters to friends and family. Toward the end of their stay local Vichy members tried to sell rags to the internees as clothes, but no one bought them. Only Herman and her mother and her sister were liberated from the camp, due to the influence her uncle had in Rodez (also in the Southern Zone, more than 305 kilometers or nearly 190 miles west of Montmélian). Following their release, the Herman family no longer had to wear the yellow star. Herman's sister went to Switzerland to join the Jewish underground, and Herman and her mother lived under false names and in hiding in Rodez until the Liberation, when they all returned to Paris. All the Jews who remained at Montmélian were sent to Auschwitz the day after the Hermans were released.

SOURCES Secondary source material describing the camp at Montmélian includes Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001); Gérard Gobitz, *Les déportations de réfugiés de Zone Libre en 1942: Récits et documents concernant les régions administratives* (Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 1997); Olivier Pettinotti, "Gilbert Lesage, l'âme du Service Social des Etrangers (SSE)," *MJ,* 172 (May–August 2001): 159–173; and Hervé Mauran *"En surnombre": un camp de travailleurs étrangers en France, 1940–1945* (Valence: Éditions peuple libre & notre temps, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the Montmélian camp can be found in digital form: selected records from AD-Ard, available at USHMMA under RG-43.111M, reel 3; and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (folders 1a and 19a). VHA holds rich interviews about the camp with Marie Butchen (#38173; February 6, 1998); Janet Herman (#26894; March 20, 1997); Albert Igual (#12559; March 21, 1996); and Maurice Rajade (#31731; May 19, 1997).

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NOTES

1. “Montmélian (Savoie),” ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370961.
2. VHA #31731, Maurice Rajade testimony, May 19, 1997.
3. “Montmélian (Savoie),” ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370960, and “Administration,” ITS, 1.2.3.5, folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370961.
4. VHA #26894, Janet Herman testimony, March 20, 1997.
5. “Délégation Départementale de L’ Ardèche,” April 19, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.111A (AD-Ard), reel 3, n.p.
6. “Montmélian (Savoie),” ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370960.
7. “Montmélian (Savoie),” ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370962.
8. “Montmélian (Savoie),” ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. 82370964.
9. VHA #38173, Marie Butchen testimony, February 6, 1998.
10. VHA #26894.

MONTREUIL-BELLAY

Located approximately 16 kilometers (10 miles) south of Saumur in the Maine-et-Loire Département, Montreuil-Bellay is a little town in the Pays de la Loire region. Between January and June 1940, the French War Ministry erected a township, just over 5 hectares (approximately 12 acres) in size, to accommodate the staff of the new gunpowder factory that opened at the city's entrance. After the Fall of France, French soldiers locked themselves in the town, which was subsequently taken over by the Germans. Between June 1940 and March 1941, the site served as Frontstalag 181, which held French prisoners of war (POWs) and some civilian internees, including Britons and "undesirable" foreigners. A number of Jews were among the latter.[1] In March 1941, the French POWs were sent to Germany. Single British civilians were sent to the Saint-Denis camp, where they remained until the war ended, while married couples were confined to a hotel in Vittel.

On November 8, 1941, at the behest of the German authorities, the prefect of Maine-et-Loire established Montreuil-Bellay as a camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports). Officially called the "concentration camp of nomads, Montreuil-Bellay (Maine-&-Loire)" and later a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS), it was also known as the Méron camp after the name of a neighboring village.[2] It was one of the few camps that remained operational well after the Liberation, not closing until January 1945. On November 8, 1941, 238 Roma arrived from La Morellerie camp in the Indre-et-Loire Département.[3] In December 1941, Montreuil-Bellay held 219 Roma and 210 itinerants. On August 3, 1942, 717 more Roma from the Mulsanne camp in the Sarthe Département were confined there, increasing the camp population to 1,018 detainees, which included some prostitutes and homeless people arrested in the Nantes area. Between October 5 and 9, 1942, 36 Roma were transferred to Montreuil-Bellay from the Barenton camp in the Manche Département. More than 300 Roma arrived from the

Poitiers camp in the Vienne Département between December 1943 and November 1944. Between December 1943 and April 1944, the camp population was just over 750 prisoners. This reduction in the camp's population followed the deportation of male Roma, ages 16 to 60, to Germany for forced labor.

The camp was more than 500 meters (547 yards) long and from 80 to 150 meters (87 to 164 yards) wide. It was located on the National Road joining Montreuil-Bellay to the main Angers-Poitiers Road and was parallel to railroad tracks.[4] The camp was enclosed with two lines of barbed wire placed 2.5 meters (2.7 yards) apart. Chevaux-de-frise (spiked obstacles) plugged security gaps. The fence was electrified, and two watchtowers were added. Thirty-one electrified buildings accommodated a maximum of 1,100 detainees.[5] There were three groups of buildings. The first group consisted of 17 wooden barracks that were 12 meters (13 yards) long, 4 meters (just over 4 yards) wide, and 3 meters (over 3 yards) high. Each barrack contained 40 beds designed to accommodate three to four families. The second group was made up of cinder-block barracks. Located at the camp's center, the third group was composed of kitchens, two dining halls, wash basins, toilets, laundry, steam rooms, an infirmary, a nursery, two classrooms, workshops, and a chapel. The Mission of the Franciscan Sisters of Mary was on site, and the nuns served in the chapel. The staff's living quarters and some of the stores were situated outside the compound. Also outside the camp was a cave that served as the prison. Male inmates would often take the place of their female relatives who were consigned to it.

For most of Montreuil-Bellay's existence, the camp director was Joseph Bernard, and his deputy was Jean Renard, the former director-manager at La Morellerie. Marcel Dalloux succeeded Bernard as director in November 1943. The Gendarmerie Nationale was in charge of surveillance. This force comprised an adjudant-chef, two maréchaux des logis (sergeants), and 25 gendarmes. The number of guards was doubled after a young man tried to escape Obligatory Labor Service (*Service du Travail Obligatoire*, STO) in January 1943. Feldkommandantur (FK) 588, in Tours, supplied arms for the guard force.[6]

The prisoners' living conditions were very harsh. From early on, the authorities distributed rations to heads of house hold, but the

amount was so inadequate that, on December 4, 1941, the prisoners petitioned the prefect of Maine-et-Loire for immediate food relief.[7] The food shortage even concerned the guards. Vegetables were served only five times a week. Fuel supplies were so inadequate as to cause security lapses, because nighttime illumination was lacking.[8] The same fuel shortages may also be to blame for the freezing to death of almost all the homeless and prostitutes from Nantes in the winter of 1942. An inspection report from September 19, 1942, complained of numerous cases of tuberculosis and included a note on the lack of "the most elementary conditions of hygiene."[9] The health situation deteriorated so much that, in July 1943, the German authorities demanded Montreuil-Bellay's evacuation and closure, pending disinfection, an order rejected by the French authorities.[10]

The guards treated the detainees poorly, and the camp's atmosphere was one of enforced idleness. Except for a few morning chores, there were few labor assignments. In August 1942, 85 detainees worked for 15 days in the Renault factories in Le Mans. Another exception was the deployment of 50 Roma to a German aviation facility in May 1943.[11]

The camp operated a school that began with the first transfers from La Morellerie in late 1941. Extensive correspondence between the Academic Inspectorate of Maine-et-Loire (*Inspection académique de Maine-et-Loire*) and the camp director, among others, indicated that the camp administration took pains to equip the classrooms with desks and other furnishings. Heading the school for a time were two refugees, the O'Reillys, who previously headed La Morellerie's school.[12] By September 1942, according to an inspection report, however, conditions had so deteriorated that the children's education was "completely neglected."[13] The sub-prefect of Saumur and the gendarmerie commander, Captain Royer, expressed concern over youthful sexual activity and proposed segregating boys and girls ages 8 to 14 in dormitories.[14]

According to historian Jacques Sigot, there were 85 prisoner deaths recorded at Montreuil-Bellay. The deaths include one stillbirth, and the ages of the dead ranged from less than one year to 91 years old.[15] The camp recorded 11 births during the period from 1941 to 1944. There were also a number of escapes, including 120 that took place during repeated Allied bombings in

the summer of 1944. The Angers regional prefect, Charles Donati, considered evacuating the camp, which was becoming impossible to guard.[16] During the air attacks, the camp assigned separate slit trenches to each barrack for safety.

An event in September 1943 changed the camp's history: most of the camp officers were arrested for being members of the Resistance. Those arrested were Captain Royer, Deputy Director Renard, the chief inspector, and the store accountant. Although he was not implicated in the ring, Director Bernard was arrested on October 7, 1943. After their deportation, Bernard and Renard went missing.[17]

As late as May 1944, the Vichy regime tried to use Montreuil-Bellay for propaganda purposes. Invited to visit the camp were *Nouveaux Temps* reporter Christian Guy and his photographer, André Rousseau. Donati directed that they were to be given every consideration, because their photos "are intended for the study of centers of internment."[18]

Montreuil-Bellay was finally evacuated on January 16, 1945, four months after the town was freed. At that time, there were 498 Roma in the camp. Only a few were released. Instead, most were taken to the camps of Angoulême and Jargeau.

SOURCES Secondary sources documenting the camp at Montreuil-Bellay are Jacques Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire: Un Camp pour les Tsiganes … et les autres; Montreuil-Bellay 1940–1945*, preface by Alfred Grosser (1983; Bordeaux: Wallada Ed., 1994); Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation,* 4 vols. (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–148.

Primary sources on the Montreuil-Bellay camp can be found in the following archives: AN (F7 15101); SHGN (reports and correspondence from the Maine-et-Loire company, the Saumur

unit, and the brigade transferred to Montreuil-Bellay, reference R/2, temporary files 014948–014952, 014971, 014972, and 015001); and, most importantly, ADM-L (12W64–12W66; 24W39–24W44; 24W48–24W68; and 97W47–97W63). The ADM-L documentation is copied to USHMMA as RG-43.092M in digital form. Particularly useful are 12W64 (general correspondence and reports), 24W42 (correspondence with the occupying authorities), and 24W43 (periodic reports). Additional documentation can be found in ADI-L (copied to USHMMA as RG-43.096M), reel 3, 120W3, in connection with the transfer of prisoners from la Morellerie. Limited documentation on the Montreuil-Bellay Frontstalag can be found in USHMMA, Acc. No. 2006.306, Konrad Bieber collection, box 1, correspondence and documents, 1940–1950. VHF holds interviews mentioning Montreuil-Bellay with two Jewish survivors, Jack Scott (#27286) and Helmut Simon (#28258), and with one Roma survivor of many camps, Dziga Tanacs (#33507). Tanacs was three years old when taken into custody with his mother in 1940, and according to his testimony, he was only briefly confined to Montreuil-Bellay. Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire*, reproduces a number of ADM-L and Montreuil-Bellay municipal documents, as well as excerpts of interviews with former prisoners, guards, and bystanders.

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NOTES

1. Letter-card addressed to Konrad Bieber, August 23, 1940, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2006.306, Konrad Bieber collection, box 1, correspondence and documents, 1940–1950; VHF #27286, Jack Scott testimony, February 4, 1997; VHF #28258, Helmut Simon testimony, April 9, 1997.

2. For the concentration camp usage, le Surveillant Générale, "Rapport pour les mois de juillet à août 1942," USHMMA, RG-43.092M (ADM-L), 12W64, reel 1, p. 2615 (USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, with page); on CSS, Directeur du CSS Montreuil-Bellay to S-P Saumur, May 1, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, p. 2643.

3. On La Morellerie, see P/I-L, Jean Chaigneau, to Préfet Délégué du Ministère de l'interieur—SGPN, October 31, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, p. 2607.

4. S-P Saumur, M-L, "Rapport sur le camp d'internes de Montreuil-Bellay," January 19, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, pp. 2600–2605.

5. Ibid., p. 2601.

6. Oberst Kloss, FK 588, "Carabines pour la surveillance du camp de Montreuil-Bellay," November 14, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/24W42/1, p. 4311.

7. Pétition addressé par les internés au préfet de Maine-et-Loire, December 4, 1941, reprinted in Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire,* p. 96.

8. On electrical problems, S-P Saumur to P/M-L, April 6, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, p. 2832.

9. Le Préfet Délégué du Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur à Monsieur le Préfet du Maine-et-Loire, September 19, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, pp. 2798–2799.

10. FK 895 to P/Angers, July 5, 1943, ADM-L, reproduced in Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire*, p. 72.

11. Rapport, CSS Montreuil-Bellay, stamped June 4, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, p. 2838.

12. See the sub-file, "École du Camp de Montreuil-Bellay, 1941–1943," USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, pp. 2651–2715.

13. Le Préfet Délégué du Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur to P/M-L, September 19, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, pp. 2798–2799.

14. Rapport du Capitaine Royer, Commandant la Section de Gendarmerie de Saumur, March 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, pp. 2791–2792.

15. Registre d'état civil Montreuil-Bellay, summarized in Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire,* pp. 136–139.

16. On escapes, Rapport du l'adjutant LaFrère sur l'évasion des internés à la suite de bombardement aux environs du camp, July 7, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, p. 2855; Donati, Pr/Angers, to P/I-L, July 11, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43. 092M/12W64/1, p. 2650; for complaints about escapes, Donati to Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und SD, Angers, July 12, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, p. 2873; escape figure in Rapport mensuel, July 31, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.092/1/24W43, p. 4375.

17. Rapport mensuel, November 4, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.092/1/24W43, p. 4482; report by Capitaine Viala, December 21, 1944, SHGN, R/4, temporary file 014974, as quoted by Peschanski, *La France des camps* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002), p. 297; testimonies on the arrests by Mathurin Coiffard, Ernest Beauplet, Father Marie-Joseph, and René G. Maurot, excerpted in Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire,* pp. 253–254.

18. Donati, le Préfet régional d'Angers, Ordre de Mission, May 27, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, p. 2648.

MONTSÛRS

Montsûrs is a small village in the Mayenne Département just over 21 kilometers (more than 13 miles) northeast of Laval. The Mayenne Prefecture in Angers, directed by Regional Prefect Jean Roussillon (until the end of July 1943), chose the premises of an abandoned limestone quarry in Montsûrs to set up one of two camps for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) in the department. The second camp was at Grez-en-Bouère, 35 kilometers (19 miles) south of Montsûrs. Before holding Roma, the Montsûrs camp housed refugees between 1939 and 1940.

Also called "the Chauvinerie camp," Montsûrs held Roma between October 1940 and April 1942. A total of 85 Roma, including 15 children, were confined in the camp. When the small camp at Grez-en-Bouère closed at the end of November 1940, its inmates were sent to Montsûrs. On February 19, 1941, there were 55 detainees in Montsûrs.

Between the Mayenne road and the Paris-to-Brest rail line, the camp had approximately 10 barracks. Barbed wire and a nearly 1.5-meter (5-foot) tall fence enclosed the camp. Montsûrs was unhygienic, and the living conditions were appalling. According to historian Emmanuel Filhol, the detainees suffered from lice, mites, and vermin, as well as skin diseases, such as impetigo, abscesses, and furunculosis.

Seven French gendarmes were in charge of surveillance. On April 9, 1942, the last 25 inmates at Montsûrs were transferred to the much larger Roma camp at Montreuil-Bellay, 144 kilometers (more than 89 miles) due south.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Montsûrs camp are Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation,* 4 vols., (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à*

part (1939–1946) (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and three works by Jacques Sigot: "Des barbelés pour les Tsiganes de la Mayenne pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale," *Ob* 22 (1986): 55–68; *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire: Un camp pour les Tsiganes —et les autres, Montreuil-Bellay 1940–1945* (Chateauneuf les Martigues; Wallada: Éd. Cheminements, 1994), which has Montsûrs' prisoner data (p. 77); and "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–148.

Primary sources on the camp at Montsûrs are found in ADM, 265W2, which consists of various documents on the Roma interned in the Mayenne Département.

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MULSANNE

Located 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) northwest of Mulsanne village, in a forested area near the Le Mans-Tours road, the camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) at Mulsanne opened in the Sarthe Département in the Pays de la Loire region. Mulsanne is 11.7 kilometers (7.3 miles) southeast of the city of Le Mans.

On April 15, 1942, the prefect of Sarthe, Marcel Picot, a delegate from the Interior Ministry in Occupied France, announced the creation of the Mulsanne camp and ordered that the department's Roma from the Coudrecieux, Moisdon-la-Rivière, and Montlhéry camps be transferred there. There were 370 detainees from Coudrecieux, 306 from Moisdon, and 201 from Montlhéry.[1]

The camp consisted of 35 barracks with corrugated iron roofs. After the Fall of France, the German occupation authorities used the barracks as Frontstalag 203, which held nearly 4,000 French, North African, and British prisoners of war (POWs). According to historian Jacques Sigot, the camp briefly held a few Roma who had previously been confined to the camps at Plénée-Jugon and Coudrecieux before being transferred to the Montreuil-Bellay camp (Maine-et-Loire Département). The removal of the POWs to Germany started in May 1941. On February 12, 1942, the German authorities transferred the camp to French civilian control.

Mulsanne had a capacity of 1,200 people. On April 22, 1942, there were 489 prisoners held in Mulsanne, and 711 were held there in June 1942. The population peaked on July 8, 1942, with a total of 877 detainees.

Food, water, and health conditions were very poor. Exacerbating the health problems were lice and other vermin. One indication of food scarcity at Mulsanne was the bread riot that occurred on May 12, 1942.[2] Perhaps because of the living conditions, three Roma volunteered for work in Germany and were

released from the camp as a result.[3]

Some of the detainees were allowed to work for the Renault factories in Le Mans. A school was established inside the camp for children ages 6 to 14.

After the Allies repeatedly bombed targets near Mulsanne in the summer of 1942, including a marshalling yard, the Renault and Gnome-et-Rhône factories, and an airfield, the Germans demanded the camp's return. On August 3, 1942, Mulsanne's 717 detainees were transferred by train to the huge camp for Roma at Montreuil-Bellay, escorted by 50 French gendarmes and 20 civil guards.

In October 1942, more than 110 Jews, including 43 children, who had been rounded up in the Sarthe Département, were sent to the camp for later deportation; most came to the camp on October 9 and 10. They were transferred to the Drancy transit camp on October 18, and from there were deported to Auschwitz on convoy 42 on November 6, 1942.

After the camp was liberated in September 1944, the French authorities used Mulsanne to confine German POWs before closing the camp for good in August 1947.

SOURCES Secondary sources documenting the camp at Mulsanne are Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation,* 4 vols. (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)*, preface by Henriette Asséo (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); André Pioger, "Les camps de concentration de nomades dans la Sarthe (octobre 1940–août 1942)," *PrMa* (1968): 238–246; Céline Hubert, "Les camps de nomades de Coudrecieux et de Mulsanne," *VMS* 346 (Sept.–Oct. 1999): 27; and Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–148. There are two memorial placards to the Mulsanne camp, which can be viewed at www.mulsanne.fr/.

Primary sources on Mulsanne can be found in ADS, especially files Vt. 653/56 and 653/59, which consist of monthly reports and

camp-related correspondence; in the same archive, there is police documentation on the camp under file PN No. 35/539.

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NOTES

1. ADS, PN No. 35/539, March 31, 1942, as quoted by Sigot, "Les Camps," p. 98.
2. ADS, Vt. 653/59, Note du chef de camp, May 12, 1942, as cited in Filhol and Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France*, p. 201.
3. ADS, Vt. 653/59, Note du préfet de la Sarthe, June 13, 1942, as cited in ibid., p. 248.

NAY

Nay (Pyrenées-Atlantiques Département) is located approximately 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) southwest of Pau and 70 kilometers (44 miles) north of the Spanish border. The village was the site of a regional detention center for foreign Jews and other "undesirables." Established by order of the Vichy Interior Ministry in late 1941, this "center of assigned residence" (*centre de residence assignée*) had the intended purpose of streamlining the detention and expulsion of foreign Jews, including naturalized citizens, from the area.[1] Most such sites operated throughout 1942 and into 1943, very often in empty hotels.[2] The inmates had to be economically self-sufficient to finance their stay. Though the number of Jews registered at the detention center in Nay is not clear, it is estimated that several hundred inmates were registered at 13 such centers, including Nay, in 1942.

The names of several German Jews possibly registered at the Nay detention center are known. Among them was Leopold Bohrmann, born on June 26, 1876, in Hassloch. Arrested in May 1940 in Bassans, Bohrmann was registered in Pau in June 1940; in Nay in August 1941; in Eaux-Bonnes, site of a national "center of assigned residence" in August 1942; and finally in Nailat in December 1942 before his release in September 1944.[3] Heinrich Wollheim, born September 11, 1894, in Loschwitz, was registered at the Gurs camp on November 1, 1940; at Septfonds between January 7, 1941, and August 3, 1942; and at Nay between October 21, 1942, and August 1, 1944.[4] The exact circumstances of his stay in Nay are unclear, and several foreign Jews are known to have occupied private residences during this time. However, scarce documentation for Margot Leyser, born on August 11, 1893, in Frankfurt an der Oder, reveals that at least some of the foreign Jews registered in Nay were detained there. According to her ITS documentation, she was registered at the Gurs camp on May 10, 1940, and subsequently endured "forced stays" at Oloron and then Nay, from where she emigrated nearly 16 months later on April 8,

1942.[5] Some evidence suggests that many of the detention center's remaining residents were likely among the Jews deported from Nay after roundups began in 1942.[6]

SOURCES The detention center at Nay is hardly documented and little researched. The main secondary source mentioning the site is Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75. For background information see also John F. Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France: The French under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press in association with USHMM, 2001).

Relevant primary documentation on centers of assigned residence can be found in AD-P-D, which holds among other documents relevant reports by police and gendarmerie in the M Series. Additional relevant police records can also be found in the N Series of ADH-L. Survivor testimony of Jewish residents of Nay includes the VHA testimony of Suzanne Ringel (#20420) from October 1, 1996, which is available at USHMMA. The ITS CNI contains the names of several German-born Jews and others believed to have occupied private residences or a detention center at Nay before emigration or deportation. See, among others, the CNI card for Leopold Bohrmann, Doc. No. 52197410; for Heinrich Wollheim, Doc. No. 52408472; and for Margot Leyser, Doc. No. 53247567.

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NOTES

1. AD-P-D, M07199, as cited in Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France*, p. 125; also ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371089.

2. ADH-L, N431 Police 4 and 8, as cited in Jean Merley, ed., *Répression: Camps d'internement en France pendant la*

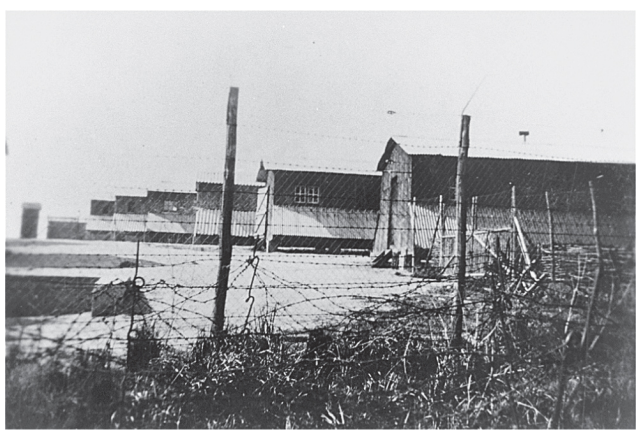
seconde guerre mondiale (Saint-Etienne: Centre d'Histoire Régionale, DL 1983), p. 76

3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Leopold Bohrmann, Doc. No. 52197410.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Heinrich Wollheim, Doc. No. 52408472.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Margot Leyser, Doc. No. 53247567.
6. VHA #20420, Suzanne Ringel testimony, October 1, 1996.

NEXON

The Nexon camp (Haute-Vienne Département) was created in the summer of 1940 to house 600 refugees.[1] It was located on a wooded plateau near the Limoges-Brive line, approximately 18 kilometers (11 miles) south of Limoges and about 18 kilometers north of the sub-prefecture, Saint-Yrieix-la-Perche.[2]

In October 1940, officials decided to double the number of barracks in the camp and agreed to add washrooms and heating capacity.[3] Nexon was then designated as one of two camps for French "undesirables." By December 1940 Nexon's officials added 12 barracks to the 13 already in place.[4] The camp still lacked heat, water, and washing facilities.[5] Freezing temperatures disrupted construction, delaying the camp's completion. Despite ongoing construction and concerns about security, the camp's director admitted 300 detainees from the Mons and Gurs camps in January 1941.[6]



The confinement center at Nexon, 1942–1943. USHMM WS #19253, COURTESY OF LAURETTE ALEXIS-MONET.

Classified as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour*

Surveillée, CSS), Nexon was encircled by barbed wire and outfitted with watchtowers. The camp's buildings, some of which had courtyards, were encircled by a stone wall. The interior wall was under 24-hour guard. The camp was divided into two sections —one for men and the other for women. According to a Belgian report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), "Building J housed the terrorists" (a reference, presumably, to resisters).[7]

Nexon's population consisted of a variety of political internees and others, including black marketeers. The detainees had a broad range of national and ethnic backgrounds, including French Gaullists, other French resisters, French common criminals, Spanish Civil War veterans, Poles, and Jews. Some Belgians, anti-Nazi Germans, and Roma were also interned at Nexon.[8] As early as March 1943, the German authorities used Nexon to house British and American prisoners of war (POWs).

Two chief inspectors and seven inspectors were responsible for the detainees' daily existence and camp security. Their duties included presiding over morning roll call, overseeing daily work inside and outside the camp, censoring prisoner letters, providing surveillance during visits, and investigating the internees' activities. "The camp's chief and the assistant chief kept a book of reports about the detainees in which they described the daily roll call as well as all communications made by the internees."[9] The regulations mandated the keeping of complete dossiers, including details about each detainee's family and professional, political, and military background.

As a camp for French undesirables, the internees' radical disposition shaped Nexon's history; one police report described the camp as entirely "unrepresentative."[10] An early report by the camp director mentioned that the detainees reacted negatively after being notified of camp surveillance rules. Sanctions against some were thus required. The detainees "complained about limited correspondence, visitation rules, leave suppression, the application of Card 'A' (standard) for rations, the lack of sinks and showers and other forms of grievance …. (T)hey refused to do unpaid labor and construction work" for which the director punished them by "repressing correspondence for some for eight days."[11] In contrast, the director "organized workmen among the internees who did not

refuse to work who (he) lodged in a separate barrack and allocated to them Card 'T' (heavy worker) for rations as directed in a circular of January 4, 1941."[12]

Early on, the problems experienced at Nexon were attributed to the "negative spirit of a great number of internees coming from Gurs."[13] Nexon's director suggested that the most influential militants in "camps of French undesirables" be isolated from their would-be followers.[14]

Detailed instructions existed for what intelligence to elicit from detainees. For example, the inspectors asked about affiliations with the Communist Party or labor unions; familial, personal, and work relationships; and links with other internees. The detainees' correspondence was monitored, and all political references were censored prior to letter delivery. The correspondence was combed for clues about the internees' mentality or ideology as noted in the camp's book.

The need for food at Nexon was "just as urgent as in the other camps."[15] Nexon relied on aid organizations for supplemental foodstuffs and other necessities such as clothing and shoes. Even before the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) agreed to work at Nexon, the camp's director "started to build a barrack to be reserved as the Quaker kitchen."[16]

At Nexon, the detainees performed work under the surveillance of the guards. Various daily work details were assigned to the prisoners.

On June 13, 1944, the detainees from the St.-Paul-d'Eyjeaux camp were transferred to Nexon.[17] But three days later, following an attack by the Resistance, which caused a fire in the Nexon camp, the internees from both camps were transferred to Limoges.[18] In the aftermath of the attack, an assessment of Nexon revealed that the fire had caused extensive damage. The report noted, "The majority of the barracks to the south of the central road were destroyed. Some structures of brick, particularly the internees' kitchen, the pig farm, the personnel showers, and the forge, because they were situated to the north of the central road, were all entirely destroyed."[19]

The use of Nexon as a confinement center continued after the

Liberation. On August 17, 1945, the internees still at Nexon were transferred due to insufficient manpower.[20] Approximately three months later, on November 2, 1945, the camp was officially closed. On December 16, 1945, Nexon was placed under the jurisdiction of the French Justice Ministry.[21] Following this period, the camp, its jurisdiction, and the activities conducted there were the subjects of controversy and scandal.[22]

SOURCES Three secondary sources have significant sections about Nexon: Yves Soulignac, *Les centres des séjours surveillés, 1939–1945*, 2nd ed. (Saint-Paul, France: Soulignac, 2000); Guy Perlier, *Les camps du bocage: 1940–1944, Saint-Germaindes-Belles, Saint–Paul–d'Eyjeaux, Nexon* (Brive-la-Gaillarde, France: Monédières, 2009); and Christian Eggers, *Unerwünschte Ausländer: Juden aus Deustchland und Mitteleuropa in französischen Internierungslagern 1940–1942* (Berlin: Metropol, 2002). Two other works refer to Nexon, but to a much lesser extent: Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps d'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002); and Shannon Fogg, *The Politics of Everyday Life in Vichy France* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Shannon Fogg, "'They are Undesireables': Local and National Responses to Gypsies during World War II," *FHS* 31:2 (Spring 2008): 327–358, is based on data useful for understanding an element of Nexon's population, the Roma.

Primary sources documenting the Nexon camp can be found in ADH-V, available at USHMMA as RG-43.047M. Among the materials are monthly camp reports, administrative communications, circulars, invoices, requisitions, accounting records, and photographs of the camp. Additional documentation can be found in AN (Police-Générale), available at USHMMA as RG-43.016M, reel 17. This collection provides a thorough but concise overview of the camp including monthly and quarterly reports and reports about the detainees' work regimen, nutrition, and camp surveillance. The records include detailed reports on the aftermath of the Resistance attack in 1944 and a thorough coverage of the postwar controversy at Nexon. Additional documentation can be found in UGIF, available at USHMMA as

RG-43.025M (reels 27–29), which supplies information about aid requested and provided to internees at Nexon. Although similar excerpts about Nexon appear in the AFSC collection, the latter tends to be less comprehensive than those about other French camps. The AFSC material is available at USHMMA as RG-67.007M. The ITS holds a report on the Nexon camp under 2.3.5.1, available in digital form at USHMM. In addition, several survivor testimonies about life at Nexon exist in VHA. During the early postwar period, Karl Schwesig, a German communist artist, wrote about his experiences at Nexon (and at four other French camps). His unpublished manuscript is titled "Pyreänbericht" and can be found at USHMMA under Acc. No. 1988.5.

Willa Johnson

NOTES

1. Letter, January 31, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.047M (ADH-V), reel 1, 185W3/61, January 31, 1941 letter, p. 1.
2. "Des Camps & centres d'internement du territoirs," February 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 17, fond 7, p. 3.
3. Letter, October 12, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 6, 993W4.
4. "Rapport de l'ingénieur des Ponte and Chaussées," October 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 17, fond 7, p. 1.
5. Letter, January 31, 1941, p. 1.
6. Ibid.
7. "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370942.
8. Ibid., Doc. No. 82370962.
9. "Organization du camp de Nexon, Note de Service II-Service des Internes," USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 1, 185W3/61, n.p.
10. Letter, January 17, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.047M,

185W3/70, reel 1, p. 1.

11. Ibid., p. 3.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. "Autumn 1942 Report," December 14, 1942, USHMMA, RG-67.007M (AFSC), Series II, Toulouse Office, Sub-Series: Reports, box 25, folder 6, p. 4.

16. Ibid.

17. "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82370970.

18. Ibid.

19. "Rapport sur l'état actuel et les possibilities d'aménagement rapide du Camp de Nexon," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M, 993W27, reel 6.

20. Note, Pour M. le Directeur Général, May 16, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 17, fond 7, p. 2.

21. Letter, P. 4482 from M. Michelet, Ministre des Armées, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 17, fond 7.

22. Note, Pour M. le Directeur Général, May 16, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 17, fond 7; letter, April 3, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 17, fond 7; letter, Directeur, *Journal La Liberte du Centre*, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 17, fond 7.

NOÉ

The Noé camp (Haute-Garonne Département) opened in February 1941. It was located approximately 31 kilometers (19 miles) south of Toulouse and was situated in the open country about a kilometer from the village of Noé.[1] The camp was enclosed by 2 meters (6.6 feet) of barbed wire, and had a watchtower, and lookout patrols, in addition to a mobile barrier of guards policing the entrance. By 1943, there were 82 barracks in the compound.[2]

The barracks at Noé were poorly built, windowless structures that were sparsely furnished with iron beds and small white wooden armoires. Many internees at Noé slept either on the ground or on wood planks covered with rotten straw and no blankets.[3]

Detainees from Spain, France, Belgium, Russia, Poland, and Germany—communists, Resistance operatives, other political prisoners, and Jews—were sent to Noé. Spanish Republicans were the first group interned there.[4] Together with Jewish refugees, they formed the camp's majority. In the period between February and March 1941, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) reported that it provided 60 children at Noé with toys and educational materials.[5] The camp leaders organized school for 50 children in Noé. Although the camp was not designated for families or children, as of mid-May 1941, approximately 70 children were living at Noé.[6] As of mid-February 1941, 2,000 people were detained at Noé, but that number declined to approximately 1,300 prisoners within 11 months; the population averaged 1,600 internees over the camp's existence.[7]

On April 1, 1941, foreigners deemed "*unfit* for incorporation into the company of foreign workers" (*Companie de Travailleurs Étrangers*, CTE; original emphasis) were sent either to Noé or one of four other camps.[8] Noé was one of two hospital camps in the prefecture for people over the age of 60 years and disabled workers, including the sick and many

amputees.[9] The AFSC (and other aid organizations) provided much-needed prostheses for amputees, eyeglasses, and other forms of medical and other assistance.[10] The patients at Noé suffered from a wide variety of ailments including tuberculosis, emphysema, parasitic infestations, gangrene, venereal disease, and diabetes.[11] As of May 5, 1941, approximately 200 people (12.5% of the camp's population) had tuberculosis.[12]

Noé was a very poorly run camp in comparison with others in the prefecture. An aid worker described the administrative staff sent from Vichy to run it as "anything but successful."[13] Conditions made the camp almost uninhabitable. In early 1941, camp officials were ostensibly unaware of potential epidemics that could be caused by the combination of exposure to carcasses of pigs, horses, dogs, and other animals with the prisoners' diminished health and severe undernourishment, poor hygiene and sanitation, and parasitic infestations, as noted by Dr. Walter.[14] Overrun with fleas, bedbugs, rats, and other vermin, the prisoners and barracks at the Noé camp required disinfection. Parasitic infestations were so severe that it was recommended that all hair be shaved from prisoners' bodies and special shampoos be given. In addition, radical suggestions for pest control were made, but ridding the barracks of rats presented a unique challenge. Rat poison could not be used for fear that hungry children would eat it.

To improve Noé's overall sanitation, repairs were required to the outbuildings where the toilets drained and waste gathered; canals needed to be extended in order to protect water from contamination; rooms where internees could bathe needed to be built; windows needed to be installed to improve air circulation and allow sunlight into the barracks; and fireplaces needed to be built. However, subsequent letters written at the end of 1942 by the camp administrators show continued problems with sanitation, infestations, and hygiene.[15]

The prisoners at Noé, even the elderly and disabled, were expected "to work to support the camp's life."[16] One postwar report remarked that it sometimes took "five or six disabled people to do the job of one able-bodied person."[17]

Noé residents relied on aid organizations that distributed much-needed clothes and food, but having a ration card did not

necessarily guarantee the amount of food a card user was to receive. In the Toulouse region, the population doubled during the war. In spite of being located in an agricultural area known for its vineyards, food supplies were scarce.[18] The camps received food only after area hospitals and the local populace were allotted rations. By October 7, 1941, the fresh vegetables market had practically collapsed. Aid agencies agreed to give food provisions to hospital camps like Noé before giving foodstuffs to the local population. The AFSC, the French Red Cross (*Croix-Rouge français*, CRF), the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF), the Committee of Assistance to Refugees (*Comité d'Assistance aux Réfugies*, CAR), the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC), some area churches, and other aid organizations provided supplemental foodstuffs and other material goods such as soap, clothing, and shoes for Noé's inhabitants. For example, in 1941, the AFSC provided meals for 1,200 of the sickest and neediest internees at Noé. These prisoners received a daily supplemental meal of 40 grams (1.4 ounces) of chickpeas, beans, rice, and so on, and between 3 and 5 grams (0.1 to 0.17 ounces) of oil. Onions and carrots in small quantities were added to the soup that was apportioned at one ladle per prisoner. In 1942, conditions, although difficult at Noé, were marginally better than at other camps in the prefecture largely because aid organizations helped camp officials locate food supplies. Officials also began permitting prisoners to receive food parcels.[19] Nevertheless, some of the poorest detainees remained entirely dependent on the camp and the aid organizations as their sole sources for food. The internees' food deficit was highlighted by the severe illness that many prisoners experienced after eating a "real meal" on Easter 1942.[20]

The internment camp at Noé, 1942–1943. USHMM WS #03058, COURTESY OF ERIC MALO.

In the summer of 1942 the plan to turn over foreign Jewish refugees to the Germans triggered a flurry of responses from the religious community. On July 21, 1942, the Committee of Assistance to Refugees, which had been notified about the plan by the director of the General Union of French Jews, appealed immediately to the French Red Cross. In an effort to save these refugees, CAR suggested their reclassification as prisoners of war (POWs).[21] The archbishop of Toulouse, Monsignor Jules-Gérard Saliège, distributed a letter in protest against the deportations. It was sent throughout the region and read at churches on Sunday, August 23, 1942.[22] The archbishop argued that the Jews and foreigners of Noé and Récébédou were also men, women, and children—human beings. Lamenting the transport plan, he asked, "Should we treat children, women, and men as vile cattle? Should the same family be separated from one another and sent to destinations unknown?" In the address, he appealed to Christian morality and the "consciousness of respect for humanity."[23]

The actions by the clergy forced the regional government to reckon with its opposition, but it did not stop or alter implementation of the plan.[24] Although the government did not formally censure the archbishop, the prefecture ordered the police to "end the document's diffusion," arguing that "it should not be tolerated in any fashion, in any public venue or public locale."[25]

On August 24, 1942, 135 foreign Jewish refugees who were interned at Noé (and 165 from Récébédou), who had entered

France after January 1, 1936, were rounded up, put into goods wagons under French guard, taken to the Demarcation Line to the Occupied Zone, and turned over to the German authorities.[26]

The camp at Noé remained in operation until after the Liberation, when it was used to hold indigent foreign refugees until 1947.[27]

SOURCES Éric Malo, *Le camp de Noé, 1941–1947* (Pau, France: Cairne, 2009) is the most extensive secondary work on the Noé camp, but Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps d'internment, 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002) and Christian Eggers, *Unerwünschte Ausländer: Juden aus Deustchland und Mitteleuropa in französischen Internierungslagern 1940–1942* (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), dedicate significant discussions to the camp. There are two pertinent articles published by Eric Malo, "Les archives de Noé," CR 110: 2 (1995): 291–305; and "Les camps de la région toulousaine, 1940–1944," in Jean Estèbe, ed., *Histoire des Juifs du Midi Toulousain au temps de Vichy* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1996), pp. 91–130. Eric Malo, "Le camp du Récébédou (Haute-Garonne), 1940–1942," *MJ* 153 (1995): 76–103, also includes information about Noé. Useful background information can be found in Shannon Fogg, *The Politics of Everyday Life in Vichy France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

An abundance of primary documentation exists about the Noé camp. Documentation at ADH-G covers the camp from its inception in 1941 until it closed in 1947: it consists of internees' dossiers; hospital and accounting records such as invoices and requisitions for medical, pharmaceutical, and other camp supplies; administrative correspondence; circulars pertinent to the camp's operations; death certificates; and a book of the dead. This material is available at USHMMA as RG-43. 058M. AN, Police Générale, available at USHMMA as RG-43.016M, reel 14, provides a more concise view of life at Noé. These documents include surveillance data. UGIF supplies details about the aid requested and given to internees; it holds lists of Jewish detainees with demographic information and sporadic reports about the camp's conditions. These records give a more intimate portrait of Noé's population

because they also include dozens of internees' letters. This documentation is available at USHMMA as RG-43.025M, reels 27–29. Similarly, AFSC furnishes documentation about visits, aid, and assistance provided to detainees at Noé, as well as some monthly and quarterly reports about the camp from 1941–1947; these documents are available at USHMMA as RG-67.007M. ADLG, collections 1W299 and 1W300, available at USHMMA as RG-43.123M, includes important records and correspondence about the transport of foreign Jews from Noé and concomitant clerical reactions. The ITS holds a report on the Noé camp under 2.3.5.1, available in digital form at USHMM. Karl Schwesig, a German communist artist, wrote an early postwar unpublished manuscript titled "Pyreänbericht," which depicts several French camps, including Noé, where he was interned from 1941 to 1942. It can be found at USHMMA under Acc. No. 1988.5.

Willa Johnson

NOTES

1. Letter, May 5, 1941, USHMMA (AFSC), RG-67.007M, Series II, Toulouse Office, Sub-series: Correspondence, box 32, folder 51.
2. "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82370980.
3. Letter, February 12, 1941, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, box 25, folder 8, p. 1.
4. "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. Nos. 82370978, 82370980.
5. Report, April 8, 1941, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, Series II Toulouse Office, Sub-series: Reports, box 25, folder 8, p. 3.
6. Letter, May 5, 1941, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, box 32, folder 51, p. 1.
7. "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. Nos. 82370978, 82370980.

8. “Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France,” December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. 82370380.

9. “Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France,” December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folders 19a and 19b, Doc. Nos. 82370380, 82370978.

10. Ibid.; Report, February 10, 1943, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, box 25, folder 10, p. 1.

11. USHMMA, RG-43.025M (UGIF), reel 27.

12. Letter, May 5, 1941, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, box 32, folder 51.

13. Ibid.

14. Letter, February 12, 1941, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, box 25, folder 8, esp. pp. 1–2.

15. For examples, see letter, March 19, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.058M (ADH-G), reel 1, 1831 1; and letters July 7, 1942, and August 4, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 14, fond 7.

16. USHMMA, RG-43.025M, reel 27.

17. “Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France,” December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82370986; USHMMA, RG-43.025M, reels 27, 29.

18. Report, October 7, 1941, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, box 25, folder 8, p. 2.

19. Report, April 14, 1942, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, box 25, folder 8, p. 2.

20. Ibid.

21. Letter, July 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M (ADL-G), 1W300, reel 7.

22. Letter from Msg. Jules-Gérard Saliège, USHMMA, RG-43.123M, reel 7, 1W300; also see letter, September 2, 1942, from the Préfecture Régionale de Toulouse, USHMMA,

RG-43.123M, reel 7, 1W300.

23. Letter from Msg. Jules-Gérard Saliège, USHMMA, RG-43.123M, reel 7, 1W300.

24. Letters, September 2, 1942, and September 3, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M, reel 7, 1W300.

25. Letter, September 2, 1942, from the Préfecture Régionale de Toulouse, USHMMA, RG-43.123M, reel 7, 1W300.

26. Letter titled "Convoi de Héberges," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.058M, reel 1, 1831W3, p. 1.

27. "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370381.

PARIS/LA PETITE ROQUETTE

La Petite Roquette prison was located on the Square de la Roquette in Paris, which is on the Rue de la Roquette. The prison's construction began in 1825 (it was completed in 1832), and it was modeled after Jeremy Bentham's panopticon.[1] During World War II, La Petite Roquette served as a women's prison and was chiefly run by the Sisters of Marie-Joseph; the art of France Hamelin, who survived La Petite Roquette as a political prisoner, emphasizes the constant watchfulness of the sisters over the inmates.[2]

Both common criminals and political prisoners were interned at La Petite Roquette. The common criminals could hope for release after they served their term. Those interned for their political beliefs had no such hope. For many of the political prisoners, La Petite Roquette was a way station on the road to another prison or camp, sometimes ending in the Ravensbrück concentration camp. Numerous political prisoners were transferred to the Tourelles concentration camp in the 20th arrondissement of Paris after a stint at La Petite Roquette.[3] However, for some, it was a last stop—the guillotine was used to execute prisoners there. Perhaps the best-known prisoner guillotined at La Petite Roquette was Marie-Louise Giraud, executed on July 30, 1943, for performing illegal abortions.[4]

Some demographic data are available on political prisoners in La Petite Roquette. The number of political prisoners entering the prison peaked at 356 in 1941, and 134 political prisoners entered the prison in 1944 before the Liberation. The majority of such prisoners were between 17 and 35 years old, and they were mainly industrial or service workers before their imprisonment.[5] A small number of Jewish women were also interned at La Petite Roquette, but usually only stayed there briefly before deportation to another internment site, such as Drancy; at least one group of Jewish prisoners was deported directly from La Petite Roquette to Auschwitz.[6]

The prisoners' diet was poor and meager, generally consisting

of weak soup—sometimes with a small amount of cabbage or rutabaga—for lunch and dinner, in addition to half of a roll of moldy, rat-chewed bread. Prisoners' protests had little impact on their rations.[7] However, some were able to supplement their diet with food sent in care packages by family and friends, and prisoners who were expecting were entitled to supplementary rations from the fifth month of their pregnancy.[8]

Yvette Sémard, a communist political prisoner, wrote of her internment in La Petite Roquette in her memoir. After her initial arrest in Paris in February 1942, she was taken to La Petite Roquette. Sémard comments that the prison was terribly cold, food was limited, and sanitation was poor. She estimates that between 600 and 700 other prisoners were interned there at the time, including political prisoners, common criminals, at least one "Gypsy" (Roma) woman, and briefly, a handful of Jewish prisoners. Life was not wholly miserable there for Sémard, however; she writes that political prisoners found comfort in solidarity. They formed a chorus and produced a handwritten journal, *Ahead of Life* (*Au devant de la vie*), which was passed to contacts outside the prison who distributed it to other communists. According to Sémard, some of the nuns were also willing to do favors for prisoners in exchange for good behavior.[9]

Both Sémard and numerous other survivors of La Petite Roquette testify that relations between political and common-law prisoners were tense at best. The prison was overcrowded, and common-law prisoners were given priority access to beds, while political prisoners often slept on pallets on the floor. Given the nature of their convictions and their finite prison sentences, common criminals were often less than interested in cooperating with political prisoners, who had no reason to expect to be released before the Liberation. Moreover, daily prayers and religious services were a point of contention: while common-law prisoners dutifully recited the Our Father and Hail Mary prayers when prompted by the nuns, communist prisoners remained stubbornly silent.[10]

Prisoners were deported from La Petite Roquette, particularly to the Fort de Romainville (a German-run transit camp just outside Paris), until just days before Paris was liberated. Some of the political prisoners were able to escape La Petite Roquette on

August 17, 1944. Another prisoner, who was in the infirmary with a fever at the time, testified that the deputy director of the prison announced to the prisoners in the infirmary on August 17 that they were free.[11]

SOURCES Secondary sources with information on La Petite Roquette are Colin Roust, "Communal Singing as Political Act: A Chorus of Women Resistants in La Petite Roquette, 1943–1944," *MaP* 7: 2 (Summer 2013): 1–19; J. Janicki, "L'enfermement des faiseuses d'anges à la prison de la Petite Roquette à Paris," *DO* 418 (2012): 33–36; and Mireille Le Maguet, *Une "faiseuse d'anges" sous Vichy: Le cas Marie-Louise Goiraud* (Saint-Martin-d'Hères, France: IEP, 1996).

Primary sources documenting La Petite Roquette can be found in Yvette Sémard's published memoir, *En souvenir de l'avenir: au jour le jour dans les camps de Vichy, 1942–1944: La Petite Roquette, les camps des Tourelles, d'Aincourt, de Gaillon, de La Lande et de Mérignac* (Montreuil sous Bois: L'Arbre Verdoyant, 1991); and in these sources by France Hamelin: *Femmes dans la nuit: L'internement à la petite Roquette et au camp des Tourelles, 1939–1944* (Paris: Phénix Éditions, 2001); *Femmes en prison dans la nuit noire de l'occupation: Le Dépôt, la petite Roquette, le camp des Tourelles* (Paris: Éditions Tirésias, 2004); *Dessins et peintures de prison: Exposition présentée au musée de la Résistance nationale du 21 novembre 2001 au 8 janvier 2002* (Champignysur-Marne, France: Musée de la Résistance nationale, 2001); *Les crayons de couleur* (Paris: Éditions à la carte, 1998); "La Montie aux Cellules," USHMMPA, WS #28021; and "L'heure de la Lecture," USHMMPA, WS #28029. There are also five interviews in VHA documenting La Petite Roquette: Ursula Katzenstein, April 2, 1996 (#13125); Geneviève Leider, February 19, 1996 (#9861); Marcelle Minkowski, November 3, 1996 (#22226); Esther Szerer, May 9, 1997 (#31367); and Fanny Wegliszewski, November 8, 1995 (#5689).

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NOTES

1. Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, p. 137.

2. "La Montie aux Cellules" by France Hamelin, USHMMPA, WS #28021 (Courtesy of France Hamelin); "L'heure de la Lecture" by France Hamelin, USHMMPA, WS #28029 (Courtesy of France Hamelin).

3. Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, p. 247.

4. Ibid., pp. 16, 146, 177–178.

5. "Tableau des entrées et détenues politiques à la Petite Roquette," Annexe 8; "Graphiques indiquant le nombre de femmes, détenues politiques, arrêtées entre 1939 et 1944, par âge et par catégorie socio-professionnelle," Annexe 9, Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, pp. 376–380.

6. VHA #13125, Ursula Katzenstein testimony, April 2, 1996; VHA #22226, Marcelle Minkowski testimony, November 3, 1996; VHA #5689, Fanny Wegliszewski testimony, November 8, 1995; "Liste date du 18 Juin 1942 des premières femmes deportees à destination d'Auschwitz (convoy du 22 Juin)," Annexe 1, Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, pp. 358–362.

7. Odette Reglait-Dugué, quoted in Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, p. 195.

8. "Le défilé des femmes enceintes," unsigned, 1943, Hamelin, *Dessins et peintures de la prison*, p. 15.

9. Sémard, *En souvenir de l'avenir*, pp. 13–25.

10. Madelein Zanier, Jackye Brun, and France Hamelin, quoted in Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, pp. 183–184.

11. Gisèle Robert and Marie-Louise Kergourlay, quoted in ibid., pp. 238–241; Lucie Gratadoux, quoted in ibid., pp. 242–243.

PARIS/TOURELLES

The confinement center, Tourelles barracks (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé Caserne des Tourelles*, CSS), which comprised three main barracks and several outbuildings, was a concentration camp located on 141 Mortier Boulevard in the 20th arrondissement of Paris. Originally a barracks for colonial infantry, it was adapted first to hold refugees and later to house both male and female prisoners, as well as prisoners of war (POWs), during the Occupation.[1]

In France Hamelin's memoir, she and other survivors of Tourelles—all female political prisoners—recall their confinement there. Hamelin writes that a large number of such prisoners were interned first at La Petite Roquette (Paris) before their transfer to Tourelles, and they shared many of the same experiences. Compared to the sense of constant observation in La Petite Roquette, a panopticon prison, the inmates at Tourelles had a slightly greater degree of freedom. Tourelles also held a wider variety of prisoners: "Jews, 'friends of Jews,' detained persons of all sorts, 'common law' prisoners and 'politicals,' that is to say resisters, wives of resisters, friends, accomplices of resisters, suspects of all categories."[2] There was also a substantial population of Republican refugees from the Spanish Civil War interned at Tourelles, as well as smaller numbers of Greek, Portuguese, Italian, Luxembourger, Russian, Armenian, British, and other prisoners.[3]

Yvette Sémard, imprisoned for her political beliefs, arrived in Tourelles at the end of March 1942; like Hamelin and many other women, she was previously imprisoned at La Petite Roquette and found life at Tourelles somewhat easier. In Sémard's memoir, she describes daily life at Tourelles in great detail. A vigorous black market flourished during religious services on Sundays. Prisoners kept themselves busy with exercise, organized courses and lectures, and knitted. Non-Jewish political prisoners formed a chorus and performed songs by the exiled German communist

composer Hanns Eisler, along with other patriotic and revolutionary songs. Survivors of Tourelles also recall that the Spanish prisoners frequently sang together, and one of Hamelin's drawings from Tourelles depicts a flamenco performance by Spanish prisoners in December 1943.[4] For Jewish prisoners, life was far more perilous; Sémard recounts the brutality with which Jewish prisoners at Tourelles were rounded up and deported from the camp (possibly to Drancy).[5]

Sketch of a courtyard in the confinement center at Tourelles barracks, Paris, by Felix Pastor, circa 1940. USHMM WS #73582, COURTESY OF THE FEDERATION NATIONALE DES DEPORTES ET INTERNES RE SISTANTS ET PATRIOTES.

Although the day-to-day operations of Tourelles were managed by French gendarmes under a lieutenant, Hamelin states that "the masters" were Germans operating under Gestapo orders, overseeing the camp from a building across the street. She recalls that SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker directed the first major deportations of Jews from Tourelles in June 1942.[6] Another former inmate testified that some detainees aided French officials in running the camp.[7]

Documentary evidence bears out these prisoners' memories: French authorities probably had more influence on Tourelles' everyday operations and had more contact with inmates than the

Germans. Meanwhile, the German authorities occasionally issued orders that groups of Tourelles prisoners be placed at their disposition (most likely for labor), and they conducted some deportations, particularly of Jewish prisoners. Prisoners were deported from Tourelles to both French-and German-run camps. One good example of this dual administration is the case of Maurice Bonfils: he was originally detained for allegedly compromising national security, sentenced to six months' imprisonment, freed, and then rearrested in the spring of 1944 under German orders and temporarily interned at Tourelles before a planned transfer to German control. In May or June 1944, he petitioned the French General Secretary for the Maintenance of Order for his freedom, and his request was subsequently forwarded through a wide variety of both French and German offices. When it became apparent that the German authorities would not grant his release, Bonfils, in apparent desperation, wrote letters to Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain and the Interior Minister asking them to intercede on his behalf. It is unclear whether his request was granted, but the case of Bonfils gives a sense of the complexities of the chain of command at Tourelles.[8]

Under orders from the Ministries of State and Interior, the director of Tourelles prepared reports on the camp's operations either every month or every two months. Such reports exist from at least as early as June 1942 through May 1944. The numbers of prisoners fluctuated widely, depending on the rates of deportations to and from the camp, and there was a significant amount of turnover: one report from September 30, 1943, gives the total population as 342, but by early May 1944, deportations to other camps had reduced that number to 245 (167 men and 78 women).[9] Although some reports state that a proportionally large number of prisoners were "liberated" each month, closer examination reveals that Jewish prisoners transferred to German control made up the majority of this figure. For example, in June 1942, 86 prisoners were reported liberated; of those, 66 were "Jewish women taken by the [German] Authorities."[10] Some Jewish prisoners from Tourelles were sent to Auschwitz on the same transports as Jews imprisoned in Drancy.[11]

Based on the records of the Prefecture of Police in Paris, escapes were a grave problem at Tourelles, particularly from late

1943 onward. Numerous inmates escaped from the Tenon Hospital, where more seriously ill prisoners were taken for treatment. Punishments for escapes generally involved a temporary suspension of visitation rights or parcel delivery to the remaining prisoners.[12] Tourelles's gendarmes appear to have been complicit in some escapes, and camp authorities reacted by supplementing the gendarmes with armed militiamen in early 1944.[13]

Deportations from Tourelles continued until July 27, 1944. As a result, Hamelin writes that the mood in Tourelles in August 1944 was one of "extreme tension" and near-chaos. Although the French prefect of police ordered that political prisoners be freed, German authorities remained in the city, so the liberation of such prisoners from Tourelles was conducted clandestinely, in small groups, on August 17, 1944.[14] It is unclear if or when the remaining common-law prisoners were freed or if any Jewish prisoners remained in the camp at the time of the Liberation.

SOURCES A secondary source with information about Tourelles is Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internment 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

Primary sources documenting Tourelles includes ADE-L, collections 1W1613; 20W282; 106W13–106W50; 106W56, 53–54, and 69–72; 106W58, 3–135, 302, 304, 306, and 314; 106W63, 165–168, 179–185, and 246–249; 106W65, 37–38; and 106W76, 27–29, 38–40—all available at USHMMA as RG-43.108M. Documentation can also be found in APPP, collection GB/14, available at USHMMA as RG-43.030M, reel 8. CNI cards for some prisoners interned at Tourelles can be found in ITS, 0.1, available digitally at USHMMA. Other ITS records on Tourelles can be found in 1.1.0.6 (Documents/correspondence on persecution/detention sites), Bulletin from the Ministère des Prisonniers de Guerre Déportés et Réfugiés, February 24, 1945 to April 15, 1946, Doc. No. 82329559; multiple documents under 1.2.7.18 (Persecution action in France and Monaco), including Brief an die Polizei-Pröfektur [*sic*] Paris, z.Hd. Herrn Direktor Tullard, July 15, 1942, Doc. No. 82197871; Aktenhaltung im Reich, July 1, 1944, Doc. No. 82198227; Polizeipräfektur Paris (an den Kommandanten der Militärverwaltung), Paris, June 17 to 22, 1941, Doc. Nos. 82199002–82199010; 2.3.5.1 (Belgian cata logue

on concentration and forced labor camps in Germany and on German-occupied territory), Rapport Définitif No. 31, Camps de France, December 30, 1951, Doc. Nos. 82370409 and 82370721. USHMMPA holds several images of La Tourelle: "Sketch of a courtyard in La Tourelle by Felix Pastor," WS #73582; "Sketch of room No. 10 for Spanish political prisoners in La Tourelle by Felix Pastor, WS #73583; and "A Room in the Barracks by Felix Pastor," WS #73589 (Courtesy of FNDIRP); "Chambre 113" by France Hamelin, WS #28014; "Noel '43. Le Flamenco," by France Hamelin, WS #28031; and "L'hiver, La Nuit, Les Barbelis," by France Hamelin, WS #28034 (Courtesy of France Hamelin). Published primary sources are Yvette Sémard, *En souvenir de l'avenir: au jour le jour dans les camps de Vichy, 1942–1944: La Petite Roquette, les camps des Tourelles, d'Aincourt, de Gaillon, de La Lande et de Mérignac* (Montreuil sous Bois, France: L'Arbre Verdoyant, 1991); and the following works by France Hamelin: *Femmes dans la nuit: L'internement à la petite Roquette et au camp des Tourelles, 1939–1944* (Paris: Phénix Éditions, 2001); *Femmes en prison dans la nuit noire de l'occupation: Le Dépôt, la petite Roquette, le camp des Tourelles* (Paris: Éditions Tirésias, 2004); *Dessins et peintures de prison: Exposition présentée au musée de la Résistance nationale du 21 novembre 2001 au 8 janvier 2002* (Champigny-sur-Marne: Musée de la Résistance nationale, 2001); and *Les crayons de couleur* (Paris: Éditions à la carte, 1998).

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NOTES

1. Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, p. 19.

2. Ibid., p. 248.

3. "État de 43 étrangers, pouvant être transférés en province, d'accord avec les Renseignements Généraux," APPP, collection GB/14, Côte Bª 1836, n.p.

4. Ibid., pp. 298–299; Hamelin, *Dessins et peintures de prison*,

pp. 36–37.

5. Sémard, *En souvenir de l'avenir,* pp. 27–38.

6. Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, pp. 247–249, 297.

7. Claudette Bloch-Kennedy, quoted in ibid., p. 249.

8. Assorted correspondence, RG-43.016M, reel 5, n.p.

9. "Effectif du personnel administrative; Effectif du personnel de garde et d'[illegible]; Effectif des internés," and "Le Commissaire Divisionnaire Chef du Camp, à Monsieur le Directeur de la Police Générale," ibid.

10. "Rapport pour le mois de juin 1942," ibid.

11. ITS, 1.2.7.18 (Persecution action in France and Mona co), Brief an die Polizei-Pröfektur Paris, z.Hd. Herrn Direktor Tullard, July 15, 1942, Doc. No. 82197871.

12. APPP, collection GB/14, Côte B^{a} 1836, n.p.

13. Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, pp. 315–316.

14. Ibid., pp. 317–318, 372–373.

PERPIGNAN

The Saint-Louis Hospital (*Hôpital Saint-Louis*) was located in the city of Perpignan, the administrative center of the Pyrénées-Orientales Département in southwestern France. Perpignan is 156 kilometers (97 miles) southeast of Toulouse and almost 10 kilometers (6 miles) south of Rivesaltes. During its existence, the hospital treated a sizable population of prisoners from nearby camps such as Rivesaltes, Saint-Cyprien, Barcarès, and Argelès (all located in the Pyrénées-Orientales Département), as well as from other smaller camps in the region.

In February 1939, the Public Health Ministry began to use a former military hospital in Perpignan as a center for the evacuation and triage of volunteers from the International Brigades (Interbrigades) sent back from Spain.[1] By March 1939, the facility became a hospital center for Spanish refugees, eventually providing a range of medical services, including treatment for tuberculosis and other contagious diseases, acute and parasitic ailments, and malnutrition; minor surgery was also performed there. Specialists in ophthalmology, otorhinolaryngology, radiology, and dentistry were also brought to the hospital to provide service there and at nearby camps.[2] There were 880 beds in the facility. Through 1939, the daily number of patients in the hospital averaged more than 800.[3]

Prisoners from the nearby camps were only sent to the hospital if they were either gravely ill or contagious, although any sick members of foreign worker groups (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs) based in the area were also sent there. Over time, patients of other types (indigent foreigners, "undesirables") were also admitted.[4] The reason for this policy was that the daily cost of care in the facility was less than half of what it would have been in a municipal hospital.[5]

In May 1940, the hospital's operations were moved to a different location, and the former military hospital was designated

as an auxiliary facility. The new location was in a group of buildings that included the Lamartine School (*École Lamar-tine*), an elementary school with 600 pupils.[6] The hospital was set up in a former boarding facility called Saint-Louis and therefore was named Hôpital Saint-Louis. The buildings in which it was housed were described as run down and completely unequipped, "worse than medieval."[7]

The facilities at the new location contained approximately 470 beds: 250 for those with tuberculosis, 100 for minor surgery, and the remaining 120 for general medicine.[8] The paid French staff included a head doctor, 2 additional doctors, 4 administrators, and 14 nurses. There were also five doctors and two pharmacists who were foreign volunteers. In addition, a number of specialists were engaged as needed from the city of Perpignan. Among the nonmedical staff were workers, mostly Spanish, from GTEs affiliated with Rivesaltes. They were food service workers, electricians, hairstylists, shop keepers, laundry workers, secretaries, and orderlies. The local police provided three guards on a rotating shift.[9]

In October 1940, the regional director of education lodged a complaint with the mayor of Perpignan regarding the condition of the hospital and the hazards it posed to the children who went to the school on the same grounds. The director noted in particular the strong medicinal odor, smoke from the laundry, patients' spitting onto the walkways used by the pupils, and, worst of all, cadavers in the hospital morgue that had been set up in a former chapel and that could be seen through its broken windows.[10] In the same month the hospital was affected by a flood, which caused considerable damage to the facilities and substantial loss of materials and supplies, including foodstuffs.[11] In early 1941 the health director made an urgent proposal to the prefect that the hospital be moved from Saint-Louis back to the former military facility. The recommendation was that Saint-Louis be retained as an auxiliary facility, to be used in the event of overflow.[12] The proposal was reiterated in May 1941 in a letter from the Vichy Interior Ministry to the Secretary of State for Family and Health, but was not acted on and the hospital remained at Saint-Louis.[13] In the autumn of 1941, the number of prisoners in the hospital ranged between 491 and 595 people.

In September 1942, a member of the Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced (*Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprés des Évacués*, CIMADE) observed that the conditions in the hospital "from the standpoint of supplies" were "equal if not worse than at Rivesaltes."[14] One prisoner in the hospital, Heinrich Wildmann, observed in a series of letters to his children that milk was in short supply and that eggs were a "mirage."[15] He wrote of being able to buy some items of food from time to time, but noted how often a meal consisted of only soup, which was often provided by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).[16]

After its establishment by the Public Health Ministry, Hôpital Saint-Louis was successively managed by different governmental bodies. When the Interior Ministry took over the management of certain camps including Rivesaltes at the end of 1940, Hôpital Saint-Louis fell under its purview. On February 1, 1941, the prefect transferred the management of the hospital to the administrators of the camp at Rivesaltes, who then ran the hospital and directed its personnel until the end of 1942. At that time the hospital's staff was absorbed by another hospital, Hôpital Saint-Jean. The administration of Rivesaltes sent tubercular detainees to the camp in the sanatorium at Guiche (Pyrénées-Atlantiques), and others were sent to convalesce for periods of up to a month in various facilities in Montpellier (Hérault) before ostensibly being returned to Rivesaltes. It is unclear when the last detainee left Saint-Louis, but it appears to have been sometime in the latter part of 1943, based on Heinrich Wildmann's letters.[17]

SOURCES A principal secondary source of information on the Saint-Louis Hospital in Perpignan is Anne Boitel, *Le Camp de Rivesaltes 1941–1942: Du centre d'hébergement au "Drancy de la zone libre"* (Perpignan: Presses universitaires de Perpignan/Mare Nostrum, 2001), which treats the hospital as an "annex" of the Rivesaltes camp.

Primary documentation on the Saint-Louis Hospital in Perpignan can be found in AD-P-O under classification 38W176. A portion of this material is held on microfilm at USHMMA under RG-43.036M. Heinrich Wildmann's observations about life as a prisoner in the hospital are contained in the Manfred Wildmann

family letters in USHMMA under 1998.A.037.

Abby Holekamp

NOTES

1. Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Interieur to Secrétiaire d'État à la Famille et à la Santé, May 26, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.036M (AD-P-O), reel 3, 38W176, pp. 2736–2739 (USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W176, pp. 2736–2739).

2. P/Pyrénées-Orientales to Ministre de la Santé Publique, July 23, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W176, pp. 2706–2707.

3. Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur to Secrétaire d'État à la Famille et à la Santé, May 26, 1941.

4. Ibid.

5. Médecin-Inspecteur de la Santé to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, April 10, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W176, p. 2648.

6. Médecin-Inspecteur de la Santé to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, January 9, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W176, pp. 2633–2636.

7. Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur to Secrétaire d'État à la Famille et à la Santé, May 26, 1941; quotation from Boitel, *Le Camp de Rivesaltes 1941–1942*, p. 47.

8. Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur to Secrétaire d'État à la Famille et à la Santé, May 26, 1941.

9. Ibid.

10. Inspecteur d'Académie to Maire/Perpignan, October 15, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W176, p. 2697.

11. Gestionnaire/Ancien Hôpital Saint-Louis de Perpignan to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, October 26, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W176, p. 2749; "Liste du matériel à sortir des comptes par suite de destruction ou disparition," October 17, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W176, pp. 2740–

2745.

12. Médecin-Inspecteur de la Santé to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, January 9, 1941, p. 2633.

13. Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur to Secrétaire d'État à la Famille et à la Santé, May 26, 1941.

14. Quotation from Boitel, *Le Camp de Rivesaltes 1941–1942*, p. 47.

15. Quotation from Wildmann Letter #48 (Heinrich to Lore and Manfred), September 22, 1942, USHMMA, 1998.A.037, folder 8, pp. 256–257.

16. Wildmann Letter #19 (Heinrich to Manfred), April 22, 1942, USHMMA, 1998.A.037, folder 3, pp. 104–105.

17. Wildmann Letter #55 (Heinrich to Lore and Manfred), November 2, 1943, USHMMA, 1998.A.037, folder 9, pp. 294–295.

PITHIVIERS

Pithiviers (Loiret Département) was a concentration camp located in the town of Pithiviers, 37 kilometers (23 miles) northeast of Orléans. It was closely associated with the camp at Beaune-la-Rolande, almost 18 kilometers (11 miles) southeast of Pithiviers. Both camps cooperated closely in the concentration and deportation of foreign-born Jews (and some French-born Jews) from France. In total, more than 18,000 Jews were interned at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande between 1941 and 1943. The vast majority left the camps on transports to Auschwitz.

Before the German authorities began deportations from Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande in May 1942, both camps were administered through the office of the Loiret prefect. Pithiviers was originally built by the French in anticipation of holding German prisoners of war (POWs). Before the Fall of France in June 1940, Pithiviers was a refugee camp; afterward, it held French POWs.[1] The first Jewish prisoners—foreign-born Jewish men living in the Paris Prefecture—arrived at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande on May 14, 1941. They had received "green tickets" (*billets verts*) the night before, instructing them to report for an "examination of their situation"; the more than 3,700 men who reported were immediately arrested and taken by train from the Austerlitz rail station (*Gare d'Austerlitz*) to one of the two camps. Of this number, 1,570 were interned in Pithiviers and were registered on arrival by French gendarmes, who also guarded the camp.[2] The vast majority of the prisoners were Polish by nationality.[3]

The camp consisted of 19 barracks, with additional buildings holding an infirmary, canteen, kitchen, workshops, and toilets; on the east side of the camp was a large vegetable garden, and the entire camp was surrounded by high fencing and guard posts. It was located less than 500 meters (one third of a mile) from the town, and prisoners arriving at the train station had to march through the town to enter the camp.[4]

Although Pithiviers was under French control for the first year of its existence, survivors testify that the SS exercised some supervisory control and made regular visits to inspect the camp during that time; the first such inspection took place at the end of June 1941 and resulted in the removal of the camp's head doctor, a French doctor from the town, who was evidently judged to be too sympathetic to the prisoners' plight. He was replaced by a "fascist" doctor who followed "all the instructions from Orléans," the prefectural seat.[5]

While in Pithiviers, prisoners performed forced labor both inside the camp, in its workshops and vegetable garden, and outside—at local farms and at the sugar refinery and malting plant in the village. Some of those who worked outside the camp, particularly those at the sugar refinery and malting plant, were paid for their work.[6] The camp infirmary was also staffed by inmates—14 Jewish doctors, plus a handful of medical students, nurses, and dentists—under the leadership of a non-Jewish chief doctor. Within days of their arrival, these Jewish doctors took the initiative to create a basic infirmary; in addition to treating prisoners, they were responsible for requesting that the most seriously ill be hospitalized or freed, for performing dental extractions, and for caring for the general hygiene of the prisoners and in the barracks.[7] Prisoners were still able to maintain some semblance of Jewish life: they held Shabbat services and recognized the major holidays at least.[8] Interned musicians and actors performed in the camp orchestra, choir, and theater, and there was a 300-volume library available.[9]

Prisoners at Pithiviers found ways to resist the French authorities both openly and clandestinely. The leaders of individual barracks represented the prisoners' concerns (for example, advocating for better food and more access to care packages) when interacting with the camp's directors. They also maintained contact with prisoners secretly working in cooperation with the Jewish Union for Resistance and Mutual Aid (*Union des Juifs pour la Résistance et l'Entr'aide*, UJRE) in Paris, to distribute handwritten Yiddish-language tracts and newspapers.[10] Prisoners' wives participated in resistance by throwing care packages over the camp's barbed-wire fence. Other prisoners resisted by refusing to participate in forced labor, and interned

veterans organized a revolt in June 1941, although the organizers of the revolt were subsequently transferred to camps near Châteaubriant, most likely Choisel. Some prisoners escaped, chiefly during the summer of 1941. The camp authorities punished resistance by banning mail and temporarily confining particularly uncooperative inmates in prison.[11]

Sources disagree on when the German authorities, under orders from SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker, took over operations at Pithiviers. Although convoy lists state that the first transport left Pithiviers for Auschwitz on June 25, 1942, prisoners' diaries and ITS records indicate that German control of Pithiviers began as early as May 8 of that year.[12]

SOURCES Many secondary sources on Pithiviers focus on the memorializing of its victims; as such, they frequently include reproductions of primary sources (such as letters, photographs, and documents) alongside information on the camp. Perhaps the earliest secondary source on Pithiviers is of this type: Amicale des Anciens Déportés Juifs de France, *Ce fut le commencement … le 14 mai 1941: Pithiviers et Beaune-la Rolande/Azoy hot zikh es ongehoybn … dem 14tn may 1941* (Paris: SIPN, 1951), a Franco-Yiddish book. Other secondary sources with information on Pithiviers while it was under French control, many of which feature at least a small number of primary sources, include I. Bachelier and D. Bastidon, *Les camps d'internement du Loiret: histoire et mémoire, 1941–1943* (Orléans: Centre de recherche et de documentation sur les camps d'internement et la déportation juive dans le Loiret, 1993); David Diamant, *Le Billet Vert: La vie et la résistance à Pithiviers et Beaune-la-Rolande, camps pour juifs, camps pour chrétiens, camps pour patriotes* (Paris: Éditions Renouveau, 1977); Serge Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz: La "solution finale" de la question juive en France* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2001); and Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internment 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

Extensive primary documentation on Pithiviers can be found in USHMMA. Materials include the Joel Kaye collection (Acc. No. 2000.537) and the Jack Isaac Groner collection (Acc. No.

2012.231.1), among other personal collections; 44 names sources, which include inmate/prisoner lists, transport lists, and a death list; 40 oral history interviews that mention or discuss Pithiviers; and a wide variety of archival sources, notably Selected Records from Fonds Diamant (CDJC, collections CMXXVIII–CMXLII), available at USHMMA as RG-43.082M, reel 8; and AN, Police Générale, available at USHMMA as RG-43.016M, reel 14. During Session 32 of the Eichmann trial, George Wellers testified and presented documents about Pithiviers as evidence against Adolf Eichmann; film of the trial may be found in USHMMA. Prisoners created a Yiddish-language newspaper, *Pitivye: konts-lager tsaytung* (sometimes transliterated as *Pitiwye: qonz-lager zaytung*), available online through the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Published primary sources on Pithiviers include Benjamin Schatzman, Serge Klarsfeld, et al., *Journal d'un interne: Compiègne, Drancy, Pithiviers: 12 décembre 1941–23 septembre 1942. Volume 1, Journal* (Paris: Le Manuscrit: Fondation pour la mémoire de la Shoah, 2005); Moshe Garbarz and Elie Garbarz, *A Survivor* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992); Isaac Schonberg, *Lettres à Chana: Camp de Pithiviers, mai 1941–24 juin 1942* (Orléans: CERCIL, 1995); and Kalma Apfelbaum, *Lettres d'un interné au camp de Pithiviers*, trans. Gérard Frydman (Paris: Belin; Orléans: CERCIL, 2005). Roughly 70 photographs and other images of Pithiviers can be found in USHMMPA. CNI cards for some prisoners interned at Pithiviers can be found in ITS, 0.1, available digitally at USHMMA. A large number of ITS records on Pithiviers can be found in 1.2.7.18 (Persecution action in France and Monaco); and 2.3.5.1 (Belgian cata logue on concentration and forced labor camps in Germany and on German-occupied territory), as well as numerous other ITS sources.

Julia Riegel

NOTES

1. "Exposition du 15 mai 1983 sur le camp d'internément de Pithiviers," May 15, 1983, USHMMA, RG-43.082M (CDJC, Diamant), reel 8, p. 2.

2. “French ‘gendarmes’ register prisoners arriving at Pithiviers,” 1941, USHMMPA, WS #19003 (Courtesy of FNDIRP); “A French policeman stands guard over Jewish prisoners in Pithiviers,” May 16, 1941, USHMMPA, WS #55634 (Courtesy of Süddeutscher Verlag Bilderdienst).

3. Le Préfet Inspecteur General des camps et centres d’internément du territoire à Monsieur le Ministre Secrétaire d’état à l’intérieur et Secretariat Général pour la police à cabinet, February 10, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 14, p. 4.

4. “Plan du camp de Pithiviers” and “Vue générale du camp de Pithiviers (5 hectares),” reproduced in Bachelier and Bastidon, *Les camps d’internement du Loiret*, p. 36; “Jews arrested in Paris march through the town of Pithiviers while en route to the internment camp,” 1941, USHMMPA, WS #78891 (Courtesy of Serge Klarsfeld).

5. David Diamant, “Témoignage sur l’infirmerie du camp,” June 1957, RG-43.082M, reel 8, n.p.

6. “Prisoners from Pithiviers at forced labor on the Solange farm,” 1941–1944, USHMMPA, WS #22808 (Courtesy of Serge Klarsfeld); “Group portrait of Jewish prisoners at the Matelotte farm, an annex of the Pithiviers internment camp,” April 1942, USHMMPA, WS #97457 (Courtesy of CDJC); “Jewish cobblers at work in the Pithiviers transit camp,” 1941–1943, USHMMPA, WS #22812 (Courtesy of Serge Klarsfeld); and “Le Préfet Inspecteur General,” p. 27.

7. “L’infirmerie au camp de Pithiviers,” n.d.; and Diamant, “Témoignage sur l’infirmerie du camp,” both in RG-43.082M, reel 8, n.p.

8. “Jewish prisoners at Shabbat religious services in the Pithiviers transit camp,” 1941, USHMMPA, WS #78890 (Courtesy of Serge Klarsfeld); Apfelbaum, *Lettres d’un interné*, p. 36.

9. “Group portrait of the Pithiviers camp orchestra,” August 1941–June 24,1942, USHMMPA, WS #45454 (Courtesy of

CDJC); "Members of the choir in Pithiviers, among whom is the conductor Mendel Zemelman," April 1942, USHMMPA, WS #06805 (Courtesy of Henry Bulawko); "The prisoners' library in Pithiviers," 1941–1943, USHMMPA, WS #22811 (Courtesy of Serge Klarsfeld); "Dernière Répre sen ta tion" (poster advertising a theatrical and choral performance), November 16, 1941, RG-43.082M, reel 8, n.p.; and "Le Préfet Inspecteur General," p. 30.

10. "Exposition du 15 mai 1983 sur le camp d'internément de Pithiviers," RG-43.082M, reel 8, p. 3.

11. "Note de service," July 20, 1941, "Punitions," May 11, 1942, and "Note," July 28, 1941, reproduced in Bachelier and Bastidon, *Les camps d'internement du Loiret*, pp. 41–42.

12. "Dernière letter de Daniel Finkielsztein," May 24, 1942, RG-43.082M, reel 8, pp. 1–5; Apfelbaum, *Lettres d'un interne*, pp. 142, 147, 154; Serge Klarsfeld, "Liste chronologique des convoys," in Bachelier and Bastidon, *Les camps d'internement du Loiret*, p. 55; ITS, 1.2.6.2 (Verschiedenes), ZdL, "Frankreich," n.d., Doc. No. 82484958.

PITHIVIERS (CSS)

Pithiviers (Loiret Département) was a concentration camp located in the Pithiviers commune, 37 kilometers (23 miles) northeast of Orléans. It was closely associated with the camp at Beaune-la-Rolande (almost 18 kilometers or 11 miles southeast of Pithiviers); together, they played a prominent role in the concentration and deportation of foreign-born Jews (and some French-born Jews) from France. For Pithiviers' first year of operations, from May 1941 until May 1942, it was operated by French gendarmes under the administrative supervision of the Loiret prefect (see the previous Pithiviers essay). In May 1942, under orders from SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker and with the cooperation of French officials, Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande came under German control. By September 1942, at least 6,080 prisoners had been deported from Pithiviers to Auschwitz.[1]

The deportations, which ended in late September 1942, almost emptied Pithiviers. The camp reverted to French control under M. Prévôt, the prefect, and became a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) primarily for non-Jewish communist prisoners.[2] Although CSS Pithiviers is less well documented than the previous periods of its existence, some sources exist. The confidential report of February 1943 by Robert Lebègue, Inspector General of Camps and Internment Centers (*Inspection Générale des Camps*, IGC), is useful for its descriptions of the camp, even though it is heavily colored by its author's personal opinions. Lebègue inspected the camp on January 23, 1943, and copies of his report were sent to nine different offices, including the General Secretary of the Police (Cabinet) and the Interior Ministry.

Lebègue reported that, at the time of his visit, Pithiviers held 1,085 prisoners, all male, although it had a capacity of 2,050. Most of the inmates were French political prisoners, but some were foreign born. He indicated that the camp's buildings were in good condition, but also made vague reference to "land clearing" that had to be done after the Germans took control of the camp. A

former French artillery lieutenant directed Pithiviers, and gendarmes guarded the prisoners; one prisoner represented his fellow internees to the camp administration. As during previous phases of Pithiviers' existence, hygiene was a problem; Lebégue claims that the chief problem was finding and retaining a camp doctor, yet it is also clear that some contagious illnesses, including tuberculosis, were common.[3]

Lebègue leveled numerous criticisms at Pithiviers' administrative structure. He stated that its director, M. Bouchard, was also in charge of Beaune-la-Rolande. However, the two camps had different classifications: Pithiviers was a camp of the "3rd category," meaning that it held prisoners arrested under orders of both French and German authorities (even though it was under French administration), whereas Beaune-la-Roland and nearby Jargeau were camps of the "1st category, at the demand of the occupation authorities." Pithiviers' classification meant that its finances, along with those of camps of the "2nd category," were controlled by the Interior Ministry, unlike "1st category" camps, whose finances were under German supervision. Such divisions in responsibility rendered administration of the Loiret camps significantly more difficult, Lebègue wrote. He also criticized the police inspectors assigned to Pithiviers, arguing that they should attend more carefully to inmate conditions and relate their observations to the camp director and the prefect, particularly when making recommendations that certain inmates should be released or punished. Other targets of Lebégue's critique included the guards' exhaustion, their outdated weapons, and tense relations with the German police. Nonetheless, he noted that escapes had not been recorded since October 1942, while they had been "extremely numerous when the camp harbored Jews."[4] This last observation was incorrect: although no escapes were recorded under German administration, many escapes occurred during Pithiviers' first year of existence.

Little documentation exists on prisoner experiences at CSS Pithiviers. Both Lebègue's report and camp records indicate that prisoners worked, both inside the camp and in businesses nearby, and at least some received salaries. Writing in early 1943, Lebégue claimed that the prisoners were reasonably well fed with potatoes, fresh and dried vegetables, and baked goods, but it seems that

these conditions did not last.[5] A report from October 1943 stated that the prisoners' diet was of exceptionally poor quality: it mostly consisted of dried vegetables, which caused "serious digestive troubles."[6]

One of the few available sources from an inmate's perspective is David Diamant (David Erlich)'s 1976 interview with Philibert Boyer, a former political prisoner at Pithiviers. Boyer arrived in Pithiviers in November 1943 on a transport of 400 prisoners from the Voves camp. At Pithiviers, he found that, in sharp contrast to other camps for political prisoners, there was little organized resistance. Georges Beaugrand, a former high-ranking member of the French Communist Party (*Parti communiste français*, PCF), was the de facto leader of Pithiviers' prisoners (probably the same prisoner leader Lebègue mentioned in his report). Boyer accused Beaugrand of close collaboration with Vichy authorities and of leading other prisoners into collaboration. However, Boyer also indicated that prisoners from Voves used what they had learned from the Resistance there to conduct similar activities at Pithiviers. Political solidarity was reinforced through theater, education, and sport, creating what Boyer calls a "barracks family" that shared care packages and other supplies with one another. A camp newspaper was distributed that reported "the successes won by the Soviet Army" in order to keep up prisoners' spirits.[7] The camp's administration did not look kindly on these displays of resistance and, according to Boyer, attempted to foster divisions between the prisoners. Nonetheless, inmates successfully organized an escape in March 1944 by building an 18-meter (60-foot) tunnel leading from the camp canteen out of the camp; 10 inmates, including Boyer, escaped and rejoined the Resistance in Paris.[8]

In the summer of 1944, Pithiviers came under Allied bombardments, some of which killed and injured prisoners and guards and damaged or destroyed buildings, including the infirmary.[9] The camp was liberated on August 9, 1944.[10]

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on CSS Pithiviers after October 1942. I. Bachelier and D. Bastidon's *Les camps d'internement du Loiret: histoire et mémoire, 1941–1943* (Orléans: Centre de recherche et de documentation sur les

camps d'internement et la déportation juive dans le Loiret, 1993) briefly examines CSS Pithiviers; as does Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internment 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002). David Diamant treats it in more detail in *Le Billet Vert: La vie et la résistance à Pithiviers et Beaune-la-Rolande, camps pour juifs, camps pour chrétiens, camps pour patriotes* (Paris: Éditions Renouveau, 1977).

Primary documentation on CSS Pithiviers can be found in USHMMA, including RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 14; RG-43.080M, Selected records of Lucien Lublin related to resistance (CDJC, collection CMXXI), reel 2; and RG-43.082M, Selected records from Fonds Diamant (CDJC, collections CMXXVIII-CMXLII), reel 8.

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NOTES

1. Serge Klarsfeld, "Liste chronologique des convoys," quoted in Bachelier and Bastidon, *Les camps d'internement du Loiret*, p. 55. A discussion of Pithiviers under German administration will appear in a later volume of this encyclopedia.

2. Rapport de M. Robert Lebègue, Chargé de l'IGC, sur le camp de Pithiviers (Loiret), February 28, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 14, p. 2.

3. Ibid., pp. 1, 5, 7, 11–12.

4. Ibid., pp. 2–5.

5. Le Secrétaire Général au Maintien de l'Ordre, DGPN, à Monsieur le Préfet du Loiret, May 24, 1944, RG-43.016M, reel 14, n.p.; Rapport de M. Robert Lebègue," pp. 7, 13.

6. Le Préfet Régional, Monsieur le Préfet délégué du Secrétaire Général à la Police, October 1, 1943, RG-43.016M, reel 14, n.p.

7. David Diamant and Philibert Boyer, "Témoignage avec récit d'une évasion collective," 1976, USHMMA, RG-43.082M

(CDJC, Diamont) reel 8, pp. 1–2.

8. Ibid., pp. 3–4.

9. Le Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur, DGPN, à Monsieur le Chef de Camp de Pithiviers, July 21, 1944; L'Inspecteur Principal aux Renseignements Généraux, détaché au camp de Pithiviers, à Monsieur le Directeur de l'Administration de la Police (8ème Bureau—Service des camps)—Vichy, July 4, 1944, both in RG-43.016M, reel 14, n.p.

10. "Exposition du 15 mai 1983 sur le camp d'internément de Pithiviers," May 15, 1983, RG-43.082M (CDJC), reel 8, p. 4.

PLÉNÉE-JUGON

The Plénée-Jugon camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) was set up on the domain of the abandoned Villeneuve-Sainte-Odile castle in the Côtes-d'Armor Département. It was located along National Road 12, about 274 meters (300 yards) northwest of Langouhèdre, a small village closely tied to Plénée-Jugon. By car, Plénée-Jugon is approximately 60 kilometers (37 miles) northwest of Rennes and 32 kilometers (20 miles) southeast of Saint-Brieuc.

Between October 29 and November 20, 1940, the prefect of Côtes-du-Nord, Jacques Feschotte, sent approximately 40 Roma families to Plénée-Jugon. Feschotte's action followed the October 18, 1940, order by Feldkommandantur 748, then stationed in Saint-Brieuc, demanding the detention of all Roma in the Côtes-du-Nord Prefecture. On November 11, 1940, five Roma children and adolescents attending Langouthèdre elementary school were arrested and sent to the camp, where they joined their parents, who had already been detained there. When the Plénée-Jugon camp closed on November 20, 1940, the Roma were transferred successively to the camps at Coudrecieux, Mulsanne (Sarthe Département), and finally Montreuil-Bellay (Maine-et-Loire Département).[1]

Although the camp operated for a very brief period, the registry of Langouthèdre elementary school still provided the names of all the Roma children who attended school at that time to the prefecture.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the camp at Plénée-Jugon are Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation,* 4 vols. (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997), and "1940–1946: L'Internement des Tsiganes en France," *Hommes et Migrations* 1188–1189 (June–July 1995): 31–37;

Association "Les Bistrots de vie du pays briochin," ed., "1940: le camp d'internement des Tziganes de Plénée-Jugon sorti de l'oubli," *Journal* 16 (November 12, 2010): 1–4; Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–148. As announced in *Le Télégramme*, November 12, 2010, a commemorative stone was dedicated at the camp.

Primary sources for the camp at Plénée-Jugon can be found in AMP-J, including a postcard of the castle, and AN/ONACVG.

Eliezer Schilt
Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTE

1. Le Prefet des Cotes-du-Nord à Monsieur le Major Commandant la Kreiskommandantur-Saint-Brieuc, December 9, 1941, Objet: "Internement des nomades," AN/ONACVG, reproduced at www.ldh-france.org/section/loudeac/accueil/dossiers/le-camp-dinternement-des-nomades-de-plenee-jugon/reponse-du-prefet-au-kreiskommandantur/.

POITIERS

The city of Poitiers is located 94 kilometers (59 miles) southwest of Tours. After the Armistice of 1940, it was just inside the Occupied Zone in the Vienne Département. The camp at Poitiers first opened in October 1939 as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) for Spanish refugees. From December 1940, it held Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) and then local Jews, becoming one of the few mixed camps of France that confined more than one persecuted group. Poitiers was under the authority of the local prefect, Louis Bourgain.

The Poitiers camp was located on the road to Limoges and was spread over more than 21,000 square meters (25,116 square yards). The French authorities obtained this space in two plots: one amicably, the other commandeered when the owner asked for too much money.[1] Poitiers was also known as the Route de Limoges camp. It was first enclosed with a barbed-wire fence, which was doubled after 1941, and two watchtowers were added. Fifteen wooden barracks, each 50 meters (55 yards) long and 6 meters (6.6 yards) wide, were lined up on the western side of the main road. The administration, infirmary, and guards occupied the first three barracks. The camp's construction, which started in the fall of 1939, was completed in May 1941. Separate, fenced-in compounds for Roma, Spaniards, and Jews were set up at the end of 1941. East of Limoges Road were additional barracks for administrative staff, stockrooms, kitchens, bathrooms, a chapel, and a gendarmerie station.

Living conditions were harsh. The barracks lacked furniture, such as chairs, tables, and benches. Inadequate insulation caused air leaks, and there was insufficient heating. Maintenance and hygiene were poor; the water and sewage systems were defective according to the chief engineer's report in the spring of 1941.[2] Survivor Ruth Kissinger described the barracks as ridden with vermin.[3] The camp was also overpopulated. The 15 barracks had a maximum capacity of 650 people, but held 800. In actuality,

because 3 barracks were not used for housing, the inmates occupied only 12 barracks. There were approximately 67 people per barrack.

Between 1939 and 1944, the Poitiers camp held a total of 800 Spanish refugees, 500 Roma, 1,800 Jews (including more than 500 children), and between 200 and 300 political detainees. The first Roma detainees arrived on or around December 5, 1940, in caravans and trailers.[4] Ninety-five percent of the first 200 Roma entering Poitiers were French; the remainder were foreigners. Within days, there were 456 prisoners. Following two censuses conducted in April and May 1941, the French authorities detained all Jews in the region around Poitiers on July 15, 1941: 151 adults and 158 children were interned in the camp at that point. The Jews came from the Charente, Charente-Maritime, Deux-Sèvres, and Vienne Départements and from the Vendée. On December 1, 1941, the camp held 452 Roma, 322 Jews, and 27 Spaniards.

Six months later, on July 1, 1942, a new census listed a total of 841 people in Poitiers, including 368 Jews, more than half of whom were French nationals. The deportations began that month. Except for convoy 8 of July 18, 1942, the trains passed through the Drancy transit camp before reembarkation for Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Convoy 8 contained 824 Jews deported from the Poitevin and the Pays de la Loire regions directly from Angers (119 kilometers or 74 miles northwest of Poitiers) to Auschwitz. On October 1, 1942, there were only 13 Jews left in Poitiers. For the Jews of Poitevin, as noted by historian Paul Lévy, the camp served as the gateway to the Holocaust.

In 1942, the Obligatory Labor Service (*Service de Travail Obligatoire*, STO) dispatched able-bodied Roma men from Poitiers to Germany. In July 1942, 100 male Roma were deported from Poitiers to the Nazi concentration camps at Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen. There were still 459 Roma in the camp by late 1942, but the remaining men were taken to the Reich on January 13, 1943. On December 29, 1943, the German authorities ordered the remaining 304 Roma women and children transferred to the Montreuil-Bellay camp.

Between December 1943 and April 1944, the prisoner population fluctuated between 207 and 278. The detainees were

mainly communist women, political prisoners from the Paris area, and wives or mothers of Resistance members. By the end of June 1941, the Poitiers camp served as an annex for the Pierre Levée prison in Poitiers, when it held about 30 communists awaiting transfer to Compiègne, Frontstalag 122, the entrepôt (collection center) for French political prisoners deported to the Reich.

Members of the Goldstein family pose with Nechemia and Esther Kluger (standing, center) in the Poitiers internment camp, 1941.
USHMM WS #09805, COURTESY OF SABINA AND SAMUEL GOLDSTEIN.

The camp had a succession of directors, and initially, five gendarmes and a Poitiers deputy police officer guarded the camp. This number was doubled at the end of 1941. In 1942, the camp director denied a request for six additional gendarmes to watch over Jews about to be deported, instead hiring approximately 30 civil guards. Survivor Toptia Barbanel recalled that the guards stole prisoners' possessions, including watches and jewelry.[5]

Work assignments for Roma differed from those for Jews. From the outset of the Occupation, the German authorities tried to take sole advantage of Roma labor. For Jews, work opportunities were intermittent. There was a basket-making workshop inside the camp, and private companies occasionally deployed detainee labor

in the city of Poitiers.

According to survivor Felicia Barnabel, solidarity existed between Roma and Jews in Poitiers: "The Gypsies were wonderful," she said. "They would play music for us. They would also engage in fake fights to help Jews escape."[6]

The prisoners regularly escaped, but it was hard to keep an actual list of escapees before the camp was fully operational in August 1941. Between August and December 1941, 49 Roma and 19 Jews managed to flee.[7]

In the spring of 1942, the French authorities granted permission for the establishment of a school inside the Roma compound. Among the instructors was Madame G. L'Huillier, who wrote an account and took photographs of the camp. She recalled that, aside from basic literacy and religious instruction, the students enjoyed closely supervised walks outside the camp. Despite the worsening food situation in 1943, the Roma women managed to hold back some rations to use for care packages for their deported men.[8]

The Jewish chaplain, Rabbi Elie Bloch, aided the prisoners until his arrest and removal to the Drancy camp on February 24, 1943.[9] Another source of help for Jews and non-Jews alike was the Catholic chaplain for Roma, Father Jean Fleury, who was Rabbi Bloch's close friend. Local nuns also gave assistance. The detainees benefited for a time from the assistance of the French Red Cross through its on-site representative, Madame Marcelle Valensi, who died of a heart attack in late 1942. Some gendarmes, prefectural employees, and the delegate-prefect for Vienne, Robert Holveck, also assisted. In November 1943, Holveck was deported for ignoring orders from Feldkommandantur 677 based at Poitiers. This collective aid led to the rescue of 106 Jewish children.

On August 26, 1944, with the German retreat, the Poitiers camp was evacuated and the remaining prisoners released. The evacuation took place thanks in part to Father Fleury. After the Liberation, the camp held German prisoners of war (POWs), collaborators, and black marketeers from September 6, 1944, to October 31, 1945. In December 1944, the camp held 390 prisoners.

Arrested in September 1944 on charges of collaboration, Prefect

Bourgain was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment and lifetime national dishonor. In 1964, Yad Vashem honored Father Fleury as a Righteous Among the Nations for saving Jewish lives at Poitiers.

SOURCES The following secondary sources document the history of the Poitiers camp: Paul Lévy, *Un camp de concentration français: Poitiers (1939–1945)* (Paris: SEDES Ed., 1995), and "Poitiers, antichambre de la Shoah," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 120–143; Raphaël Pillosio, *Route de Limoges* (DVD, 2003, 40 min.); Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation,* 4 vols. (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–148. Additional details on the camp's history can be gleaned from Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001). Some biographical information on Louis Bourgain by Jean Henri Calmon can be found at the VRID website, www.vrid-memorial.com/afficher/rubrique/14/Situation-dpartementale/article/29/Louis-Bourgain.html.

Primary sources on the Poitiers camp can be found in ADV: 109W22 (Poitiers-Route de Limoges, 1940–1945); 109W26 (German and French police reports, reports to IGC, and correspondence); 109W33–109W35 (camp population); 109W36–109W40 (prisoner movements, such as transfers, hospitalizations, releases, and the camp directors' reports); 109W42–109W43 (escapes); 109W44 (camp labor); 109W45–109W68 (information and administrative inspections with detainees' names); 109W152–109W167 (camp staff); and 109W211 (camp operations, including administration, official directives, management, and camp police). Additional primary sources can be found in AN 737/MI/2 (documents and various information about the camp, including lists of detainees and transfers to the Drancy transit camp). Limited information on the fate of Rabbi Elie Bloch can be found

in ITS, 0.1 (CNI), with conflicting deportation dates from Drancy of May 24, June 24, and December 17, 1943. Copied to USHMMPA are numerous photos of Jewish families and children at Poitiers from YIVO, CDJC, and UL. The documentary film *Route de Limoges* includes interviews with a former Jewish detainee, Félicia Combaud (née Barnabel), and a Roma detainee, Jean-Louis Bauer. VHF holds testimonies by Jewish survivors of Poitiers: Paulette Angel (#23235); Maurice Baran-Marszak (#11430); Toptia Barbanel-Nguyen-Van-Canh (#15766); Fanny Bialka (#25461); Ruth Kissinger (#29823); Nora Stiefel (#02524); and Henri Zajdenwergier (#23517). Two published testimonies are Father Jean Fleury, "Le camp de la route de Limoges à Poitiers," *Mg* 31 (1974): 1–7; and G. L'Huillier, "Reminiscences of the Gypsy Camp at Poitiers 1941–1943," *JGLS* 27: 1–2 (1948): 36–41.

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NOTES

1. ADV, 104W32, quoted by Lévy, *Un camp de concentration français,* p. 18.
2. ADV, 104W32, rapport de l'ingénieur en chef, April 18, 1941, quoted in ibid., p. 47.
3. VHF #29823, Ruth Kissinger testimony, June 5, 1997.
4. ADV, 104W40, cited in Lévy, *Un camp de concentration français*, p. 26.
5. VHF #15766, Toptia Barbanel-Nguyen-Van-Canh testimony, May 29, 1996.
6. Interview with Felicia Combaud (née Barnabel), n.d., recorded in Pillosio, *Route de Limoges*.
7. ADV, 104W1, Rapports d'évasions, 1941–1942, cited by Lévy, *Un camp de concentration français*, pp. 133–134.
8. L'Huillier, "Reminiscences of the Gypsy Camp at Poitiers

1941–1943," pp. 36–39; USHMMPA, WS #48530, A group of Roma girls take First Communion at the Poitiers camp, 1943, courtesy of UL, SMGC PX L'Huillier.

9. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Rabbi Elie Bloch (DOB July 8, 1909), Doc. Nos. 14801389, 14801388, 14801385.

PONTIVY

Also known as the Toulboubou camp, this temporary camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) was located in the Bretagne region in the Morbihan Département, 48 kilometers (approximately 30 miles) northwest of Vannes. It was built on lands belonging to the local village. As part of the internment policy for Roma in Occupied France, the Morbihan prefectural authorities, headed by Henri Piton, started rounding up the local Roma in Pontivy on October 14, 1940. They were then transferred to the Moisdon-la-Rivière camp (Loire-Inférieur Département; today: Loire-Atlantique) on or around November 22, 1940.

There are conflicting details concerning the camp's physical layout and location, with historian Marie-Christine Hubert indicating that it occupied the abandoned chateau, a claim challenged by historian Jacques Sigot, who notes that the area not only lacked a castle but is today a sports complex.

Two reports from Moisdon-la-Rivière (La Forge); a detailed letter from the camp registrar of November 25, 1940; and a December 6, 1940, report by the sub-prefect of Châteaubriant described the arrival of 116 Roma from the Toulboubou camp, escorted by Morbihan gendarmes. The Roma were members of 18 families from Vannes and Lorient, consisting of 32 men, 28 women, and 56 children.[1] An undated report in the same file placed the total number of arrivals from Pontivy at 115.[2]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Pontivy are Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation,* 4 vols. (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997), and "The Internment of Gypsies in France," in Karola Fings, Herbert Heuss, and Frank Sparing, eds., *In the Shadow of the Swastika: The Gypsies during the Second World War*, 3 vols., trans. Donald Kenrick (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999), 2: 59–

88; Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); and Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–148.

The scant primary documentation on the camp at Pontivy can be found in ADL-A, copied to USHMMA as RG-43.053M, reel 6, 43W148. The AD-Mor does not hold any extant documents on the camp.

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NOTES

1. S-P/Chateaubriant, "Rapport sur le functionnement du camp de concentration des nomades de Moisdon-la-Rivière (Loire-Inf.)," December 6, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.053M (ADL-A), reel 6, 43W148 (Moisdon-la-Rivière), frame 447 (USHMMA, RG-43.053M/6/43W148, with frame); lettre du régisseur, Moisdon-la-Rivière, November 25, 1940, reprinted in Sigot, "Les Camps," pp. 86, 88.

2. Camp de Moisdon, "Repartition des nomades," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.053M/6/43W148, p. 463.

PORT-VENDRES

Port-Vendres (Pyrénées-Orientales Département) is a Mediterranean fishing port located 11 kilometers (7 miles) southeast of Argelès-sur-Mer and 10 kilometers (6 miles) north of the Spanish border. In 1939, as tens of thousands of Spanish Civil War refugees poured across the border into France, two commercial vessels were anchored in Port-Vendres to serve as hospital ships for wounded members of the retreating Spanish Republican Army. Some evidence suggests that, like Argelès-sur-Mer, Port-Vendres was the site of one or more refugee camps.[1] For example, more than 70 Spanish refugees were still registered as occupants of the Scolaire School for Boys on Pasteur Street in August 1940, where they received care from the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).[2]

Port-Vendres was a main point of embarkation for French troops serving in Algeria and also became a place of hiding and escape for some Jews.[3] In the later war years, the town became part of a heavily fortified coastal defense zone built up by Organisation Todt (OT). There is evidence to suggest that foreign forced laborers were housed in OT camps in the area around Port-Vendres during this time.[4]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Port-Vendres camp or camps are scarce. See especially Evelyn Mesquida, *La Nueve, 24 aout 1944: Ces republicains espagnols qui ont libéré Paris*, preface by Jorge Semprun; trans. Serge Utge-Royo (Paris: Le Cherche Midi, 2011).

Primary sources documenting the detention sites at Port-Vendres include USHMMA, RG-67.007M (AFSC), records relating to humanitarian work in France, folder 84, Correspondance officielle et individuelle, école des filles (Port-Vendres); USHMMA, RG-50.030*0576, oral history interview with Sami Dorra (April 30, 2010); and VHA testimony of

Michelle Gourarier (#14154), April 25, 1996.

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NOTES

1. Mesquida, *La Nueve 24 aout 1944*, p. 32.
2. USHMMA, RG-67.007M, Box 16, Folder 84.
3. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0576, Sami Dorra, oral history interview.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Francisco Martinez Marquez, Doc. No. 51043819.

PRÉMOL

Situated at the foot of the French Alps in the Isère Département in southeastern France, Prémol is located approximately 13 kilometers (8 miles) southeast of Grenoble. Nearby towns include Vaulnavays-le-Haut and the spa Uriage-les-Bains. It is known as the site of the Chartreuse-de-Prémol, a partially destroyed monastery of the Carthusian Order. There is some evidence to suggest that the monastery or another site at Prémol briefly served as an internment camp after the signing of the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. Members of the 1st Company of the special companies of military workers (*Companies Spéciales de Travailleurs Militaires*) were registered at a camp in Prémol before being transferred to an internment camp for demobilized soldiers that opened at Fort-Barraux in July 1940.[1] Postwar documentation also suggests that an internment camp for a Company of Foreign Workers (*Companie de Travailleurs Étrangers*, CTE), CTE No. 351, operated in Uriage.[2] The available evidence is not clear, but there is a possibility that the Uriage and the Prémol camps were identical sites and that foreign forced laborers were interned there after the transfer of the soldiers.

SOURCES Although there is significant research available on the history of camps in the Isère Département in general, the Prémol camp is scarcely documented. One of the few references to this site in secondary literature can be found in Jean Merley, ed., *Répression: Camps d'internement en France pendant la seconde guerre mondiale* (Saint-Etienne: Centre d'Histoire Régionale, DL 1983), pp. 117–118.

Primary documentation can be found at ADI, including 52M117 (2) and 52M112. Specific references to a camp at Prémol can also be found at ADI, 15W119 and 15W247. Finally see ITS, 1.1.0.6. (Dokumente/Schriftwechsel zu Verfolgung/Haftstätten), available

in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. ADI, 52M117 (2) and 52M112, as cited by Merley, ed., *Répression*, pp. 117–118.
2. ITS, 1.1.0.6, folder 53, Doc. No. 82341639.

PUY-L'EVÊQUE

Located in the Lot Département in southwestern France, the Puy-l'Evêque camp was approximately 402 meters (440 yards) south of the village and 25 kilometers (15 miles) northwest of Cahors. Originally called the "camp for the sorting of foreigners of Puy-l'Evêque" (*Camp de triage des étrangers de Puyl'Evêque*), it was later designated as a camp for foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE).[1] It was set out on a 125 × 72 meter (137 × 79 yard) field, the borders of which were delimited by the Cahors-Monsempron-Libos railroad and the Lot River. The detainees were accommodated in wooden barracks that were 49 meters (161 feet) long. One barrack was built for the administrative offices and another for the guards. There were also bathrooms (with toilets and showers), a vegetable garden, and a watchtower. Until September 1940, the camp held interned foreigners seeking asylum: Germans, Austrians, and Czechoslovakians. It is unclear whether the camp was erected before or after the Armistice of June 1940.

During its transition from an internment to a GTE camp, Puy l'Evêque was the subject of extensive correspondence concerning its contingent of Germans and "ex-Austrians." Because it partially originated from the prefecture's Foreigners' Service (*Service des étrangers*) and the timing coincided with the activities of the Kundt Commission, it is likely that this correspondence was sent on the German authorities' behest. Among other details, this exchange indicated that Puy l'Evêque held, in addition to Central European internees, some Poles and Spanish Republicans. Among the Central Europeans were a few women. In sorting out the destinations of the foreigners under his charge, the commandant, Capitaine de réserve de Breuvery, placed them, in accordance with directions from the department's Sorting Commission (*Commission de triage*), into three categories: "1. Put at liberty; 2. Directed to different camps of foreigners or companies of foreign workers on 5 November; 3. Kept in the Camp of Puy

l'Evêque."[2]

From September 1940 until the end of 1942, Puy-l'Evêque came under the Vichy Labor Ministry's control, specifically the anti-unemployment commission (*le commissariat de la lutte contre le chômage*). After December 26, 1942, the camp was turned into a special internment camp for foreigners.[3] It was designed to hold "citizens from countries that were at war with or occupied by countries of the Axis powers. These foreigners had been made prisoners after the Armistice and had managed to escape to the Southern Zone. They were from Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Poland, and Yugoslavia, and had either escaped from units that had been created to fight against the Axis, or they were incorporated workers who came from those same countries and were susceptible to escape for the same reasons."[4]

The camp directors were M. Vieil and M. Bouquillard, who were part of or answered to the Catus GTE camp authority. In August 1940, the camp surveillance consisted of "one captain, two lieutenants, six noncommissioned career officers, as well as thirty men."[5]

At this time the camp was referred to as the "special internment center of Puy-l'Evêque" (*centre spécial d'internement de Puy-l'Evêque*), which distinguished it from other GTE camps.[6] Indeed, this camp was intended more for the detention of foreigners deemed security threats than for forced labor, in contrast to other camps in the department, such as Cajarc or Catus.[7] The prisoners only worked inside the camp, raising vegetables and cleaning the compound.[8]

The maximum number of detainees was estimated to be 88, the minimum not lower than 50.[9] Instead of uniforms, the prisoners wore civilian clothes. Between February 9 and August 26, 1943, there were six escapes.

After receiving orders from the Vichy Interior Ministry to disband, the camp closed on November 9, 1943, and the detainees were sent to the Noë camp (Haute-Garonne Département).

SOURCES The camp at Puy-l'Evêque is described in Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)"

(Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources on the Puy-l'Evêque camp can be found in AD-L: 1W925 (Prefecture Collection), 1180W6, and 1W78, and in AN, 737/MI/2. At USHMMA under RG-43.110M (AD-L), signature 1W78, is available in digital form as RG-43.110M and contains documentation on German and "ex-Austrian" detainees held at Puy-l'Evêque.

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NOTES

1. Capitaine de réserve de Breuvery, Camp de triage des étrangers de Puy l'Evêque, État nominatif des étrangers dirigés sur le camp du Vernet, November 4, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.110M (AD-L), 1W925 (Dossiers AS des ressortissants allemands, sub-folder, Camp de Puy l'Evêque), 0096 (USHMMA, RG-43.110M/1W925, with page).

2. P/L à Commissaire spécial á Cahors, October 22, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.110M/1W925, 26; on Spaniards, see, for example, Breuvery, État nominatif des étrangers dirigés sur le Camp du Vernet, November 4, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.110M/1W925, p. 96; quotation in Breuvery à P/L, November 7, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.110M/1W925, p. 95.

3. Circular letter, December 29, 1942, Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur (Police, 4th Bureau, Vichy), AD-L, 1W78.

4. AD-L, 1W925.

5. General Lenclud to P/L, August 22, 1940, AD-L, 1W925.

6. AD-L, 1W78.

7. See AD-L, 1180W6.

8. AD-L, 1W78.

9. AD-L, 1180W6.

RABÈS

On March 8, 1943, at the direction of the French National Police, the prefect of the Corrèze Département established a small camp for elderly foreign inmates, mostly Jews, in the village of Rabès (about 10 kilometers (6 miles) southwest of Tulle), and 83 kilometers (52 miles) southeast of Limoges. Vichy and prefectural sources variously described the Rabès camp as an asylum (*asile*) for elderly foreigners, a confinement center, or a camp. A report commissioned in the 1990s by the Study Commission on the Spoliation of the Jews of France—the Mattéoli Commission (*Mission d'Étude sur la Spoliation des Juifs de France*, *Mission Mattéoli*)—classifies Rabès as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS).

On March 10, 1943, 60 elderly inmates from Nexon, a camp 18 kilometers (11 miles) south of Limoges, arrived by train at Rabès. The first group consisted of 29 men and 31 women. Except for three Catholics (two French and one Spanish), the detainees were all elderly Jews from Germany, Austria, Poland, Russia, and the Saar.[1] The oldest female internee was born in 1856, and the oldest male was born in 1860. The center's intake cards indicate long paths of persecution through French camps, beginning in 1940, with passage for some through the camps at Gurs, Les Milles, Noé, Récébédou, Rivesaltes, and Saint-Cyprien.[2] On June 1, 1943, the camp had 55 inmates.[3]

For detainees who had experienced Nexon and Gurs, Rabès signaled an improvement in conditions. Accommodated in a former maternity ward with space for 60, the site afforded reasonable comfort in bedding and an ample vegetable garden.[4] The able-bodied female detainees performed kitchen and limited garden duties, whereas the men cleaned the latrines. The internees received substantial relief parcels and books not only from surviving family and friends but in some instances also from the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in Geneva and the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites*

de France, UGIF) in Brive-la-Gaillard (more than 14 kilometers or 9 miles southwest of Cornil).[5] In March 1943, the internees received 66 parcels weighing approximately 77 kilograms (approximately 170 pounds).

When the Nexon group arrived, many of the internees were filthy. The camp's first order of business was to send them to get cleaned up. In the first month, one detainee died. Rabbi David Feuerwerker came from Brive to preside over the funeral.[6]

According to camp regulations, the internees were not allowed to hold more than 300 francs at a time (excess money was kept on account by the director). They were expected to report for roll call three times daily, but were free to practice their religion. Under censorship the inmates sent and received letters. With the director's permission, they were able to visit Cornil, but travel outside Cornil required prefectural permission. The six-man staff consisted of three guards, two inspectors, and the camp director, Raymond Bazin.

On June 23, 1943, the French National Police informed the Corrèze Prefecture that it was handing over responsibility for the center to the Social Control of Foreigners (*Contrôle Social des Étrangers*, CSE) in the Labor Ministry.[7] This change in status took place by the middle of July 1943, with the transfer of the six staff members to the camps at Écrouves, Gurs, Noé, and Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe.[8] Some of the police property was transferred to the camp at Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux, with the remainder left for the new administration at Rabès. Under the auspices of the CSE, the center continued as an asylum for elderly foreigners, including Jews, until well after the Liberation.[9]

SOURCES A secondary source that describes the Rabès center is Serge Klarsfeld and André Delahaye, et al., *Fiches typologiques par lieu d'internement* (Paris: Mission d'étude sur la spoliation des Juifs de France, n.d.), available at www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/MnR-matteoli.htm. This report is part of a series by the Mattéoli Commission.

Primary sources documenting the Rabès center can be found in AD-Cor, available at USHMMA as RG-43.125, collections

529W71 and 529W72; AN Police Générale, available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.016M, reel 13; and ITS, collection 6.1.1. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM.

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NOTES

1. Centre de Rabès, "État nominatif des hébergées en provenance du Camp de Nexon, arrivés et installés au Centre de Rabès le 10 Mars 1943," March 11, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.125 (AD-Cor), 529W72, p. 31; and CSS Nexon, "État nominatif des hébergés du CSS de Nexon dirigés le 10 Mars 1943 sur le Centre de Rabès (Corrèze)," 529W72, p. 31.

2. Intake cards for Hirsch Apfel, Alfred Bernstein, and Josef Kassewitz, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W71, pp. 281, 285, and 297.

3. "Nombre d'étrangers présents au Centre," June 1, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W71, p. 394.

4. P/Corrèze à Conseiller d'État, Sécrétariat Générale de la Police, February 9, 1943, Obj.: "Envoi d'Israélites à l'Asile Départemental de Rabès," USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W71, pp. 447–448.

5. Correspondence log, June 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W72, pp. 165–166.

6. Rapports mensuel, March 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W72, pp. 255, 259.

7. Police Nationale, 14th Bureau à P/Corrèze, June 23, 1943, Obj.: "Titres de séjour et circulation des étrangers hébergés au centre de Rabès," USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W72, p. 604.

8. "Mutations du Personnel," July 1–18, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W72, p. 595.

9. ID card, Berthe Friedmann née Frankenburger, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W71, p. 320.

RÉCÉBÉDOU

The camp at Récébédou was located in southwestern France, in the Tarn Département of the Midi-Pyrénées region. It was approximately 9.5 kilometers (6 miles) southwest of Toulouse, near National Road 20.

The camp's buildings were among a group of 87 barracks that were built in 1939 as housing for workers from the Toulouse National Gunpowder Factory (*Poudrerie Nationale de Toulouse*). The workers' housing was laid out in the manner of a small town, with seven internal axes surrounded by the barracks, which the administration called "pavilions" (*pavillons*).

Managed by the Toulouse town administration, Récébédou was at first a temporary detention site for refugees from northern France and Belgium during the Phoney War (September 1939 to May 1940). The camp also held Spanish refugees, some of whom worked in the gunpowder factory.

On February 7, 1941, after consulting with Dr. Limousin and his representative, Vichy's Interior Minister Marcel Peyrouton officially announced in a communiqué that Récébédou and the neighboring camp at Noé would become "camp hospitals" (*camps-hôpitaux*) under the prefecture's authority and that they would hold "a certain number of aged, sick, or injured refugees and foreigners."[1] There were to be special accommodations made at Récébédou for tubercular detainees, such as rooms for X-rays and for insufflation treatments, arranged by the prefecture in conjunction with the military health services (*les services de santé militaire*).

Part of the internment camp at Récébédou, after 1940. USHMM WS #33426, COURTESY OF MARIE GENEVIEVE DAGAIN.

Between March 17, 1941, and the August 1942 roundups of Jews, the detainee population ranged between 1,500 and 1,600. As of May 31, 1942, there were 1,511 people detained at Récébédou, of whom at least 976 were Jewish. The majority of these Jews—687—were aged 55 and older.[2]

Over the course of three convoys on August 8, 10, and 24, 1942, approximately 380 Jews from Récébédou (along with an equivalent number from Noé) were deported to Drancy from the Portet-Saint-Simon train station, and the majority of this group was subsequently sent from Drancy to Auschwitz.[3] The famous letter written on August 13, 1942, by Monsignor Jules-Géraud Saliège, the Toulouse archbishop, to be read "without commentary" at Sunday Masses throughout the region, described "scenes of horror" in the camps of Récébédou and Noé. Archbishop Saliège reacted angrily to the "sad spectacle" of families being separated and sent off to "an unknown destination."[4] The letter's rhetoric concerned the departmental administration enough that the regional prefect of Toulouse wrote to the prefect of the neighboring department, Lot-et-Garonne, that "the diffusion of this document will not be tolerated." It was published in several area newspapers regardless.[5] As of September 30, 1942, there were 749 foreigners (324 Spaniards and 425 Jews) remaining in confinement at Récébédou.[6]

Living conditions in the camp were very tough, even if reports seem to indicate that the situations at Récébédou and Noé were

satisfactory. Despite their "camp hospital" designation, there were not enough doctors for the number of detainees. In 1941, there were three doctors for 1,500 detainees, whose average age was between 60 and 65 years old. The cold, as well as diseases, afflicted those already weakened by age. Between 1941 and 1942, 314 people died, including 254 Jews. The winter of 1941 was especially harsh and caused 118 deaths.

Because many of the prisoners were unable to work due to age or ill health, labor performed by detainees at Récébédou was limited.[7] Like most French camps, Récébédou was undersupplied, but reports indicate that the camp was able to sustain a separate kosher kitchen for about 650 Jewish detainees. There was also a school for children set up with desks sent from the camp at Rivesaltes.[8]

Most of the camp was not enclosed, but a small section of four pavilions ("*le Camp surveillé*") was surrounded by barbed wire. According to a February 7, 1942, police report, there were 64 guards, 14 of whom lived in a barrack on the camp grounds and 50 of whom lived in town. The inspector noted that the camp director estimated that he needed 16 additional guards, but "personally, I got the impression that the personnel lacked discipline and were not employed to the maximum."[9]

Detainees were able to escape the camp. According to the testimony of Annie Lichtman, another prisoner told her and her mother about a location where it was possible to crawl under the camp's fence, and they escaped to Toulouse, where they received aid from the Jewish community.[10] In her testimony, Gizela Lerner described hiding with other Jews in a barrack for several days while preparations were being made for a large transfer and thereby escaping deportation.[11]

The prefecture had notable problems with discipline and corruption among Récébédou's administrators and personnel. In 1941 two camp directors were removed from their posts for stealing camp supplies, including food, tobacco, and leather. Camp director Ducoin was removed on April 9, 1941, and replaced temporarily by Noé's director, Laurelli, until André Morin assumed the post by the beginning of June.[12]

According to a detailed November 21, 1941, report from the

Attorney General of the Republic (*Procureur de la République*) to the prefect, on September 25, a Belgian detainee named Schaeys who worked in the camp's storerooms first alerted the camp's special police superintendent, Lichgott, to irregularities in the distribution of food. An investigation found Morin and his camp manager, Estèbe, to be at the center of a corruption ring involving several other camp employees; their activities included selling tobacco meant for detainees to personnel out of a makeshift bar on the camp's grounds, using leather meant for fixing prisoners' shoes to have new shoes fashioned for themselves, and creating a scheme involving ration tickets to get more food (particularly more meat) for themselves. At the end of his report, the attorney general urged the prefect to advise whether criminal prosecution should be dropped in favor of "administrative internment" in order to avoid "publicity that could only be unpleasant."[13] Morin was replaced as director by a man named Fourniols, who appears to have remained until Récébédou was closed.

Other complaints received by departmental and Vichy administration were less serious, but illustrated a level of fractiousness among personnel. In July 1942, an anonymous letter sent to Vichy accused two of the camp nurses of "prostitution" with "non-French" detainees, thereby giving the other foreigners at Récébédou the incorrect impression that "France is the country of debauchery and lack of restraint (*laissez-aller*)."[14] The prefect investigated, found no truth to this accusation, and suspected that a member of the camp's staff sent the letter.[15]

Prisoner solidarity was encouraged by large charitable organizations, which regularly visited and provided care that helped make up for the lack of health staff: these organizations included the French Red Cross, the Society of Friends, Caritas (Catholic Relief Services), the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC), and the Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced (*Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprés des Évacués*, CIMADE). The General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF) and the Society for Handicrafts and Agricultural Work (*Obshchestvo remeslennogo i zemledel'cheskogo truda*, ORT) also rallied to help. Indeed, a

kind of sponsorship system was established between Jewish detainees and free Jews in Toulouse. This project was directed by Raymond Bloch and Toulouse Rabbi Moïse Cassorla and coordinated with Récébédou by Rabbi René Kapel. From February 1941 on, visits facilitated the implementation of sponsorship. For instance, the writer Clara Malraux was able to visit her uncle, Professor Gunther Stamm, until the summer of 1942, when visits were revoked in anticipation of the deportations.

Récébédou was closed on October 5, 1942. The detainees who had not yet been deported were transferred to the camps at Noé and Nexon (Haute-Vienne Département).

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the camp at Récébédou include Eric Malo, "Le camp du Récébédou (Haute-Garonne), 1940–1942," *MJ* 153 (1995): 76–103; Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs en France, 1940–1944, 1 juillet 1940–31 août 1942*, vol. 2 (Paris: Fayard, 2001).

Primary documentation concerning Récébédou is found in ADH-G 1272W1, 1831W3 (deportations), 1867W60 (monthly reports), 1867W138, 1867W208, and 2517W45, but a 1944 fire at the prefecture in Toulouse destroyed many departmental records, making it difficult to collect precise figures relating to the camp's management. Portions of these records are held at USHMMA under RG-43.058M. Some additional sources are AN 737/MI/2 and F7 15098 (Dr. Aujaleu's December 26, 1941, report), and CDJC Collection FSJF, CCXIX-143_001/123_001 (Rabbi Kapel's reports from the winter of 1941–1942), and CCXIX-40_002 (January 1942 report on the camp commission's activities). CDJC also holds a collection of photos of the camp. Further documentation on the deportations from Récébédou can be found in ITS, 1.1.9.1 (List Material BdS France), Ord. 65, available in digital form at USHMMA. The AFSC also collected information on the deportations, available at USHMMA under RG-67.007M (Records relating to Humanitarian Work in France, 1933–1950), Series VIII, box 57, folder 18. There are 23 VHA testimonies on Récébédou, including those of Annie Lichtman (#30526) and

Gizela Lerner (#12286). Published testimonies that discuss Récébédou include Clara Malraux, *Et pourtant j'étais libre* (Paris: B. Grasset, 1979); René Kapel, "J'étais l'aumônier des camps du sud-ouest de la France (août 1940–décembre 1942), suite et fin," *MJ* 88 (1977): 154–182; and Thérèse Dauty, "Départ des hébergés des camps-hôpitaux de Noé et Récébédou en date des 8 et 10 août 1942," in Denise Hervichon, "Le décès de Monseigneur Louis de Courrèges," *MJ* 94 (1979): 52–59.

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NOTES

1. Quotation from "NOTE," April 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.058M (ADH-G), reel 15, 1867W208, p. 3152 (USHMMA, RG-43.058M/15/1867W208).

2. "NOTE," April 1941, p. 3152; "Camp de Récébédou, Rapport mensuel du mois de mai 1942," May 31, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/14/1867W138, pp. 3259–3264.

3. Pr/Toulouse to Chef du Gouvernement, Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Interieur-Secrétariat Général à la Police, August 17, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/1/1831W3, p. 1111; August 24, 1942, convoy, Interieur Police 9ème Bureau to Regional Prefects (Zone Libre), August 18, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/1/1831W3, p. 1080; Pr/Toulouse to Chef du Gouvernement, Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Interieur-Secrétariat Général à la Police, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.058M/1/1831W3, p. 1090; "Camp du Récébédou, Liste Définitive Partants Sûrs du 8/8/42…du 11 Août 1942…du 24 Août 1942," USHMMA, RG-67.007M/VIII/57/18, pp. 74–87.

4. Quotations from Jules-Géraud Saliège, "Lettre de S. E. Monseigneur l'Archevêque de Toulouse sur la personne humaine," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.123M/7/1W300, p. 61.

5. Pr/Toulouse to P/L-G, September 2, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/7/1W300, p. 65.

6. "Camp de Récébédou, Rapport mensuel du mois de septembre

1942," September 30, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/14/1867W138, p. 3292.

7. Commandant Morin to Pr/Toulouse, June 10, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/13/1867W60, p. 3219.

8. "Camp de Récébédou, Rapport mensuel du mois de mai 1942," May 31, 1942, pp. 3261–3262.

9. Quotation from Pr/Toulouse to P/H-G, April 13, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/17/1272W1, pp. 47–49.

10. VHS #30526, Annie Lichtman testimony, July 2, 1997.

11. VHS #12286, Gizela Lerner testimony, February 21, 1996.

12. P/H-G to Secrétaire d'État à l'Interieur, Direction Générale de la Sûreté, April 10, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/17/1272W1, p. 170; interim replacement for Ducoin, Inspecteur Général des Camps (Amiral Ven), "Décision," April 11, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/17/1272W1, p. 151.

13. Quotations from Procureur de la République to P/H-G, November 21, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/17/1272W1, pp. 144–147.

14. Quotations from Anonymous to Directeur des Camps at Vichy Interior Ministry, July 26, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/17/1272W1, p. 41.

15. P/H-G to Chef du Gouvernement, Ministre Secrétaire d'État à Interieur, Secretariat Général à la Police, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.058M/17/1272W1, p. 37.

REILLANNE

Reillanne (Alpes-de-Hautes-Provence Département) was a reception center for the French Office of Social Services for Foreigners (*centre d'accueil du Service Social des Étrangers*, SSE) and a subcamp of the Fort Sisteron camp. Reillanne is located in southeastern France, more than 41 kilometers (almost 26 miles) southwest of Sisteron and more than 68 kilometers (42 miles) northeast of Marseille.

The Reillanne administration was directly subordinate to Fort Sisteron.[1] A residential center and internment site were installed in a convent in Reillanne (called "Notre-Dame des Près" or simply "Mas-des-Près"). Initially it served as a camp for Spaniards after the Spanish Civil War. In 1941 it was turned into a camp for Jews of different nationalities and their families assigned to stay in the convent by the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF). It held 40 to 70 internees at any given time for indeterminate stays.[2] The internees were allowed to go out during the day as long as they returned by evening curfew.[3] The town of Reillanne was also a place of assigned residence. Jews occupied the majority of the homes.

The commandant was named Darlay. In a monthly report completed by UGIF, a staff member stated that Reillanne from the standpoint of food provision was once again a good center, after a previous report complained of insufficient food. The camp's doctor was Doctor Braustein. According to his records the internees were in overall good health, although the elderly were in need of constant care. Many had to go to the dentist in nearby Manosque. The clothing needs of the Reillanne internees always outstripped the supply, and the UGIF was constantly trying to address this issue.[4] UGIF was responsible for providing the necessities at the Reillanne camp in general, including medicine and toiletries.[5]

In December 1942, non-Jewish internees included a Belgian, two Armenians, a Spaniard, a German, and a Pole.[6] As of July 31,

1943, the Reillanne camp held 41 men, 17 women, and 9 children, totaling 67 internees. Forty-four of the internees were Jewish.

On May 5, 1944, the Jewish families in the camp were arrested in a roundup by German police and deported to Auschwitz, Mauthausen, or Dachau. At least 53 Jews held at Reillanne were deported, including 28 women and 9 children. Within the group were 25 Germans, 12 Romanians, 5 Hungarians, 5 Austrians, 3 Poles, 2 French, and 1 Turk. They were first sent to Marseille. The Jewish children who were deported were part of convoys 74 and 75.

The Reillanne camp was not closed until the Liberation.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Reillanne camp include Serge Klarsfeld et al., *French Children of the Holocaust: A Memorial* (New York: New York University Press, 1996); Robert Mencherini, *Provence-Auschwitz: De l'internement des étrangers à la déportation des Juifs, 1939–1944* (Marseille: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2007); Vincent Giraudier, *Des indésirables: Les camps d'internement et de travail dans l'Ardèche et la Drôme durant la seconde guerre mondiale* (Valence: Peuple libre, 1999); Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calen-drier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the Reillanne camp can be found in AD-A-H-P, available at USHMMA under RG-43.089M, reels 1 and 4; UGIF, Camp Commission, available at USHMMA as RG-43.025M, reel 29; CDJC, UGIF collection, available at USHMMA as RG-43.027M; and ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. "Reillanne (Basses Alpes): Annexe du camp de Sisteron," ITS,

2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371041.

2. Ibid., Doc. Nos. 82371038, 82371042.

3. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371049.

4. Rapport Mensuel sur le Centre de Reillanne, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.025M (UGIF, Camp Commission), reel 29, n.p.

5. Monsieur le Chef du Centre d'Accueil Reillanne, October 18, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.025M, reel 29, n.p.

6. "Reillanne (Basses Alpes): Annexe du camp de Sisteron," ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371043.

RENNES

The city of Rennes, 98 kilometers (61 miles) north of Nantes, in the Ille-et-Vilaine Département in the Bretagne region, was the location of several detention facilities.

On Le Guen de Kérangal Street, at the corner of Albert I Boulevard, there was a camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports). Following orders from the German authorities, on November 2, 1940, the prefecture opened the camp, which was placed under the administration of Rennes's central police commissioner.

The camp was also used to hold so-called administrative prisoners from October 1941 until approximately December 1942, when the camp reverted to detaining only Roma. The departmental archives refer to two barracks comprising this camp, whereas witnesses remember more barracks. The barracks were located on a 100-meter long by 50-meter wide field (328 × 164 feet). This camp was in use until the Roma were released in December 1944.

During the entire time it was operational, there were regular transfers to the larger Roma camps at Moisdon-la-Rivière, Montreuil-Bellay, and Jargeau. In January 1942, the camp at Le Guen de Kérangal Street held 209 people (including 186 Roma). By January 1944, the number had dropped to 130 detainees, but by July 1944 it had increased to 145.

There was a second camp in Rennes, on Jacques-Cartier Boulevard, in a location that had been commandeered for British prisoners of war (POWs) in April 1940 near the Margueritte garrison house that was occupied by the Wehrmacht. Beginning in the summer of 1940, the German authorities built about 15 barracks there. They were used to detain "administrative" prisoners until August 3, 1944, when most of the detainees were deported to Germany. Only one archive is available for this camp; it recounts an episode in June–July 1944 involving hostages in Barrack 14.

After Rennes was liberated on August 4, 1944, the site of the Margueritte camp was used again—first to hold people suspected of collaboration; then, in January 1945, to hold German POWs from the Bas-Rhin region; and finally to hold German civilians who came from U.S. displaced person (DP) camps starting in June 1945. This second Rennes camp held approximately 300 people during the war and, according to historian Denis Peschanski, more than 978 after the Liberation.[1] It closed permanently on February 28, 1946.

In addition to these two sites, the Jacques Cartier prison (*maison d'arrêt*)—alternately referred to as the Rennes Penitentiary (*La Maison Centrale de Rennes*)—held approximately 300 female political prisoners, according to the research historian Yves Boivin.

In April and May 1944, 245 of these women were sent in three convoys to the camp at Romainville outside Paris; from Romainville they were subsequently deported to Ravensbrück. This site was in use until August 4, 1944, when U.S. forces freed its four remaining prisoners.[2]

SOURCES Secondary sources that include information on the camps in Rennes are Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation,* 4 vols. (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: un sort à part, 1939–1946* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Arlette Dolo, "Du rejet séculaire au camp d'internement: le camp de nomades de la rue Le Guen de Kérangal, 1939–1945" (MA thesis, IUT de Rennes, 1986); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); Marie Drouart, "La '3' de Margueritte, journal de bord des internées de Rennes, 25 janvier–23 mars 1945" (MSS, n.d.), available at ADI-V, 2J907; and Jacques Sigot, "L'internement des Tsiganes en France," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 29–196.

Primary documentation on the camps can be found in ADIV under classifications 46W20, 4W38–4W39, 134W17–134W19 (camp on Le Guen de Kérangal Street), and 1439W19 (the only archive on the Margueritte camp). Additional sources can be found

in AN 737/MI/2 (detainees and POWs during the Occupation and after the Liberation). An unpublished manuscript about the female political prisoners detained in Rennes is Yves Boivin, "Les condamnées des Sections Spéciales incarcérées à la Maison Centrale de Rennes, Déportées les 5 avril, 2 mai, et 16 mai 1944," available at USHMMA under Acc. No. 2009.174.

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NOTES

1. According to two reports from August 1944 in ADI-V, 1439W19.
2. USHMMA, Acc. 2009.174, Yves Boivin, "Les condamnées des Sections Spéciales incarcérées," 2004.

RIEUCROS

The Rieucros internment and disciplinary camp was located just outside Mende (Lozère Département), which is nearly 203 kilometers (126 miles) northwest of Marseille and 193 kilometers (120 miles) northeast of Toulouse. The camp operated from January 21, 1939, until February 13, 1942. The French government originally established the site as one of numerous detention camps to control unwanted foreigners. In 1940, Rieucros became an important "disciplinary camp" (*camp disciplinaire*) for political detainees; by October 1941 the inmate population consisted exclusively of female "undesirables," many of whom were interned there with their children. Most inmates were foreign nationals, although French citizens were detained there as well.

The Rieucros camp was fenced in, and it extended along one side of the main road from Mende. Inmates were housed in 14 wooden barracks with a total capacity of about 600. A Mademoiselle Vallot served as camp administrator, and several local women worked as guards. Camp staff occupied two brick buildings inside the camp compound.[1] The original inmate population consisted mostly of refugees from the Spanish Civil War. In addition to Spaniards, at least 62 members of the International Brigade (Interbrigade) were registered at Rieucros as of March 7, 1939. The nature of the camp began to change by October 18, 1939, when several dozen women of German and other nationalities were transferred there by special train from the La Petite Roquette prison in Paris. The women were incarcerated as enemy aliens immediately after the outbreak of World War II in September 1939.[2] Among them were leftist activists and Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany. The number of inmates rose from about 100 in October to 250 in December 1939. By May 1940, no fewer than 425 women of 20 nationalities were registered at the site.

The camp's administrative structure and inmate population changed again after the Franco-German Armistice of June 22,

1940. On October 4, 1940, the Vichy government assigned the administration of so-called disciplinary camps to the departmental prefects. They answered to the Inspector General of the Camps (*Inspecteur Général des Camps*, IGC) of the Interior Ministry and used policemen to guard such sites.[3] The Kundt Commission, a Franco-German commission, inspected the camp on August 4, 1940, and the number of Germans interned at the site increased quickly thereafter. Many of the German inmates testified after the war that their daily life was marked by fear of extradition to Nazi Germany. A significant number of inmates were able to avoid that fate by securing emigration permits.[4] In the first half of 1940, about a dozen inmates left Rieucros each month for a women's transit camp at the Hôtel Bompard in Marseille. From there, they emigrated to various foreign countries. By September 1940, the number of inmates decreased from 553, including 24 children, to 405, including 9 children.[5]

During this period, many male inmates were released or assigned to forced labor details. In October 1941, the French authorities transferred all remaining male inmates to the penal camp at Le Vernet d'Ariège. The Rieucros camp now functioned as a "*camp répressif*" or disciplinary camp exclusively for women who were deemed subversive primarily because of their leftist political allegiances.[6] Official camp statistics reveal that the average occupancy for 1941 was 80 Spanish women, 70 Polish women, 50 German women, and 40 French women. By the end of the year the number of French inmates began to increase steadily. Eighty-eight French women, 56 Polish women, 45 Spanish women, and 23 German women were among the inmates registered at the camp in January 1942.

Female prisoners carry containers of food along a road in the Rieucros disciplinary camp, 1939–1942. USHMM WS #82629, COURTESY OF THE BUNDESARCHIV.

As a result of the high concentration of artists and activists among the inmates, daily camp life was marked by extensive artistic activities and vigorous political activism. Notable inmates included the Russian writer Ida Mett, the German actress Steffie Spira-Ruschin, the Swiss photographer Gertrude Duby-Blom, and well-known antifascists or Resistance figures such as Dora Schaul and Cläre Quast. Famous escapees from Rieucros include the Italian political activist Ernesto Bonomini, who escaped from the camp in April 1939, and the Czech writer Lenka Reinerová. Several of those interned at Rieucros as children rose to prominence after the war. These included the writer Michael del Castillo and the mathematician Alexander Grothendieck, both of whom were interned at Rieucros as young boys alongside their mothers.

Three hundred forty-six inmates, including 320 women and 26 children, were still registered at the site when the Vichy authorities closed the camp on February 13, 1942. The remaining inmates were transferred to the camp at Brens (Tarn Département, Midi-Pyrénées). For several of the Jewish inmates, Rieucros thus became a way station to extermination camps in Eastern Europe.[7]

SOURCES The Rieucros camp is well documented and

researched. Important secondary sources include Mechthild Gilzmer, *Fraueninternierungslager in Südfrankreich: Rieucros und Brens 1939–1944* (Berlin: Orlanda Frauenverlag, 1994). The author establishes the historic context for internment camps for women in France and details camp operations at Rieucros and Brens. In addition, she reproduces the diary entries of Rieucros inmate Ursula Katzenstein to illuminate day-to-day camp life. Another focus of her study is the cultural and artistic output of inmates, especially at Rieucros. See also Gertrud Rast, *Allein bist du nicht: Kämpfe und Schicksale in schwerer Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1972); and Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

Collections of primary documentation are available in several archives, including AN: F 1 A 3345, 3346, 4538, 4553, 4680, and 4683; CDJC: CCCLXIII-70, DLXXV-2, and CCCLXXIII-3, 4, 5; AD-Lo: 2W2603, 2W2604; and 2W2805; ADT: 1238 W 1-25 and 495 W 1-28; and ADT-G, Dossier 15. The ITS collections contain various contemporaneous reports, often assembled by aid organizations, detailing various aspects of camp life and inmate populations. See, especially, ITS, 1.2.7.18 (Persecution action in France and Monaco), folders 1, 8, and I455, available in digital form at USHMMA. There are also several oral history interviews with former Rieucros inmates in VHA among others. See especially #13125 (Ursula Katzenstein, April 2, 1996); #15402 (Dora Schaul, May 21, 1996); #11335 (Paula Tattmar, January 22, 1996); and #34278 (Simon Salomon Haïm, July 16, 1997). For a published collection of contextualized primary documents and photographs of camp artifacts of AD-Lo see Sandrine Peyrac, ed., *Le camp d'internement de Rieucros, 1939–1942: l'internement, de la République à l'ètat français* (Mende: Archives dèpartementales de la Lozère, Service éducatif, 2009).

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NOTES

1. See a camp map reproduced in Peyrac, *Le camp d'internement de Rieucros*, p. 69.

2. See camp diary and drawing by inmate Dora Schaul, reproduced in Gilzmer, *Frauenin-ternierungslager in Südfrank-reich*, pp. 33–39.

3. ITS, 1.2.7.18, fol. 1, p. 306.

4. For an undated report by aid organizations detailing "the problem of emigration" from camps like Rieucros, see ITS, 1.2.7.18, fol. 8.

5. AD-Lo, 2 W 2603, as cited in Gilzmer, *Frauenin-ternierungslager in Südfrankreich*, pp. 43–45.

6. ITS, 1.2.7.18, fol. 1, p. 174.

7. AD-Lo, 2 W 2603, as cited in Gilzmer, *Frauenin-ternierungslager in Südfrankreich*, pp. 45–47.

RIVEL

A short-lived camp in the Haute-Garonne Département, Rivel was situated 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the village of Rivel, which is about 22 kilometers (14 miles) south of Toulouse, along the Chemin de Grande Communication (CGC) 120 line.

The French Army began construction on the camp at the end of 1939 on land requisitioned from an owner in Toulouse.[1] By the fall of 1940, Rivel had begun to operate as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) under the direction of the Interior Ministry.[2]

By the end of 1940, Rivel held around 210 political detainees (*indésirables*), most of whom were communists sent to Rivel after being held for several months at the prison in Limoux.[3] The camp's administration included an Interior Ministry official charged with running the camp, a military doctor, 4 non-commissioned officers, and 13 guards (*guardiens*), most of whom came from the Forbidden Zone (*zone interdite*).[4]

Despite the renovations that occurred before the prisoners were transferred from Limoux, the camp's facilities remained inadequate. They comprised six masonry buildings, two of which were uninhabitable, as well as a kitchen with an unused dining hall and an office. There were neither fireplaces nor electricity, so prisoners used candles for heat, and a shortage of beds and mattresses forced some prisoners to sleep on bundles of ferns collected from the nearby woods. In a November 21, 1940, report to Vichy, the camp director noted that "the most anomalous fact" about the camp was that the guards and some of the prisoners slept in the same building because of a lack of space. Although they received some dried food supplies, the prisoners were in charge of their own cooking.[5]

Security was also lacking. Both postal service and visits were unregulated, according to the camp director.[6] The camp was not enclosed, and escapes occurred frequently. In early December

1940, the mayor of Rivel visited the sub-prefect of Limoux to express his concerns about the relative freedom the prisoners had to leave camp and that they could often be found spending time in his town's cafes.[7] Camp administrators also received complaints from people living in the neighboring village of Chalabre, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the camp, about detainees walking around the village "engaging in unwholesome propaganda."[8] A report compiled by the local gendarmerie from interviews of townspeople echoed the complaints about prisoners drinking and spreading propaganda in Chalabre, although some witnesses disagreed with these claims.[9]

According to a December 17, 1940, letter to the prefect of Aude, the camp director attempted to address these complaints and to reduce the number of escapes by implementing measures such as terminating the employment of two prisoners who had been allowed to work in Chalabre during the day, ending the practice of allowing prisoners to go to Chalabre to bathe on Saturdays, and banning all political discussion.[10] However, according to subsequent reports, prisoners continued to escape.[11]

At the end of January 1941, all 260 prisoners at Rivel were transferred to the newly created CSS at Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe in the Tarn Département.[12] According to departmental and prefectural correspondence from the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942, work began on March 1, 1942, to renovate the empty camp at Rivel to receive more prisoners, but apparently this project was not completed.[13]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention Rivel include Jean Tisseyre, "Les Derniers témoins du camp de Rivel (Aude) 1940–1944," *Bulletin de la société d'études scientifiques de l'Aude* 92 (1992): 125–133; and Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internment 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

Primary documentation on the camp at Rivel can be found in ADAu under the classifications MW2625, MW3695 (transfers to and from the camp, instructions), MW4582, and 90W30 (descriptions of camp and reports on escapes). Some of this documentation is available on microfilm at USHMMA under RG-43.039M.

NOTES

1. Chef du Centre de Séjour surveillé de Rivel to Directeur de l'Administration de la Police et des affairs Générales à Vichy, November 21, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.039M (ADAu), reel 12, 90W30 (USHMMA, RG-43.039M/12/90W30, pp. 814–816).

2. Général de corps d'armée Hanote to P/Au, September 4, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/11/MW3695, p. 2201.

3. S-P Limoux to P/Au, October 14, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/12/90W30, 828–829; transfer from Limoux, Colonel Toussaint to P/Au, March 7, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/11/MW3695, p. 2194.

4. S-P Limoux to P/Au, October 14, 1941.

5. Quotation from Chef du Centre de Séjour surveillé de Rivel to Directeur de l'Administration de la Police et des affairs Générales à Vichy, November 21, 1940, pp. 814–815.

6. Ibid., p. 815.

7. S-P Limoux to P/Au, December 4, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/12/90W30, p. 824.

8. Quotation from S-P Limoux to P/Au, December 15, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/12/90W30, p. 820.

9. Ernest Peytavy and Jules Schaller, "Constatant des renseignements sur les détenus du Camp de Rivel," December 17, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/11/MW3695, pp. 2205–2206.

10. Chef du Centre de Séjour surveillé de Rivel to P/Au, December 17, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/12/90W30, p. 823.

11. Chef du Centre de Séjour surveillé de Rivel to P/Au, December 20, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/12/90W30, p. 821.

12. P/Au, “Télégramme Officiel,” January 25, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/11/MW3695, p. 2203; number of prisoners transferred, Commissaire Spécial/Tarn to P/T, February 15, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W4, p. 299.

13. L’Ingénieur Principal Dautezac to S-P Limoux, March 17, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/12/90W30, pp. 836–837.

RIVESALTES

The camp at Rivesaltes was located 8 kilometers (5 miles) northwest of Perpignan and 124 kilometers (77 miles) southwest of Montpellier in the Pyrénées-Orientales Département. In 1938, it was established as the Joffre military instruction camp, named in honor of the World War I marshal born in Rivesaltes. Camp Joffre remained the camp's alternative name under the Vichy administration. In 1939, in response to the flood of refugees from the Spanish Civil War, it became a refugee camp. After December 10, 1940, a large section of a 612-hectare (1,512-acre) field located south of the camp was used to intern refugees from Nazi Germany. Starting on January 14, 1941, the camp became a collection point for foreigners and their families. There were 16 compounds (*îlots*) in Rivesaltes, but a storm on January 3, 1941, reduced that number to 7. According to historians Violette Marcos and Juanito Marcos, the camp had 500 wooden barracks that could hold up to 8,000 people. It was spread over a little more than three kilometers (two miles), extending almost to the coast of the Mediterranean. More than 20,000 detainees passed through the Rivesaltes camp between 1940 and 1942.

The prefect of Pyrénées-Orientales, Pierre-Olivier de Sardan, oversaw the camp. Between 1941 and September 1942, its director was Capitaine de réserve David-Gustave Humbert, assisted by Deputy Fourniols. After Fourniols's promotion in early 1941, Humbert's deputy was Jack Littaye, who later served as camp director from September to November 1942. From December 1941 to February 1942, there were also 4 administrators and approximately 10 secretaries. The National Police (*Sûreté Nationale*) and civil guards (*gardes civiles*) were in charge of camp surveillance. There were approximately 40 officers and 40 corporals from the Sûreté Nationale. In September 1941 there were about 290 civil guards, and the number decreased to 142 in October 1942.

The detainee population was diverse. In addition to the Spanish

and "stateless" people, there were French, Poles, Germans, Austrians, Russians, Portuguese, Czechs, Italians, Romanians, Yugoslavs, Belgians, Hungarians, Armenians, and British. In April 1941, there were 8,000 prisoners in the camp, including 2,000 children. In September 1941, there were more than 6,600 detainees in Rivesaltes.[1] At that time about one-half were Spanish and one-third were Jewish. There were also a few Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) and political dissidents. After the closure of the Pyrénées-Orientales Département camps of Argelès-sur-Mer and Le Bacarès, the former at the end of June 1941 and the latter in July 1942, their Roma populations were transferred to Rivesaltes.

In April 1941, the camp's director ordered the confinement of all Jewish families in a single compound. After the roundups in August 1942, Rivesaltes became the collection point for Jews in the Southern Zone. It was used to classify and hold all Jews from the Southern Zone before their transfer to the Drancy transit camp and then to the Nazi killing centers. Compounds F and K were set aside for this purpose. Between August 11 and October 20, 1942, nine convoys departed Rivesaltes with a total of 2,313 foreign Jews, including 209 children. Serge Klarsfeld famously described the camp as the Drancy of the Southern Zone.

The living conditions were very tough. The Jewish family members were separated: the men were segregated from women and children. Despite assistance from numerous aid organizations, the death rate among children was quite high: between July and September 1941, 60 of 140 children died in the "children's city" (*cité des enfants*), which was part of the camp's "family gathering" area. In addition to the filth, vermin, and lack of food, Manya Breuer recalled that the toilets at Rivesaltes consisted of open pits.[2] Consequently disease—dysentery, typhoid, and septicemia—spread within the camp. According to Klarsfeld, 128 Jews died at Rivesaltes between 1941 and 1942. The weather conditions were also difficult, with freezing wind in winter and scorching heat in summer. In addition, tramontane winds with gusts reaching 120 kilometers (75 miles) per hour blew frequently during one-third of the year, blowing sand and dust into the camp. After being transferred to Rivesaltes from the Agde camp in 1941, Abraham Dresdner described it as the worse camp, in part because

of the bitter cold.[3] According to historian Anne Boitel, there were 249 escapes recorded in 1941 and 853 in 1942.

Children in the Rivesaltes internment camp wait in the cold for soup, 1939–1942. USHMM WS #62397, COURTESY OF ELIZABETH EIDENBENZ.

A number of international organizations provided relief at Rivesaltes. They included the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA); the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), which had an office in neighboring Perpignan; the American Mennonites; the Swiss Relief Organization for Children (*Secours Suisse aux Enfants*) of the Swiss Red Cross; the Protestant Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced (*Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprés des Évacués*, CIMADE); the Jewish aid organization, Society for Handicrafts and Agricultural Work (*Obshchestvo remeslennogo i zemledel'cheskogo truda*, ORT); and the Children's Aid Society (*Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants*, OSE). Assistance from the YMCA enabled Egan Gruenhut to organize a library and a barrack dedicated to cultural pursuits.[4] With support from the OSE and YMCA, Czech-born Protestant aid worker Josef Fišera was able to secure the release of some Jewish children and their parents from Rivesaltes, moving them to a children's home called the Christian Welcome Home for Children (*Maison d'Accueil Chrétienne pour Enfants*, MACE) in Vence (Alpes-Maritimes Département). In 1988, Yad Vashem

honored Fišera as a Righteous Among the Nations for his rescue efforts.

With aid from the relief organizations, compound J became a health center. Secours Suisse enabled pregnant women to deliver babies outside the camp at the Elne Swiss maternity clinic at Château d'en Bardou in Pyrénées-Orientales. Nearly 600 children of 22 different nationalities were born in the clinic during the war. After delivery, the women were introduced to members of the Resistance, particularly due to the efforts of Elisabeth Eidenbenz, a nurse from the Swiss Red Cross who organized the maternity home. In 1990, Yad Vashem honored August Bohny-Reiter and his wife, Friedl Bohny-Reiter, as Righteous Among the Nations for their rescue work with Secours Suisse, and it extended the same recognition to Eidenbenz in 2001.

A portion of the able-bodied male detainees, mostly Spanish, were dispatched as forced laborers with the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE) at Goudex and to GTE No. 157 at Rivesaltes.

After occupying the Southern Zone, the Germans transported detainees out of the camp on November 22, 1942. The Roma were dispatched to the newly opened camp in Saliers (Bouches-du-Rhône Département), and the rest of the remaining 1,000 Rivesaltes detainees were sent to Gurs. In her diary, Friedl Bohny-Reiter noted, "Rivesaltes is full of Germans. Cars, tanks, swastikas. Perpignan, the same scene of war."[5] German troops remained at Rivesaltes until the Liberation on August 19, 1944. Thereafter, the camp served as a prisoner of war (POW) camp for German and Italian captives.

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the camp at Rivesaltes are Anne Boitel, *Le Camp de Rivesaltes, 1941–1942: Du centre d'hébergement au "Drancy de la zone libre"* (Perpignan: Presses universitaires de Perpignan; Mare Nostrum, 2001), which includes a detailed chart on the guard force (pp. 285–286); Joël Mettay, *L'archipel du mépris: Histoire du camps de Rivesaltes de 1939 à nos jours* (Canet: Trabucaire, 2001); Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du Sud-Ouest de la France: Exclusion,*

internement, déportation—1939–1944 (Toulouse: Privat Éditions, 1994); Serge Klarsfeld, *La Shoah en France*, 4 vols. (Paris: Fayard Éd., 2001); Violette Marcos and Juanito Marcos, *Les camps de Rivesaltes: une histoire de l'enfermement (1935–2007)*. Portet-sur-Garonne: Loubatières, c. 2009; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources on the Rivesaltes camp can be found in AD-P-O, in the prefect's cabinet collections (31W9–10, 20, 52, 78, 112, 178; 39W6, 44, 85–88, 101; 39W116; 53W116; and 1060W2); and in various collections (38W69, 150–176; 109W297–338; 134W29–31; 1260W1–34, 68, 78–103; 1287W1–2; 26W13–14). Some of this documentation is available at USHMMA in RG-43.036M. Additional primary sources can be found in AN 737/MI/2 and at CDJC in collections CCXXXVI-96 (about a request to free a few Jews from Rivesaltes), CCXXXVIII-184 (Jewish workers), and CCXIX-38, 41, 42, 58 (reports on the Rivesaltes camp). USHMMA holds extensive photographic, artifact, and documentary collections concerning Rivesaltes. Among them are the AFSC records relating to humanitarian work in France, 1933 to 1950 (RG-67.007), which document relief work and camp conditions by AFSC's Perpignan, Toulouse, and Marseille offices. Under RG-02.098, USHMMA holds the unpublished testimony of Gurs and Rivesaltes prisoner Kurt Bigler. Among the nearly 200 oral history interviews on Rivesaltes held at USHMMA are two with Swiss relief workers August Bohny-Reiter (RG-50.030*0031) and his wife, Friedl Bohny-Reiter (RG-50.030*0032). Under USHMMA Acc. No. 2006.154.1 is a watercolor of the camp produced by Friedl Bohny-Reiter. USHMMA, RG-43.028M (Archiv Joseph Fišera—Joseph Fišera Archive, 1937–1996) includes some documentation on Jewish children rescued by Fišera from Rivesaltes. USHMMPA holds more than 400 photographs of Rivesaltes and its detainees, including some views of the camp layout, such as WS #62388. USHMMA also has some film footage of Rivesaltes in RG-60.0531, "The Other Side of War: In a Concentration Camp in France" (Fox Movietone newsreel, April 1941). VHA has 178 testimonies by Rivesaltes survivors, as well as by aid worker Joseph Fišera (#41886). Friedl Bohny-Reiter's published diary,

Vorhof der Vernichtung: Tagebuch einer Schweizer Schwester im französischen Internierungslager Rivesaltes 1941–1942, contains a foreword by Margot Wicki-Schwarzschild; introduction by Michèle Fleury-Seemuller; edited by Erhard Roy Wiehn (Constance: Hartung-Gorre, 1995). A published collection of letters from Rivesaltes is Manfred Wildmann and Erhard Roy Wiehn, eds., *Und flehentlich gesegnet: Briefe der Familie Wildmann aus Rivesaltes und Perpignan; jüdische Schicksale aus Philippsburg 1941–1943* (Constance: Hartung-Gorre, 1997).

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Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTES

1. Camp registers in AD-P-O, 1260W78, as cited by Marcos and Marcos, *Les camps de Rivesaltes*, pp. 36–37.
2. VHA #6059, Manya Breuer testimony, August 28, 1995.
3. VHA #7078, Abraham Dresdner testimony, November 9, 1995.
4. VHA #40167, Egon Gruenhut testimony, April 7, 1998.
5. November 15, 1942 entry, Bohny-Reiter, *Vorhof der Vernichtung*, p. 125.

ROUILLÉ

Rouillé (Vienne Département) is located almost 29 kilometers (18 miles) southwest of Poitiers and nearly 96 kilometers (over 59 miles) northeast of La Rochelle. On September 6, 1941, the Vichy authorities opened an administrative internment camp (*camp d'internement administratif*) at Rouillé for the purpose of detaining communists, "undesirable foreigners," black marketeers, and common criminals. Overlooked by a castle and paralleling the Poitiers-La Rochelle railway line, the camp consisted of 24 buildings, including 8 barracks for prisoners, and was 1.5 hectares (3 acres) in size. The castle is visible in a prisoner's graphic representation of the site.[1] A double barbed-wire fence surrounded the camp. The fencing not only enhanced security but also obscured local inhabitants' view of the camp. The prisoners' accommodations were spartan.

The first 127 prisoners in the camp were communists from the Paris area who had been previously held in the Aincourt camp. Over the three years of its existence, the size of Rouillé's population fluctuated considerably: in November 1942 there were 638 internees, 274 in November 1943, and 379 in June 1944. Overall, 1,780 prisoners passed through the camp. There were three reasons for variations in the camp population. First, the close proximity of the Feldkommandantur (FK) at Poitiers meant that Rouillé was an easy target for taking political prisoners as hostages, who were then usually shot in "reprisal" for Resistance attacks. The German authorities viewed Rouillé's political internees as a sort of hostage reserve. Second, as documentation from the Voves and the German-run Pithiviers camps shows, there were numerous transfers between Rouillé, Voves, and later Pithiviers, especially in October 1942, November 1943, and April 1944. Such transfers were sometimes an intermediary step before a handover to the German authorities, via the SS police detention camp (*Polizeihaftlager*) at Compiègne.[2] Third, Organisation Todt (OT) recruited some Rouillé prisoners for labor deployment at

Royan, nearly 121 kilometers (75 miles) southwest of the camp on the Atlantic coast.

Sketch of the closed chateau or manor at Rouillé, by Felix Pastor, circa 1940. USHMM WS #73584, COURTESY OF THE FEDERATION NATIONALE DES DEPORTES ET INTERNES RESISTANTS ET PATRIOTES.

In December 1941, the Commander-in-Chief in France (*Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich*) ordered a survey of French camps in preparation for the deportation of 1,000 Jews and 500 communists to Nazi concentration camps. The deportation was planned as a form of retaliation for a Resistance attack in Paris. For logistical reasons, the transport was postponed until February 1942 and limited only to communists. In the survey, the District Chief (*Bezirks-Chef*) in Bordeaux reported that 130 communists were available at Rouillé for deportation, a number inexplicably reduced to 110 in a cover letter.[3] In fact, some 52 political prisoners were dispatched from Rouillé to Compiègne as part of the February 1942 deportation.

According to historian Roger Picard, the first nine hostages shot by the German authorities in the Vienne Département were Rouillé prisoners. The first such action took place in March 1942, when Oberst von Hausch informed the prefect of Vienne that three Rouillé prisoners were shot and specified the cemeteries in which to inter the remains.[4] The shooting took place at Biard Hill (*Butte*

de Biard), a killing site operated by the German authorities more than three kilometers (two miles) west of Poitiers. In a follow-up communiqué to the Poitiers regional prefect, SS-Hauptsturmführer Herold granted permission for the remains of a subsequent victim from the Rouillé camp, Pierre-Gabriel Dejardin, to be transferred to his widow for burial, but forbade any patriotic display on the grave marker.[5] Typically, political prisoners selected for hostage taking and reprisal were confined to the German-run prison at Poitiers called Pierre-Lévée.[6]

At Rouillé, the internees resided in barracks according to arrest categories.[7] In part this arrangement reflected the camp administration's gradations of security, in which the communists were held under the tightest supervision. Foreign prisoners occupied Barracks 11 and 12. They included Armenians, Spaniards, Yugoslavs, Poles, stateless people, and at least one individual of Chinese background.[8] According to Picard's research, at least 704 prisoners were labeled black marketeers. The camp had a small orchestra, and there were occasional theatrical performances, featuring the comedies of Molière, including *The Doctor in Spite of Himself* (*Le Médecin malgré lui*).[9] The prisoners further maintained a semblance of cultural life by conducting secret classes, including courses on foreign languages and mathematics.

The prisoners' diet was strictly vegetarian. An important exception came in the form of relief parcels furnished by a Catholic nun, Sister Jeanne Chérer. In addition to furnishing books, costumes (for the Molière play), and clothes, Chérer helped ensure that at least some prisoners got a more nutritious diet. The camp administration assured the Vienne Prefecture that such assistance, when furnished, was carefully monitored.[10]

There were several escapes from Rouillé, but given the site's tight security regime, escapes often took place at the camp's affiliated hospital, Hôtel-Dieu, in Poitiers. In March 1942, a communist cell in Paris arranged a 50,000-franc bribe to ensure the assistance of a guard at Rouillé in the escape of three political prisoners.

On the night of June 11, 1944, as part of the stepped-up Resistance attacks following D-Day, a maquis unit attacked the

Rouillé camp, breached its defenses, and helped 47 internees, mostly Spanish Republicans, to escape. Given that the foreign prisoners occupied Barracks 11 and 12, which were closest to the rail line, the maquis likely attacked from that direction. The escapees joined the maquis, sharing in the disaster that befell the unit on June 27, when the German authorities cornered and massacred them at Vaugeton, almost 10 kilometers (6 miles) southeast of Rouillé. The Rouillé camp closed as a result of the successful maquis attack.

SOURCES Studies describing the Rouillé camp include the following works by Roger Picard: *La Vienne dans la Guerre 1939–1945* (Clermont-Ferrand: De Borée, 2001); "Rouillé (septembre 1941–juin 1944)," in Jean-Pierre Rioux, Antoine Prost, and Jean-Pierre Azéma, eds., *Les communistes français de Munich à Châteaubriant, 1938–1941* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1987), pp. 192–198; and "La répression du marché noir entre 1941 et 1944: Le camp de Rouillé (Vienne)," in Dominique Veillon and Jean-Marie Flonneau, eds., *Le temps des restrictions en France (1939–1949)* (Paris: Institut d'histoire du temps présent, 1996), pp. 411–416. On Sister Jeanne Chérer, see Roger Picard, *Hommes et combats en Poitou, 1939–1945* (Amiens: Ed. Martelle, 1994).

Primary sources documenting the Rouillé camp can be found in AD-V. Of particular interest are collections 109W27–109W28 (camp reports) and 109W78 (escapes). Some documentation is available in AD-E-L, collections 106W51–106W54, which include intake cards of Rouillé prisoners transferred to Voves (available in digital form at USHMMA as RG-43-108M). ITS, 1.2.7.18 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Frankreich und Monaco), contains some documentation on the camp; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. Former prisoner Felix Pastor's sketches are available at FNDIRP. André Forestier's testimony, excerpted at www.crrl.fr/module-Contenus-viewpub-tid-2-pid-78.html, is available in a two-volume, unpublished MSS at CRRL. The testimony of Rouillé and Voves prisoner Henri Crotti is available at www.amicale-chateaubriant.fr/spip.php?article46.

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NOTES

1. USHMMPA, WS #73584, Felix Pastor, sketch of Rouillé, ca. 1940 (Courtesy of FNDIRP).

2. On prisoner transfers, see ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Jean Émile René Bach, Doc. No. 14877648.

3. "Meldungen der Feldkommandanturen über die für einen Abtransport nach dem Osten zur Verfügung stehenden internierten Kommunisten," n.d., ITS, 1.2.7.18 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Frankreich und Monaco), Doc. No. 82197696; Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich, Verwaltungsstab Abt. Verw. Betr.: "Deportierung von 500 Kommunisten für seinen Arbeitseinsatz im Osten," December 24, 1941, ITS, 1.2.7.18, Doc. No. 82197695.

4. Oberst von Hausch, FK 677, to P/Vienne, March 9, 1942, Objet: "Exécution d'otages," AD-V, reproduced in Picard, *La Vienne dans la Guerre 1939–1945*, p. 102.

5. SS-Hauptsturmführer Herold, Kommando Poitiers, to P/Regionale Poitiers, September 8, 1942, AD-V, reproduced in Picard, *La Vienne dans la Guerre 1939–1945*, p. 104.

6. Testimony of André Forestier, available at www.crrl.fr/module-Contenus-viewpub-tid-2-pid-78.html.

7. Testimony of Henri Crotti, n.d., available at www.amicale-chateaubriant.fr/spip.php?article46.

8. Intake card for Cheng-Ku Zé, Voves, USHMMA, RG-43-108M (AD-E-L), 106W51, p. 151.

9. Forestier testimony, available at www.crrl.fr/module-Contenus-viewpub-tid-2-pid-78.html.

10. CSS Rouillé to P/Delegue Vienne, 8/19/1943, Obj: "Role des Assistante Sociale au Camp de Rouillé," AD-V, reproduced in Picard, *La Vienne dans la Guerre 1939–1945*, p. 104.

RUFFIEUX

In 1941, the Savoie Département established a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 974, at Ruffieux. Ruffieux is just over 32 kilometers (20 miles) northwest of the departmental capital, Chambéry, and only some 3 miles north of Lake Bourget. Originally, GTE No. 974 consisted of Polish and Spanish forced laborers. But with the implementation of the Vichy policy of segregating Jews from non-Jews in the foreign labor groups, GTE No. 974 came to consist exclusively of foreign Jewish males, numbering approximately 200, by January 1942.[1]

Under gendarme escort, GTE No. 974 was set to work on an estate in Chautagne near Lake Bourget, removing cattails and clearing the Savières Canal. The group also did forestry work. These Jewish prisoners worked 11-hour days. Their spartan rations consisted of 350 grams (almost 12.5 ounces) of bread daily, morning coffee, and bean soup at lunch and dinner. They received meat only once per week. They lived in seven barracks with roughly 30 people per barrack.

The Central Name Index (CNI) cards from the International Tracing Service (ITS) and Shoah Foundation testimony reveal a number of persecution tracks for the Jewish prisoners at Ruffieux. Some members of GTE No. 974 had been previously confined to the French-run camps at Gurs, Les Milles, Montreuil-Bellay, and Saint-Cyprien.[2]

During the August 1942 roundup of Jews from the Southern Zone, Ruffieux served as both the target of deportation and a temporary transit camp. The other Jewish GTE in the Lyon region (today: Rhônes-Alpes region), GTE No. 514, was at Savigny (Haute-Savoie Département). On August 23, 1942, 104 members of GTE No. 514 were dispatched to Ruffieux, along with 8 Jews from a GTE in Pontavenaux (Saône-et-Loire Département). On August 24, 168 Jewish men were sent from Ruffieux to Drancy. Fifty-six of the deportees were from GTE No. 974.[3] An additional

deportation of 41 Jewish men to Drancy took place on August 25. The Savoie Département's remaining 65 Jews, including women and children, passed through the Ruffieux camp along the way to the temporary detention site at Vénissieux during the August 26, 1942, roundup. From Vénissieux, they were sent to Drancy in preparation for deportation.

The Ruffieux camp censor intercepted letters from GTE No. 974 prisoners, indicating their dread of deportation. Some believed their final destination was to be German-occupied Poland.[4] Many members of GTE No. 974 consequently fled the camp in the weeks prior to deportation and lived under assumed names; some remained free until the Liberation. The escapees included survivor K. D. and Jacob Szmulewicz.[5] The Auschwitz Numbers Registry (*Nummernverzeichnis*) indicates that some of the inmates deported from Ruffieux were deployed in the Blechhammer subcamp.[6]

SOURCES Two secondary sources describing the Ruffieux camp and its role in the deportations are Cédric Brunie, "Le camp de Ruffieux et les déportations de 1942 en Savoie," in Jean-William Dereymez, ed., *Le refuge et le piège: Les juifs dans les Alpes, 1938–1945* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), pp. 137–144; and Serge Klarsfeld, André Delahaye, et al., *Fiches typologiques par lieu d'internement* (Paris: Mission d'étude sur la spoliation des Juifs de France, n.d.), pp. 96–97, available at www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/MnR-matteoli.htm.

Primary sources documenting the Ruffieux camp, GTE No. 974, can be found in AD-S, collections CAB 67/98bis and 336/R7. Additional documentation can be found in CDJC, collections CCXIII and CCXIX. ITS collections 0.1 (CNI) and 6.3.3.2. (T/D) contain a few references to Ruffieux prisoners. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. VHA holds two interviews with survivors who were held at Ruffieux.

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NOTES

1. On Poles and Spaniards in GTE No. 974, see AD-S, CAB

67/98bis, as cited in Brunie, "Le camp de Ruffieux," p. 139.

2. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Gerhard Lewandowski, DOB June 17, 1910, Doc. No. 31726484; ITS, 6.3.3.2, K.D. file, T/D 729995, Doc. No. 105118972; VHA #28258, Helmut Simon testimony, April 9, 1997.

3. Liste des Juifs deportes de Ruffieux par l'administration francaise, August 24, 1942, AD-S, 1362W4, available at www.savoie.fr/archives73/expo_savoie_des_ombres/pano12/pages/09-03-Liste_juifs_deportes_2.html.

4. AD-S, 336/R7 (Contrôle postale), as cited in Brunie, "Le camp de Ruffieux," p. 141.

5. ITS, 6.3.3.2, K.D. file, T/D 729995, Doc. No. 105118987; VHA #6860, Jacob Szmulewicz testimony, August 23, 1995.

6. ITS, 1.1.2.1, folder 98, Nummernverzeichnis der KL Auschwitz; see also VHA #28258; and ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Gerhard Lewandowski (DOB June 17, 1910), Doc. No. 31726484.

SAINT-CYPRIEN

Saint-Cyprien is located 12.4 kilometers (8 miles) southeast of Perpignan, on the Côte Radieuse by the Mediterranean Sea, in the Pyrénées-Orientales Département. It was selected as a reception center (*Centre d'accueil*) for Spanish refugees under the direction of Général Ménard. The camp was operational on February 8, 1939, and held nearly 90,000 Spanish refugees a month later. It comprised 364 wooden barracks, with tarpaulins and corrugated iron for roofing. The barracks spread over four compounds (*îlots*) measuring 100 × 70 meters (328 × 230 feet). Among the notable internees held during the early phase of the camp were Spanish Civil War veterans Manuel Andújar and Hermann Langbein.

After June 1940, Saint-Cyprien became a collection point for foreigners (*Centre de rassemblement des étrangers*) under the authority of the Montpellier regional prefecture. Its population consisted of German nationals and Jews from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and the Netherlands. In June 1940, there were approximately 1,000 "Reich Germans" in Saint-Cyprien. According to various reports, some were Jewish refugees from the SS *St. Louis*.[1] A prisoner held during this phase was the leftist German artist, Karl Schwesig, who documented aspects of camp life at Saint-Cyprien in a series of watercolors and sketches.[2]

In May 1940, there were 5,000 detainees in Saint-Cyprien. According to a report from August 1940, the camp population stood at 3,923, including 14 detainees younger than 17 years old and 16 over 65 years old. The oldest detainee was 83 years old.[3]

The Saint-Cyprien camp for refugees fleeing the Spanish Civil War, later an internment camp for Jews and political prisoners, 1939–1941. USHMM WS #97484, COURTESY OF THE CENTRE DE DOCUMENTATION JUIVE CONTEMPORAINE.

Complaints about living conditions started as early as the summer of 1940; detainees cited poor water quality, vermin, and unsanitary bathrooms, as well as the lack of straw mattresses, food, and clothes.[4] Conditions were so bad that the Swiss media stigmatized the camp and published photographs to prove their point.[5] Recurring diphtheria, dysentery, and typhoid epidemics led to a high death rate in the camp, especially among young children. The camp administration listed 262 deaths in Saint-Cyprien. Testimonies collected by the Shoah Foundation attested to Saint-Cyprien's poor conditions. Some detainees, like Erich Elkan, were hospitalized in nearby Perpignan as a result.[6] Survivor Laure Levine recalled that her mother got sick while in Saint-Cyprien and subsequently succumbed to her illness while in the Rivesaltes camp.[7] Grave lists collected by the International Tracing Service (ITS) suggested that epidemics were particularly rife during the summer of 1940, at which time 9 Jewish detainees were buried near the Saint-Cyprien camp (out of 12 listed); of the 12 burials of Jews that took place at Perpignan near the Saint-Jean Hospital, 7 occurred during the same period.[8]

One Belgian Jewish prisoner, Leo Ansbacher, served as the camp's rabbi. With his brother Max's assistance, he organized support networks in Saint-Cyprien. The American Joint

Distribution Committee and the Hebrew Immigration/Jewish Colonization Association/Emig-Direkt (HICEM) greatly helped improve the detainees' situation. Rabbi René Kapel, the head of the Toulouse Executive Committee, also organized many supportive activities.[9]

According to historian Pierre Cros, there were 28 escapes recorded during Saint-Cyprien's existence. A successful escapee was Bulgarian-born David Davidoff, who slipped under the barbed-wire fence in 1940.[10]

According to one detainee's testimony, prisoners from the Reich (approximately 1,300) were allegedly taken to Langon, past the Demarcation Line, to await possible repatriation. However, only 300 detainees were actually sent back to the Reich. The others, who were not given clear instructions where to go, returned to Saint-Cyprien.[11]

Between May 1940 and October 1941, there were five companies of foreign workers (*Companies des Travailleurs Étrangers*, CTEs) affiliated with or otherwise deployed at Saint-Cyprien. Not all were stationed in the camp at the same time. The first two were CTE Nos. 225 and 227, both of which consisted of Spanish refugees. In January 1941, months after the camp's official closure, CTE Nos. 218, 402, and 37 occupied some of the barracks at various times. Their forced labor consisted of dismantling the camp's physical plant.[12]

Between October 16 and 19, 1940, exceptionally strong floods rendered the camp's access roads inaccessible and bisected the camp, necessitating its evacuation. According to a list from October 30, 1940, 3,858 Saint-Cyprien detainees were sent to the camp at Gurs, and 300 "refugees from neutral countries" were sent to the camp at Argelès-sur-Mer. The camp closed on October 30, 1940.

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the camp at Saint-Cyprien are Pierre Cros, *Saint-Cyprien, 1939–1945: Le village, le camp, la guerre* (Canet: Trabucaire, 2001); Marcel Bervoets-Tragholz, *La liste de Saint-Cyprien: L'odyssée de plusieurs milliers de juifs expulsés le 10 mai 1940 par les autorités*

belges vers les camps d'internement du sud de la France, antichambre des camps d'extermination (Brussels: Alice Éd., 2006); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources about the Saint-Cyprien camp can be found in AD-P-O, available in microform as USHMMA, RG-43.036M. This collection includes a small number of reports, mostly prewar, related to the camp, including a file (109W341) on escapes in reel 10. Additional documentation can be found in AD-P-A, available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.035M. Noteworthy in RG-43.035M is the collection of dossiers of detainees transferred from Saint-Cyprien to Gurs, reels 39 to 41, files 72W271–72W295. At AN are files 737/MI/2 (documents about the camp) and F9 5578 (report by ICRC representative Dr. Junod on visits to the camps, including Saint-Cyprien, between June 17 and 25, 1940, and July 5, 1940). At PAAA, there is the Kundt Commission report on Saint-Cyprien, 1940, under Inland II A/B 8326 Frankreich—R 99225 and 99226. At CDJC, FSJF collection, there are several documents on the camp: CCXIX-149_002 (report written after a visit to the camp on September 11, 1940) and CCXIX-147_010 (report from August 14, 1940, and a letter from Professor Feigl to Rabbi Kapel about living conditions for Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria held in Saint-Cyprien). The ITS holds grave surveys on Saint-Cyprien and nearby Perpignan under 1.1.47.1. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMA holds a number of unpublished collections about Saint-Cyprien: Curt Bamberger, "A Chemist in the Internment Camps of Vichy France" (Acc. No. 1995.A.037); Inge Berg Katzenstein papers, 1938 to 1948 (Acc. No. 1989.305); Schönberger family collection, 1887 to 1987 (Acc. No. 1988.108); Singer family collection (Acc. No. 2005.115); and an illustrated memoir by the leftist German artist, Karl Schwesig, "Pyrenäenbericht" (Acc. 1988.5.21). USHMMA also holds an oral history interview with former prisoner Lilly Gottlieb (RG-50.002*0034). VHA has 64 testimonies by Saint-Cyprien detainees. Contemporaneous newspaper reports on the camp can be found in *BN* and *ZIZ*. Perhaps the earliest published testimony about Saint-Cyprien by a prewar internee is Manuel Andújar, *Saint-Cyprien, plage … campo de concentración*, edited by

Antonio Mancheño Ferreras (Huelva: Diputación Provincial de Huelva, 1990), first published in exile in Mexico in 1942. It is also available in a 2003 French edition. A testimony by an early internee, held in the winter and spring of 1939, was that by Hermann Langbein, *Die Stärkeren: Ein Bericht aus Auschwitz und anderen Konzentrationslager*, 2nd ed. (Cologne: Bund-Verlag, 1982). Another published testimony by a German Jew who escaped during the transfer from Saint-Cyprien to Gurs is that by Gret Arnoldsen, *Silence, on tue* (Paris: La pensée universelle, 1981).

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Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTES

1. Junod, ICRC report, AN F9 5578.
2. Karl Schwesig, "Pyrenäenbericht," USHMMA, Acc. 1988.5.21.
3. CDJC, FSJF collection, file CCXIX-147_010.
4. Junod, ICRA report, AN F9 5578.
5. *BN,* October 8, 1940; *ZIZ*, November 1940, quoted by Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement," p. 408.
6. VHA #35654, Erich Elkan testimony, September 30, 1997.
7. VHA #26509, Laure Levine testimony, January 21, 1997.
8. ITS, 1.1.47.1, "Liste der auf dem Friedhof von 'Saint-Cyprien' beerdigten Juden (Aus dem Lager St-Cyprien)," n.d., Doc. No. 5159180; ITS, 1.1.47.1, "Liste der auf dem Friedhof von PERPIGNAN beerdigten Juden," n.d., Doc. No. 5159187.
9. CDJC, FSJF collection, file CCXIX-147_010.
10. VHA #4017, David Davidoff testimony, July 22, 1995.
11. Testimony quoted in Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement," pp. 260–261.

12. USHMMA, RG-43.036M (AD-P-O), reel 11, files 1260W114 (227th CTE) and 1260W129 (225th CTE).

SAINT-GEORGES D'AURAC

Saint-Georges d'Aurac is 95 kilometers (59 miles) east-southeast of Mauriac and 77 kilometers (48 miles) southeast of Clermont-Ferrand. The camp at Saint-Georges d'Aurac (Haute-Loire Département) held the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 664. The experiences of GTE No. 664 illustrate the fluid and complicated histories of such units in Vichy France. Originally based at Mauriac (Cantal Département), GTE No. 664 was a "Palestinian" (in the Vichy context, meaning Jewish) labor battalion from its inception in June 1941.[1] A Central Name Index (CNI) card from the International Tracing Service (ITS) and Shoah Foundation testimony underscore this point.[2] As a Jewish unit, GTE No. 664 was subjected to harsh discipline.

As of October 1, 1941, while still based at Mauriac, the unit consisted of 177 men assigned to water and forestry work, dam repairs, and agriculture. At the end of March 1942, the unit was transferred to Saint-Georges d'Aurac, which remained its base until the early spring of 1943.[3] Even though Saint-Georges was its base, the unit had widely scattered labor assignments. A report by the unit's group chief, Capitaine Lévy, listed an arsenic factory at Auzon (31 Jews), road construction for the Bertrand de Brioude firm in Beysseyre St. Mary (35 Jews), and additional road construction for the Promeyrat firm in Langeac (15 Jews). The remaining 67 prisoners at the time were either awaiting deployment or unable to work.[4]

The unit's chief for most of this time, Lévy, was allegedly a baptized Jew.[5] In reports to his superior, he accused the Jewish workers of black marketeering, listening to the radio illegally, shirking work, and writing illegal correspondence.[6] He said the men were "in opposition to the government of the Marshal (Pétain),"[7] noting that they sang anti-Vichy songs in German and Polish. He named as the instigators in such activities the unit's secretary of Jewish Social Work (*Oeuvres sociales israëlites*),

Wertheimer, among others. Grand Rabbi René Hirschler, who inspected the Saint-Georges camp in April 1942, found the conditions deplorable. A confidential note from the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF), probably based on Hirschler's findings, observed that the unit's food was poor and that those who refused to do certain types of work ended up being given harder work at the factory in Auzon. Lévy's obsession over the black market, the report went on, led him to "menace" the peasants who tried to deliver food to the camp. The report further accused Lévy of dispatching a dozen Jews from GTE No. 664 to the penal unit at Égletons (GTE No. 101) in as many days.[8] Among those the captain dispatched to Égletons was survivor Max Oling, whose persecution path subsequently included Drancy and the Auschwitz III-Monowitz subcamp Blechhammer.[9] According to findings by Serge Klarsfeld, the August 26, 1942, roundup of Jews in the Southern Zone included some forced laborers from GTE No. 664.

One small group whose members were not fully part of the roundup were the Jews based at the Auzon arsenic factory. It is not clear whether there was turnover in the workforce at Auzon, but given the complaints of recurrent illness, it is highly likely.[10] Accommodated at the Chateau de Flageac and later at the factory itself, the Jewish workers at Auzon, who from the spring of 1943 became part of what was called GTE No. 190, were kept under a stricter regimen than the non-Jews. The Jews' identity cards labeled them as such. In January 1944, GTE No. 190 numbered 177 prisoners, most of whom were Spanish. The Auzon plant continued to have a small, but dwindling, Jewish contingent as late as June 1944. At the time of D-Day, there were a number of escapes by non-Jewish members in response to German threats of arrests and deportations.[11]

There is a coda to the history of GTE No. 664 that further illustrates the complex experiences of such units. A former member of GTE No. 664, Samuel Gilden, requested a certificate of persecution from the prefect of Cantal in late May 1946. Gilden reported that he had been a member of the unit from July 1941 at Mauriac until the Liberation and that his forced labor was based on the "racial laws." The prefect advised him to make his request through the Haute-Loire prefect, because the GTE in question was

part of the latter's department.[12]

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the GTE No. 664 camp (Mauriac and Saint-Georges d'Aurac) include Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001); Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75; Bernard Reviriego, *Les juifs en Dordogne, 1939–1944: De l'accueil à la persécution* (Périgueux: Fanlac; Archives départementales de la Dordogne, 2003); and Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II*, trans. Nathan Bracher (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press in association with USHMM, 2001).

Primary sources documenting GTE No. 664 (Mauriac and Saint-Georges d'Aurac) can be found in AD-H-L, collection 996W159, available at USHMMA as RG-43.137M; AD-Can, collection 1W210, available at USHMMA as RG-43.116M; and CDJC, collection CMXX (Lucien Lublin collection), available at USHMMA as RG-43.079M. Additional documentation can be found in AD-Do, collection 1W79, and ITS, particularly 1.2.7.18 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Frankreich und Monaco). The latter documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. VHA holds one testimony on these sites.

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NOTES

1. Le Chef de Groupement No. 1 des formations étrangers, "État de stationnement des Groupes," June 20, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.137M (AD-H-L), 996W159, p. 18.

2. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Szyia (Schya) Schwarz, Doc. No. 52481207; VHA #7423, Max Oling testimony, December 19, 1995.

3. AD-Do, 1W79, as cited in Reviriego, *Les juifs en Dordogne,* pp. 141–142.

4. Lévy, “Rapport sur l’État moral du Groupe 664,” May 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.137M, 996W159, pp. 36–37.

5. “Note confidentielle sur la situation des TÉ du 664 G St. Georges d’Aurac anciennement Mauriac,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.079M (CDJC—Lucien Lublin collection, CMXX), reel 2, CMXX-14.

6. Ibid.; Lévy, “Rapport sur l’État moral du Groupe 664,” July 17, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.137M, 996W159, p. 44.

7. “Rapport sur l’État moral du Groupe 664,” May 15, 1942, p. 36.

8. “Note confidentielle sur la situation des TÉ du 664 G St. Georges d’Aurac anciennement Mauriac,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.079M, reel 2, CMXX-14.

9. VHA #7423.

10. “Note confidentielle sur la situation des TÉ du 664 G St. Georges d’Aurac anciennement Mauriac,” USHMMA, RG-43.079M, reel 2, CMXX-14.

11. A. Dieulot, Commissaire Principal, Chef du Service des Renseignements Généraux du Puy à P/H-L, January 10, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.137M, 996W159, pp. 105–106; Dieulot, Commissaire Principal, Chef du Service des Renseignements Généraux du Puy à P/H-L, June 20, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.137M, 996W159, pp. 137–138.

12. Gilden correspondence (May 27, 1946) and prefectural reply (June 5, 1946), USHMMA, RG-43.116M (AD-Can), AD015_2MI_316-4, collection 1W210, pp. 226, 228.

SAINT-GERMAIN-LES-BELLES

Saint-Germain-les-Belles (Haute-Vienne Département) is a village approximately 37 kilometers (23 miles) southeast of Limoges. An internment camp called "Bagatelle" operated at Saint-Germain-les-Belles between February 1940 and April 1941. Initially, the site served as a military camp mainly for the detention of German enemy nationals. Over the course of 1940 and 1941, however, additional categories of "undesirables" were incarcerated there, including French communists, many of them women, and others deemed unreliable, including Central European Jewish refugees.

On January 5, 1940, the War and National Defense Ministry authorized the construction of a barracks camp at Saint-Germain-les-Belles. The location was appealing for logistical and security reasons. The town had a train station and was close enough to Limoges to relieve overcrowded detention facilities there. Ultimately, the Haute-Vienne Département of Bridges and Roads (*Service des Ponts et Chaussées de la Haute-Vienne*) constructed the site on the eastern outskirts of town on the road to Saint-Vitte-sur-Briance, even though the railway station was located on the western outskirts. Consequently, the arriving inmates had to walk for about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) through the town center to the camp. In November 1940, the Vichy Interior Ministry assumed control of the site and assigned the Haute-Vienne prefect the management of a camp for "undesirables."

The site was fenced in with barbed wire. Initially, it consisted of six barracks of the "Adrian" type, prefabricated barracks used in the first half of the twentieth century. Each measured 40 × 6 meters (about 131 × 20 feet) and was covered by a corrugated iron roof. One barrack served as a communal kitchen. The site was wired for electricity. There were 12 stoves to heat the barracks.[1] The camp quickly became overcrowded, and authorities began to pursue expansion plans in late August 1940. However, engineers of the Department of Bridges and Roads argued that the topography limited development possibilities. Although the

current site could accommodate two more barracks, any other additions would have to be built on wetland to the south of the camp, which posed health and safety hazards for inmates.[2] According to a prefectural report dated January 14, 1941, the final expansion included four housing barracks, a police station, several guard huts, an office, a kitchen, a shower, and an infirmary. There was also an internal prison chamber, likely measuring 6 × 4 meters (20 × 13 feet) and featuring metal gates and bars.[3]

The camp at Saint-Germain-les-Belles was the first of three such internment sites for "undesirables" in Haute-Vienne. The other two were located at Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux, about 20 kilometers (12 miles) to the north, and Nexon, approximately 34 kilometers (21 miles) to the northwest of Saint-Germainles-Belles. Both sites were larger and significantly more repressive. Initially, there was some exchange of prisoners between the three camps. For example, in November 1940, a number of inmates registered at Saint-Paul were transferred to Saint-Germain-les-Belles.

Not all inmates came from Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux, however. Martin Mendel, born in Leipzig on November 1, 1891, was transferred to the camp on August 7, 1940, after spending about two weeks incarcerated at an auxiliary prison in Limoges. On November 5, 1940, he was transferred to the Gurs camp.[4] By contrast, Ludwig Stern, born March 15, 1889, in Bad Schwabach, took a different course through several French camps, starting with incarceration at Saint-Germain-les-Belles on August 2, 1940. He was then transferred to Gurs and Albi and finally to Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux, where he was registered until August 15, 1944.[5] For Mendel, Stern, and many others, Saint-Germain-les-Belles was only one of several way stations during years of incarceration. Others had different experiences. Alfred Frank, for instance, born on June 25, 1888, in Stuttgart, after being a Saint-Germain-les-Belles internee, was moved to camps at Gurs and at Les Milles near Marseille. He was released from Les Milles on November 7, 1941.[6]

Over the course of 1940, some 1,833 inmates were registered at the Saint-Germain-les-Belles camp. By December 1940, the Vichy authorities decided to expand the camps at Saint-Paul and Nexon and close the camp at Saint-Germainles-Belles. The last inmates were transferred in April 1941. The site was abandoned until April

1945, when the Ministry of Prisoners of War, Deportees, and Refugees (*Ministère des Prisonniers de guerre, Déportés et Réfugies*) turned it into a transit camp for several hundred refugees.[7]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Saint-Germainles-Belles camp include Guy Perlier, *Les camps du bocage: 1940–1944, Saint-Germain-les-Belles, Saint-Paul-d'eyjeaux, Nexon…* (Brive-la-Gaillarde, France: Monédière, 2009), which includes reproductions of camp maps and photographs; also compare Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

Primary documentation about the Saint-Germain-les-Belles camp can be found in ADH-V, especially 185W3/54, 185W3/57, 188W294, and 953W14. The collection is also available at USHMMA as RG-43.047M. The Central Name Index (CNI) of the International Tracking Service (ITS) contains inquiries about several Jews of various national origins registered here and is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. ADH-V, 185W3/57, as cited by Perlier, *Les camps du bocage*, pp. 119–120.
2. ADHV, 953W14, as cited by Perlier, *Les camps du bocage*, pp. 120–121.
3. ADH-V, 185W3/57, as cited by Perlier, *Les camps du bocage*, p. 121.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Martin Mendel, Doc. No. 52072099.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Ludwig Stern, Doc. No. 52254915.
6. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Alfred Frank, Doc. No. 53125831.
7. ADH-V, 993W185, as cited by Perlier, *Les camps du bocage*, pp. 264–265.

SAINT-MAURICE-AUX-RICHES-HOMMES

Established in 1937 as a reception center (*Centre d'Acceuil*) for Spanish refugees, Saint-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes served as a camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) from June 21, 1941, to December 18, 1945. It was located in the Yonne Département, 102 kilometers (about 64 miles) southeast of Paris.[1] In early 1941, before the site officially became a Roma camp, it held 137 Polish nationals.[2] Located in the forecourt of an abandoned train station, the camp had 7 wooden barracks and a 20-bed infirmary. In June 1943, the site was enclosed with three rows of barbed wire.[3]

According to a census of the Yonne Roma undertaken at the behest of the German authorities, 126 "Bohemians"—21 Bohemian men, 28 women, and 77 children—were living in the department on October 28, 1940, and were to be assigned to residences (*assignations à residence*). The census report further advised that the one facility suitable for detaining the prefecture's Roma was Saint-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes.[4] On March 21, 1941, on the orders of the Yonne prefect, they were gathered in Bléneau, and then at least 90 were sent in June to Saint-Maurice. Originally the camp only served the Yonne Département, but it subsequently held Roma from the neighboring departments of Doubs, Aube, Nièvre, and elsewhere. There were 107 detainees in June 1943, 170 in December 1943, 183 in December 1944, and 207 by December 1945 in Saint-Maurice.[5]

According to Marie-Christine Hubert, Saint-Maurice was self-sufficient, in contrast with other Roma camps. Its directors simultaneously headed the administrative internment camp at Saint-Denis-lès-Sens, because Saint-Maurice was one of its annexes. After the Liberation, Saint-Maurice was jointly administered with the confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) at Auxerre. In succession, Saint-Maurice's

directors were Germain Girard (to October 1943), R. Maynard (October 1943 to March 1944), J. Duval (March to October 1944), and F. Loirat (October 1944 to November 1945). The directors' monthly reports repeatedly disparaged the Roma, characterized by Girard as "dirty, lazy, and undisciplined."[6] After the Liberation, Loirat depicted the camp's schoolchildren and parents in similar terms.[7]

Assisting the directors were a guard and two nurses from the French Red Cross. In November 1942, one staff member was transferred to the Vaudeurs camp in Yonne. A civilian physician monitored camp hygiene. For most of the camp's existence, a Dr. Luras served as the camp's physician. Two armed gendarmes and a noncommissioned officer, Raymond Persin, served as the guards. Only Persin, who was unarmed for most of his tenure, remained in the camp. In January 1944 the camp administration finally succeeded in getting him a pistol. The remaining gendarmes oversaw external work details.[8]

With the director's permission, the Roma were deployed on outside work details. On January 19, 1942, the Yonne prefect, Charles Daupeyroux, attempted to withdraw this authorization "as a result of the pillaging/damages committed by the Gypsies in the village in the camp's vicinity."[9] The German authorities quickly countermanded the prefect's order. In August 1942, 38 Roma worked outside the camp on neighboring farms and the Water and Forestry (*Eaux-et-Forêts*, E&F) Department.

Deployed at Courgenay, 7.8 kilometers (4.85 miles) southeast of Saint-Maurice, the E&F Department had a permanent work detail with frequent turnover in manpower. This work detail was also the source of administrative friction. Persin complained about the detainees' unruly behavior. In March 1944, one prisoner, Louis B., left the detail without authorization and returned to Saint-Maurice, where he had a verbal altercation with Persin. In May 1944, a drunken brawl erupted between six prisoners at Courgenay, which led to two-month prison terms for three of them. The recurring conflict between Persin and the E&F detail was among the reasons why he and his wife, then listed as a "special agent" (*agent-spécial*) on staff at Saint-Maurice, were dismissed in June 1944.[10]

The prisoners' daily routine began at 7:45 A.M., followed by a

9:00 A.M. roll call, and concluded at 9 P.M. with a second roll call. There were 22 releases, all of which took place in 1942 and 1943. The number of escapes was very high: 21 in 1941, 20 in 1942, 11 in 1943, 16 in 1944, and 60 in 1945. Only 26 escapees, including a family of 17 on August 31, 1941, were rearrested. Among the escapees were a 35-year-old mother and her 5-year-old son, who fled the camp in January 1941.[11]

Although the premises were unsanitary, there were no major epidemics. In 1941 and 1943, there were at least two instances of tuberculosis, however.[12] The absence of epidemics was due in part to preventive measures, which included inoculations and the use of a German disinfection wagon to clean prisoners' clothing.[13] According to historian Hubert, there were 13 deaths recorded at Saint-Maurice between 1941 and 1945.

The Allied liberation of Yonne led the detainees to call for their immediate release. As early as November/December 1944, Director Loirat argued that the camp should be closed, not only because the facilities were in a dilapidated state but also on the grounds that some detainees were wounded veterans of the two world wars. In addition to releasing most detainees, he wanted the incorrigibles to be sent to the much larger Roma camp at Montreuil-Bellay (Maine-et-Loire Département). In May 1945, Nazi Germany's surrender nearly sparked a riot in the camp, when the Roma demanded their freedom. The two civil guards on hand were hardly able to cope with the situation. By ministerial decree, the camp was dissolved on November 17, 1945.[14] The Roma were freed, largely by tribal (*tribu*) units, in November and December 1945. Despite the law's requirement at the time, none were required to take an assigned residence.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Saint-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes are Marie-Christine Hubert, "Le camp de Saint-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes," *ÉT* 6: 2 (1995): 197–210; Marie-Christine Hubert, "Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation," 4 vols. (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)* (Paris: Éditions Perrin,

2009); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ÉT* 6: 2 (1995): 79–148.

Primary sources on the Saint-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes camp can be found in AD-Y, 3M15/26 (prefectural correspondence on Roma); 1W509 (monthly reports); 1W527 (release requests); and 1222W8 (reports, 1941–1942). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA as RG-43.105M. Additional primary sources on the camp can be found in AN F7 15110 (camp photos, June 1943; Robert Lebègue's IGC report, June 1943).

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Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTES

1. Centre du Groupement des Nomades du Département de l'Yonne, March 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.105M (AD-Y), 1W509, 692 (USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1W509); AD-Y, 3M15/26.

2. "Liste nominative des Étrangers arrivée au camp, le 1er Janvier 1941," USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1222W8, p. 41.

3. Robert Lebègue, IGC report, 1943, AN F7 15110.

4. Capitaine Réjou to P/Yonne, Objet: "Nomades," October 28, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/3M15/26, p. 750.

5. AD-Y, 1W527 (1945); and Lebègue report; both cited in Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement," pp. 576, 793.

6. Rapport mensuel, March 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1W509, p. 695.

7. "Suppression du Camp," Rapport mensuel, November-December 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1W509, p. 470.

8. Rapport mensuel, November 1943, January–February 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1W509, 531, 562; Lebègue report, AN F7 15110, cited by Hubert, "Le camp de Saint-Maurice," p. 200.

9. P/Yonne, Arrêté, January 19, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.105M, 3M15/26, p. 783.

10. Rapports mensuel, January-February and June 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1W509, pp. 488, 506, 523.

11. AD-Y, 1W509, cited by Hubert, "Le camp de Saint-Maurice," 207; "Liste des Evadés du Camp de St-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes," stamped February 1, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1222W8, p. 40.

12. Rapports mensuel, December 24, 1941, April 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1222W8, pp. 651, 711.

13. Sous-Préfet Sens to Hauptmann Schultz, Standortkommandant Sens, January 13, 1942; and Rapport mensuel, September 24, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1W509, pp. 664, 748.

14. Rapport mensuel, November 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1222W8, p. 429.

SAINT-NECTAIRE

Saint-Nectaire (Puy-de-Dôme Département) is a town in central France. It is located 22 kilometers (14 miles) southwest of the prefectural capital of Clermont-Ferrand, 14 kilometers (9 miles) west of Le Mont-Dore, and 20 kilometers (12 miles) west of La Bourboule. Le Mont-Dore, La Bourboule, and Saint-Nectaire were three of the four national centers for the detention of foreign Jews and other "undesirables." The fourth site was located in Eaux-Bonnes (Pyrenées-Atlantiques Département). These centers were established after the Vichy Interior Ministry ordered prefects and police to streamline the detention and expulsion of Jews in late 1941.[1] Officially termed a "center of assigned residence" (*centre de residence assignée*), Saint-Nectaire and other such sites existed between 1942 and 1943, often operating in empty hotels. According to official documentation, the Vichy authorities aimed to detain French and alien nationals whose conduct, attitude, nationality, and religion were deemed to be threats to the regime.[2] In reality, mainly foreign Jews who entered France after January 1, 1936, were targeted.[3] The detainees included naturalized citizens as well.[4]

The center at Saint-Nectaire operated under the purview of the Vichy Interior Ministry and remained under constant police surveillance. Responsibility for identifying and assigning eligible Jews to residences in the center lay with the prefect. To qualify, the inmates had to be able to support themselves financially.[5] Those of insufficient financial means were assigned to groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs). By the summer of 1942, several hundred Jews were assigned to the relocation centers in the region, including Saint-Nectaire. Some were able to secure emigration papers. Those who did not ultimately became the targets of the three major roundups (*ramassages*) in the Puyde-Dôme on August 26, 1942, and in the spring of 1943.[6] Shocked by what he witnessed during the roundups in Saint-Nectaire in July 1942, the bishop of Clermont,

Monseigneur Piguet, is said to have exclaimed, "It is a shame! Our French gendarmes are working for the *Boches* (a French pejorative for Germans)."[7]

SOURCES A few secondary sources mention the Saint-Nectaire center of assigned residence. See, especially, Dominique Jarrassé, *Les Juifs de Clermont: Une histoire fragmenteé* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2000); Jean Merley, ed., *Répression: Camps d'internement en France pendant la seconde guerre mondiale: Aspects du phenomena concentration-naire* (Saint-Etienne: Centre d'Histoire Régionale, DL 1983); and Alexandre De Aranjo et al., *Terre d'exil, terre d'asile: Migrations juives en France aux XIXe et XXe siècles* (Paris: Éclat, 2010). For relevant background information, see also John F. Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France: The French under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press in association with USHMM, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Saint-Nectaire center of assigned residence can be found in AD-P-D, which holds relevant reports by police and gendarmerie in the M Series. Additional police records can also be found in the N Series of ADH-L. See also ITS, 2.3.5.1, folders 19a and 19b (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), especially Doc. Nos. 82371086–82371090, available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. AD-P-D, M07199, as cited in Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France*, p. 125; see also ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371089.

2. ADH-L, N431 Police 4 and 8, as cited in Merley, ed., *Repression*, p. 76.

3. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371089–82371090.

4. Ibid., Doc. Nos. 82370908–82370910.

5. Ibid., Doc. Nos. 82371089–82371090.

6. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. Nos. 82370957–82370953.

7. Père Joseph Vallet, cited in Jarrassé, *Les Juifs de Clermont*, p. 270.

SAINT-PAUL-D'EYJEAUX

Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux (Haute-Vienne Département) is approximately 20 kilometers (12 miles) southeast of Limoges. An internment camp for French and foreign "undesirables" operated at Saint-Paul between November 1940 and June 1944. Altogether nearly 2,000 prisoners were detained at the site, mostly on political grounds. Communists, anarchists, and other political activists, as well as Jews and Freemasons, were among the inmates.

According to an order of the departmental prefect of October 30, 1940, the Haute-Vienne Département of Bridges and Roads (*Service des Ponts et Chaussées de la Haute-Vienne*) built the camp on wetlands on the outskirts of Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux. Ultimately it comprised more than 30 wooden barracks that were arranged into six sections. The camp was surrounded by a double row of barbed wire. According to an inspection report from January 15, 1942, the inmates occupied 15 of the 30 barracks in five separate sections. The barracks measured 20 × 7 meters (about 66 × 23 feet) and housed up to 40 men each. Armed guards manned watchtowers at all times. Camp personnel occupied wooden houses just outside the camp.[1]

The camp population fluctuated, ranging from 250 to 650 inmates at any given time. In November 1940, some inmates were transferred to a camp in Saint-Germain-les-Belles, located about 22 kilometers (14 miles) to the southeast. After the liquidation of the Third Republic-era internment camp at Chateau du Sablou in the Dordogne, 228 inmates of French nationality were transferred to Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux on December 30, 1940. According to an internal report, a total of more than 600 inmates were registered at the site in January 1941.[2] On March 1941, 155 of the former "Sablousards" at Saint-Paul were transferred along with 90 inmates from Nexon and 21 from Saint-Germain-les-Belles to Fort Caffarelli in Algeria. In January 1943, 452 prisoners were registered at Saint-Paul. The fluctuating inmate numbers also caused fluctuations in the size of the camp staff. For instance,

according to inmate testimony, in response to a large influx of new detainees in September 1943, the camp authorities doubled the number of guards.[3] Soon thereafter the number of inmates decreased quickly—from 466 in October 1943 to 83 in January 1944. The following month, the camp was temporarily closed.

When the inmate population was high, the camp at Saint-Paul had a staff of more than 100. In 1943, on the appointment of a new camp commander, inmate Georges Rougeron noted in his journal that the scope of the commander's authority was not clearly discernible, although his tasks were many and often unpleasant. They included managing the camp bureaucracy, including composing official camp mail and internal and external memoranda. The commander also met regularly with prisoner-elected barrack leaders, a central inmate representative, and other prisoners. An economic manager oversaw camp supplies and organized materials and food procurement and distribution, especially during the many times of shortage. The head of the camp police seemed to enjoy some autonomy in managing security and surveillance.[4]

Living conditions at Saint-Paul were difficult. Frequent rain flooded the clay campgrounds and barracks. Spring thaws rendered the central path through the camp nearly impassable. Construction errors exacerbated these conditions. For instance, the inmates often could not reach toilet facilities, because they were located in a lower part of the camp that tended to be flooded for a good part of the year, resulting in catastrophic hygienic conditions. Reports by the camp director reveal that these problems continued throughout early 1942 and possibly later.[5] Disease outbreaks were exacerbated by periodic overcrowding and cold in winter. The food supply was often precarious, though the inmates were able to keep a sizable vegetable garden to stave off hunger and malnutrition. On December 31, 1942, Rougeron wryly summarized his experiences over the previous three months: "212 admissions; 134 discharges; 128 meals with carrots; 12 with roots."[6] Left to idle for months or even years, inmates tried to organize cultural and educational events. An educational commission met regularly and organized weekly seminars in wide-ranging fields such as economics, accounting, geography, chemistry, math, physics, and languages. The camp staff monitored these activities. Seminars in history or

political science were forbidden.

On October 30, 1942, a ministerial circular reconfirmed Saint-Paul as a camp intended specifically for political prisoners.[7] The detainees' political allegiances and convictions varied widely, however, and often led to conflicts. Rougeron, a militant socialist, testified to the constant tensions between different political factions. According to him, in July 1943 the camp administration tried to address this problem by separating noncommunists from communists in the camp, a maneuver also intended to stigmatize the latter.[8] Among the noncommunists briefly held at Saint-Paul were Pastors André Trocmé and Édouard Theis, leading rescuers of Jews at Le Chambonsur-Lignon. Their five-week-long arrest followed their refusal to swear allegiance to the Pétain regime.

Pastors André Trocmé and Édouard Theis entertain themselves during their imprisonment in the Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux internment camp, 1943. USHMM WS #86406, COURTESY OF JACQUELINE GREGORY.

Several days later, following Operation Torch, German forces occupied the territory on November 11, 1942 and assumed authority over the camps in the Southern Zone. The Germans expressed a great deal of concern about the chronic understaffing at many of the Vichy detention sites. They also believed that camp guards were insufficiently armed, rendering the camp populations a security risk. In September 1943, authorities advocated closing

the camp at Saint-Paul for these reasons.[9] The camp operated until February 1944, however, when it briefly closed only to resume operations in April 1944. Three hundred and eight inmates were registered at Saint-Paul toward the end of that month. By May 1944, the inmate population had grown to 425. The French Forces of the Interior (*Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur*, FFI) liberated the site on June 11, 1944, and Germans were subsequently detained there.

SOURCES Important secondary sources describing the Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux camp include Guy Perlier, *Les camps du bocage: 1940–1944, Saint-Germain-les-Belles, Saint-Paul-d'eyjeaux, Nexon…* (Brive-la-Gaillarde, France: Monédière, 2009), which utilizes extensive documentation from AN and departmental archives and includes reproductions of primary sources, photos, and maps of the camps; Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: l'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002); and Jacky Tronel, "Séjour surveille pour 'indésirables français': Le château du Sablou en 1940," *Criminocorpus*, posted June 1, 2012, available at http://criminocorpus.revues.org.

The Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux camp is well documented. Surviving documentation includes a detailed camp journal kept by Georges Rougeron, former secretary to socialist leader Marx Dormoy, available at AN 72AJ289; see also AN, F7 15110 and AN, F7 14891. Additional documentation can be found at ADDo, AD-E-L, and at ADH-V: 185W3/54 (internment camps); the last source is available at USHMMA as RG-43.047M. The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several Jews of various national origins registered at the camp; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA holds an oral testimony by survivor Raymond Cluborg, August 7, 1995 (#4013).

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NOTES

1. AN, F7 15110, as cited by Perlier, *Les camps du bocage*, pp. 127–132.

2. Ibid., p. 109.

3. AN, 72AJ289, as cited by Peschanski, *La France des camps*, p. 269.

4. Ibid., pp. 264–265.

5. AN, F7 15110, as cited by Peschanski, *La France des camps*, p. 109.

6. AN, 72AJ289, as cited by Peschanski, *La France des camps*, pp. 412–413.

7. AD-E-L, 6W52, as cited by Peschanski, *La France des camps*, p. 310.

8. AN, 72AJ289, as cited by Peschanski, *La France des camps*, p. 408.

9. AN, F7 14891, as cited by Peschanski, *La France des camps*, p. 311.

SAINT-SULPICE-LA-POINTE

Located 27 kilometers (17 miles) northeast of Toulouse in the Tarn Département, the camp of Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe was located a half-kilometer (0.3 miles) from the train station at the northeast edge of the village of Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe. The camp originally comprised 3.6 hectares (8.7 acres) of requisitioned land, and it was expanded to 4.7 hectares (11.6 acres) in March 1943 after the state purchased adjacent land. The property was bordered to the north by the Agoût River.[1]

The camp housed 1,500 Belgian refugees between May and September 1940. At the request of the Vichy Interior Ministry, renovations began in October 1940 to turn Saint-Sulpice into a camp for French political detainees (*indésirables*). The camp was enclosed by a barbed wire fence, and a surveillance system, including three watchtowers, was constructed.[2]

By the time it reopened as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) in January 1941, it had 20 wooden barracks with tiled roofs: 15 served as dormitories, 2 as storage for clothing and bedding, 2 as workshops, and 1 as a combination library and chapel. There were also an administrative office; an infirmary; buildings containing showers and toilets; a canteen that sold tobacco, stationery, and toiletries; and one building housing the kitchen, dining hall, dried food storage, and a room for prisoners to receive visitors. A small cement building next to the infirmary had 20 cells to hold prisoners being disciplined.[3]

The first groups of political detainees arrived at the end of January and the beginning of February 1941: 260 prisoners from Rivel (Aude Département) and 293 from Oraison (Basses-Alpes Département) arrived after both of these camps were shuttered. Four hundred twenty-five detainees from Chibron (Var) and groups from Chaffaut and Sisteron (both in Alpes-de-Haute-Provence) also formed part of this first wave of detainees.[4]

Between January 1941 and August 1944, 4,600 prisoners passed

through Saint-Sulpice. The majority were political prisoners (communists, syndicalists, or anarchists), though there were also smaller groups of black marketeers, Jews, and stateless Germans among the imprisoned.[5] The camp could hold 700 to 900 prisoners at any given time; prisoners were frequently transferred to other nearby camps such as Noé (Haute-Garonne Département) and Nexon and Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux (both in the Haute-Vienne Département).[6] Political detainees considered "particularly dangerous to the public order" were transferred to Fort-Barraux (Isère) and to camps in Algeria.[7]

Saint-Sulpice had four directors during its existence: Paul Dieterlin from November 28, 1940, to June 8, 1943; François Risterucci from June 9, 1943, to October 1, 1943; Paul Chevalier from October 1, 1943, to September 2, 1944; and Gustave Didier from September 5, 1944, until the camp was closed. Dieterlin was previously the administrator of the Industrial and Commercial Societies, whereas Risterucci was the manager of a hotel in Indochina and Chevalier was an industrialist in Paris. Didier, who assumed control after the Liberation, was a naval officer who had been active in the Resistance.[8] The number of other employees varied, and there was a great deal of turnover. One list from July 1941 gives the total number of staff as 62, not including guards, of whom there were usually between 50 and 60, in addition to several dozen gendarmes. After the creation of the French Forces of the Interior (*Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur*, FFI) in 1944, an FFI company was given responsibility for the camp's exterior surveillance.[9]

Detainees at Saint-Sulpice performed several kinds of labor, much of which was related to the camp's operation, such as tending to a camp vegetable garden and pigsty or performing plumbing and electrical repairs. Several workshops also operated on the premises, including woodworking, shoemaking, and iron forging.[10] According to an April 16, 1941, report from camp director Dieterlin to the prefect of Tarn, all labor was paid; the base pay was 1 franc per hour for nonspecialized work and 2 francs per hour for specialized work.[11] Most but not all of the products produced in the workshops were used within the camp by both prisoners and staff. In one instance, in 1943, 30 prisoners were paid 150 to 200 francs per week to make brushes for a local

manufacturer.[12]

Conditions in Saint-Sulpice were not as harsh as in many other camps, due at least in part to the French tendency to treat political prisoners differently from other groups. The aforementioned 1941 report from Dieterlin describes some of the activities the prisoners could participate in. There was some sports equipment available, and Dieterlin organized sports tournaments with monetary prizes. There was also a camp orchestra, a choir, and theatrical performances every Sunday on a stage installed in the dining hall. In addition to their daily jobs, prisoners were permitted to make small artworks (wood carvings, drawings, watercolors), which were displayed in an exhibition in the camp on at least one occasion.[13] Boris Taslitzky, who was a French artist of Russian and Jewish origins and was detained at Saint-Sulpice as a member of the French Communist Party (*Parti communiste français*, PCF), painted frescoes in four of the barracks and in the chapel; they caught the attention of a local curator, who lobbied to move them into a museum after the war.[14]

Educational courses were organized in subjects ranging from academic, such as French and algebra, to vocational, such as classes in electrical and mechanical work. According to Dieterlin's report, detainees participated in 22 classes, which were taught by inmates with expertise in the given subject matter.[15] Potentially political subjects such as philosophy were banned. However, during an oral history interview Taslitzsky states that prisoners simply renamed their courses to avoid scrutiny.[16]

Many large-scale escapes occurred. On the night of July 11, 1943, 54 prisoners escaped from a 15-meter-long (49.2-foot-long) tunnel dug from a barrack to an exit hidden under a grapevine 12 meters (39.4 feet) from the eastern enclosure of the camp.[17] Eighteen of the escapees were found and sentenced to between four and six months in the prison at Castres.[18] Taslitzsky said that another group of inmates planned an escape via a tunnel for Easter 1944, but the tunnel was discovered by the camp administration before they could use it.[19] A large escape occurred on August 19, 1944.

Departmental documents also point to instances of organized unrest among the prisoners. According to Dieterlin's April 16,

1941, report, there was a "demonstration of collective disobedience" by a group of communist detainees earlier that month after some prisoners were transferred to Algeria; it resulted in the suppression of all prisoners' privileges for 15 days.[20]

On July 30, 1944, German authorities deported 623 prisoners (including Taslitzsky) to Buchenwald.[21] According to the historian Diana Fabre, several dozen prisoners from a group of September 1942 transfers to Drancy (Seine-Saint-Denis Département) were deported from there to Auschwitz. By the time of the Liberation of Paris, only a handful of prisoners detained by the French authorities remained in the camp at Saint-Sulpice.

The camp remained open after the Liberation, first as a detention center for 63 German officers, who were moved to Le Vernet (Ariège Département) in October 1944, and then for a group of French collaborators, most of whom were held there only for a few months. In January 1945 a group of 1,100 German civilians, mostly women and children, arrived from Strasbourg and were gradually moved to other camps or repatriated through the beginning of 1946.[22]

SOURCES Secondary sources that discuss Saint-Sulpicela-Pointe include Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internment 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002); Diana Fabre, "Les camps d'internment du Tarn: Saint-Sulpice et Brens," in Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994), pp. 71–79; and Michel Germain, *Mémorial de la déportation: Haute-Savoie, 1940–1945* (Montmélian: La Fontaine de Siloé, 1999), a section of which focuses on the experience of Haut-Savoyards detained at Saint-Sulpice. A useful summary of the camp's history can be found in Joël Bercaire, Christian Chamayou, and Martine Jean, *Documents et sources pour l'histoire de la seconde guerre mondiale dans le département du Tarn*, vol. 2 (Albi: Conseil général du Tarn, Archives départmentales, 2001), which also contains a finding aid for the archival material on Saint-Sulpice held at ADT.

The primary documentation on Saint-Sulpice can be found in

ADT under the classifications 493W1–493W189. Some of this documentation is held on microfilm at USHMMA under RG-43.061M. An oral history interview with the artist Boris Taslitzky is available as part of the Robert Buckley collection at USHMMA under RG-50.027*0006, and a collection of some of Taslitzky's drawings, including several made at Saint-Sulpice, is also held at USHMMA on microfilm under RG-43.100M. Taslitzky's documentation from Buchenwald can be found in ITS, 1.1.5.3 (Individual Documents male Buchenwald), prisoner envelope Boris Taslitzsky, Doc. Id. 7758051.

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NOTES

1. Didier to Ministre de l'Intérieur, January 6, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.061M (ADT), reel 1, 493W8, pp. 790–791 (USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W8, pp. 790–791).

2. Ibid., p. 796.

3. Ibid., p. 791.

4. Commissaire Spécial/Tarn to P/Tarn, February 15, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W4, p. 299; P/Basses-Alpes to L'Amiral de la Flotte and Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur, May 24, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W4, p. 289.

5. Dierlin to P/Tarn, November 12, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W45, p. 2238; list of Jews, Dieterlin to P/Tarn, September 3, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W42, p. 2157.

6. Didier to Ministre de l'Intérieur, January 6, 1945, 791–792; transfer to Noé, Commandant du Camp to P/Tarn, August 28, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W51, p. 2942; transfer to Nexon, Hervé Moune and Gaston Levade, "Transfèrement au camp de Nexon, de cinq internés du camp de Saint-Sulpice," February 21, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W51, p. 2958; transfer to Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux, P/Haute-Vienne to P/Tarn, August 8, 1941,

USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W51, pp. 2944–2945.

7. Le Secrétaire Général pour la Police to P/Tarn, March 2, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W51, p. 2975; transfers to Algeria, P/Tarn to L'Amiral de la Flotte and Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur, June 6, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W51, p. 3089.

8. P/Tarn, "Rapport sur le Centre de Séjour Surveillé de Saint-Sulpice," October 24, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W8, p. 818.

9. "Effectif du camp de Saint-Sulpice," July 17, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W7, 508; guards, "Rapport sur le Centre de Séjour Surveillé de Saint-Sulpice," October 24, 1944, p. 819.

10. Dieterlin to P/Tarn, April 16, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W7, pp. 516–517.

11. Ibid., p. 517.

12. Chevalier to P/Tarn, December 16, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W4, pp. 192–193.

13. Dieterlin to P/Tarn, April 16, 1941, pp. 518–519.

14. L'Architecte Départmental to P/Tarn, December 15, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W59, p. 4420.

15. Dieterlin to P/Tarn, April 16, 1941, p. 519.

16. USHMMA, RG-50.027*0006, Boris Taslitzky, oral history interview, February 10, 1991.

17. Risterucci, "Liste des évadés du C.S.S. de Saint-Sulpice dans la nuit du 11 au 12 juillet 1943," July 13, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W52, p. 3280; L'Inspecter de Police Mathieur to Risterucci, July 13, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W52, pp. 3317–3318.

18. Commissaire Principal, Chef de Service des Renseignements Généraux/Tarn to Commissaire Divisionnaire, Chef de Service Régional des Renseignements Généraux, July 16, 1943,

USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W52, pp. 3309–3310.

19. USHMMA, RG-50.027*0006, Boris Taslitzky, oral history interview.

20. Quotation from Dieterlin to P/Tarn, April 16, 1941, p. 520.

21. Directeur Général de la Sûreté Nationale to P/Tarn, March 7, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W48, p. 2370; list of names, "Liste nominative des internés transferés à … le 30 juillet 1944," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W48, pp. 2445–2468.

22. Directeur du Camp Pénitentiaire de Saint-Sulpice to P/Tarn, November 24, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W9, p. 1337.

SALIERS

Located just over 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) west of Arles (Gard Département) in southern France, Saliers was the site of an internment camp for Roma. It was designed as a "show camp" to sway foreign public opinion critical of Vichy's treatment of Roma and other "undesirables." Though virtually uninhabitable almost immediately after it opened in November 1942, the Saliers camp operated until August 1944.

The French government traditionally categorized Roma as "nomads" (*nomades*); that is, an itinerant people without a fixed abode. Some 13,000 such people were registered in France just before the outbreak of World War II. In September 1940, German authorities expelled 160 "gypsies" and "asocials" from Alsace-Lorraine to the Southern Zone, where they became subject to compulsory residence orders (*assignation à residence*) or internment. Another 146 men and 403 women and children were expelled in December of that year. Beginning in October 1940, French authorities interned some of them at the camp for foreign "undesirables" at Argelès-sur-Mer. Altogether 376 Roma are known to have been detained at the site around that time. In December 1941 they were transferred to Barcarès and in July 1942 to Rivesaltes. Finally, in November 1942 they were transported to the new camp at Saliers. Saliers was one of two Vichy camps exclusively for Roma. Altogether some 1,400 inmates were registered at the two sites between October 1940 and August 1944. Compulsory residential orders remained the norm in much of unoccupied France.

The treatment of France's Roma population became the subject of several critical reports in the Swiss and other foreign press. In response, the Vichy government created the "show camp" at Saliers in March 1942. The town was located about 24 kilometers (15 miles) north of Saintes-Maries-de-laMer, the site of an annual Roma gathering in honor of Saint Sarah. The architect designed a camp that mirrored its surroundings by including the area's

characteristic materials and styles, such as reed-thatched huts with whitewashed walls. In a report from October 8, 1942, the architect explained that the camp's purpose was to serve as government propaganda. It was intended to look like a regular village where inmates' family structures and customs could be maintained. The Roma interned at Barcarès camp built the site. The camp was fenced in with barbed wire. Local gendarmes served as guards, and a man by the name of De Pelet was the camp commander.[1]

The Saliers camp was not suitable for long-term internment, and catastrophic conditions prevailed almost immediately. The huts' beaten-earth floors and the campgrounds dissolved into mud in the frequent rain. The site was quickly infested with lice and vermin. The inmates were also subject to government attempts at forced assimilation. For instance, in several cases orphans and other children were separated from the Roma population and placed in the care of charity and religious institutions. Adults had to work in camp maintenance and outside the camp, with much of their pay withheld for camp repairs and activities. The inmates' basket-weaving industry in particular supported camp financial operations.

The inmates chafed under the difficult and constrained living conditions; they had lost their traditional way of life and most of their possessions. Many tried to escape, often running away repeatedly.[2] The camp at Saliers finally closed in August 1944 when the remaining inmate population escaped after bombardments in the area.[3]

Despite considerable German pressure, French authorities never adopted Nazi racial categories and never consented to the mass deportation of its Roma population to extermination camps. The vast majority of France's Roma population survived the war. However, a number of them remained interned until 1946, when some returned to their itinerant way of life, whereas others remained sedentary thereafter.

SOURCES There are several relevant secondary sources describing the "show camp" at Saliers. For photographs and eyewitness testimony of former Saliers inmates, see especially Mathieu Pernot, Henriette Asséo, and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Un*

Camp pour les Bohémiens: Mémoires du camp d'internement pour nomades de Saliers (Arles: Actes Sud, 2001); and Marie-Christine Hubert, "The Internment of Gypsies in France," in Karola Fings, Herbert Heuss, and Frank Sparing, eds., *In the Shadow of the Swastika: The Gypsies during the Second World War*, 3 vols., trans. Donald Kenrick (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999), II: 59–88. Based on extensive archival documentation, Hubert's chapter provides valuable background information as well as detailed analysis and comparison of anti-Roma policies in the occupied and unoccupied zones of France. For a general overview see Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon, *Gypsies under the Swastika* (Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire, 2009); Denis Peschanski, *Les Tsiganes en France 1939–1946* (Paris: Editions CNRS, 1994); and his *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

Primary sources documenting the "show camp" for Roma at Saliers can be found in AN and ADB-R. Much of the primary documentation is not accessible to the public, but can be viewed with special permission. Several administrative bodies issued documentation about the camps. See mayoral documentation, records of the Interior Ministry, police records, and the documents of IGC at AN and ADB-R. At ADB-R see especially 142W76 (rapport de l'architecte des Monuments historiques); 142W76 (courier du directeur du camp, le 4 juillet 1942); 142W76 (courier du directeur du camp, le 4 juin 1943); and IV Y 4 (Camp de Saliers). The Saliers camp is also detailed in the Belgian postwar "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," available at ITS, 2.3.5.1, fol. 19a, and in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. ADB-R, 142 W 76, rapport de l'architecte des Monuments historique, cited in Pernot et al., *Un camp pour les Bohémiens*, p. 36.

2. Excerpts from arrest files of inmates who escaped from Saliers

are available in ibid., pp. 75–78.

3. ADB-R, IV Y 4, Camp de Saliers, cited in Hubert, “The Internment of Gypsies in France,” p. 66.

SALLANCHES

Sallanches (Haute-Savoie Département) is located in the northwestern corner of the department, some 70 kilometers (43 miles) west of Annecy and nearly 200 kilometers (124 miles) west-northwest of Lyon. Located less than 56 kilometers southeast of Geneva, Sallanches was a transfer point for many foreign-born Jews attempting to cross the Swiss border. There is evidence to suggest that the foreign Jewish refugees registered in Sallanches suffered from severe repression, and after 1941, most lived under house arrest.[1] It is likely that many lived in a regional detention center for foreign Jews and other "undesirables." Established by an order of the Vichy Interior Ministry issued in late 1941, these "centers of assigned residence" (*centres de residence assignée*) were intended to streamline the detention and expulsion of foreign Jews, including naturalized citizens, from southern France.[2] Most such sites operated throughout 1942 and into 1943, often in empty or abandoned hotels.[3] Inmates had to be economically self-sufficient to finance their stay. Evidence suggests that by January 1942, at least one hotel in Sallanches was used to detain foreign Jews.[4] At least 23 Jewish refugees lived there under house arrest in the summer of 1942. In late August 1942, rumors of impending roundups and deportations spread in town, and a number of the Jewish refugees managed to flee from their detention site. Those arrested in Sallanches during the raid of August 26 joined groups of foreign Jews simultaneously rounded up in nearby towns. Altogether 60 people were subsequently deported to the Drancy camp, where they arrived by August 30, 1942.[5] Evidence suggests that some Jews remained in Sallanches after the roundups. It is not clear when the detention site closed.

SOURCES The Sallanches detention site is underresearched. For mention of the camp, see, especially, Jean-William Dereymez, *Le refuge et le piège: Les Juifs dans les Alpes (1938–1945)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008). For additional information on the

persecution and deportation of Jews from Haute-Savoie see Michel Germain, *Mémorial de la deportation: Haute-Savoie, 1940–1945* (Montmélian: La Fontaine de Siloé, 1999). For background information see also John F. Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France: The French under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press in association with USHMM, 2001); and Jean Merley, ed., *Répression: Camps d'internement en France pendant la seconde guerre mondiale: Aspects du phenomena concentrationnaire* (Saint-Etienne: Centre d'Histoire Régionale, DL 1983).

Relevant primary documentation is available at SHGN (4E96, section de Forcalquier, no. 125/4, December 28, 1941, no. 54/4, April 18, 1942) and several departmental archives, including AD-P-D (M07199), ADH-L, N431 Police 4 and 8, and ADH-S (4W167 and 4Wd39).

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NOTES

1. SHGN, 4E96, section de Forcalquier, no. 125/4, December 28, 1941, no. 54/4, April 18, 1942, as cited by Dereymez, *Le refuge et le piège*, p. 73.

2. AD-P-D, M07199, as cited in Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France*, p. 125; also ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371089.

3. ADH-L, N431 Police 4 and 8, as cited in Merley, ed., *Répression*, p. 76.

4. ADH-S, 4W167, as cited by Dereymez, *Le refuge et le piège*, p. 74.

5. ADH-S, 41Wd39, as cited by Dereymez, *Le refuge et le piège*, p. 79.

SAVIGNY PAR VALLEIRY

As late as early 1941, the Haute-Savoie Prefecture established a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 514, at Savigny par Valleiry, a township located nearly 23 kilometers (14 miles) northwest of the departmental capital of Annecy and approximately 26 kilometers (16 miles) northeast of Ruffieux. Savigny is not far from the Swiss border and is at an elevation of 568 meters (almost 1,864 feet). GTE No. 514 originally consisted of Spanish workers. In September 1941, as the Lyon region (today: Rhônes-Alpes region) began to segregate Jewish and non-Jewish foreign workers in the GTEs, the Savigny group became exclusively Jewish. At the regional level, GTE No. 514 was closely related to GTE No. 974 at Ruffieux because they were the only two GTEs for Jews in the region. The Jews in GTE No. 514, who were mostly of Central or East European origins, were dispatched to Savigny from the Gurs camp, a persecution path confirmed in numerous Central Name Index (CNI) cards of the International Tracing Service (ITS).[1]

GTE No. 514 performed road-building tasks, such as quarrying building stone and hauling it to building projects. This work was accomplished at high elevation. As revealed in an anonymous camp visitor's report in late October 1941 that was submitted to the World Jewish Congress (WJC) in Geneva, the inmates lacked the proper clothing and shoes for the job. Their food was totally inadequate, consisting of nutritionless soup served twice daily, augmented by a potato and one-sixth of a loaf of bread. Meat was served once per week. The camp authorities refused to make a provision for the 30 or so Orthodox Jews, who rejected the once-weekly meat ration for religious reasons. The four or five barracks were thin wooden structures accommodating 50 men each; they were not suitable for the harsh climate. In one barrack, the forced laborers slept on the floor on thin mats. At the time of the October 1941 visit, there were 192 Jews in GTE No. 514. Among other urgent necessities, the prisoners needed clothing, food, boots,

soap, reading material, and financial assistance.[2]

The authorship of the October 1941 report is not known, but follow-up correspondence by detainee Hans Rothschild suggested that the visitors were a Mr. and Mrs. Lew.[3] The importance of this document can be found in the German translation, in which Gerhard Riegner of the WJC Geneva forwarded it for the "immediate attention" of Richard Lichtheim of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Geneva.[4]

The first commandant of Savigny, whose name according to former prisoner Max Kahane was Gruël, was notorious for taunting prisoners at morning roll call. Kahane recalled that he could never forget the commandant's name, because it reminded him of *greuel*, the German word for cruel.[5] The anonymous inspector(s) also accused the commandant of "chicanery" during roll call.[6] In response to the question, "Are you Jewish?" to which the forced laborers replied in the affirmative, his response was: "Break ranks, I don't like you, you Jews."[7] The report also accused the commandant of stealing the camp's cigarette rations, which were supplied at the rate of one pack per prisoner every 10 days. According to Rothschild's letter, the visit had the effect of immediately improving living and working conditions. But the date of this letter, November 2, 1941, seems questionable given all the improvements enumerated in such a short period of time: introducing rubber boots for road work, cleaning the barracks, installing beds, and dismissing Gruël.[8]

Together with the Ruffieux camp, Savigny par Valleiry was the target of the August 1942 roundups of Jews for deportation to the Drancy camp in the Occupied Zone. Rumors were already afoot before the Savigny prisoners were sent to Ruffieux, which prompted many escapes. CNI cards provide detailed information on six individuals who fled Savigny and either went into hiding in France or crossed the Swiss border.[9] At least three more fled to the Low Countries, where they were subject to rearrest, with one such captive held in the SS-police detention camp (*Polizeihaftlager*) at Mecheln (Malines) in German-occupied Belgium.[10] On August 23, 1942, the remaining 104 members of GTE No. 514 were moved to Ruffieux, along with 8 Jews from a GTE in Pontavenaux (Saône-et-Loire Département). On August 24, 168 Jewish men were sent from Ruffieux to Drancy, and deported from there to Auschwitz.

Some of these deportees were transferred to the Blechhammer subcamp of Auschwitz.[11]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Savigny par Valleiry camp include Robert Amoudruz and Ruth Fivaz-Silverman, "Espagnols et Juifs du camp de Savigny (HauteSavoie) (1940–1942)," *Échos* 11 (2002): 7–100; Cédric Brunie, "Le camp de Ruffieux et les déportations de 1942 en Savoie," in Jean-William Dereymez, ed., *Le refuge et le piège: Les juifs dans les Alpes, 1938–1945* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), pp. 137–144; and Serge Klarsfeld, André Delahaye, et al., *Fiches typologiques par lieu d'internement* (Paris: Mission d'étude sur la spoliation des Juifs de France, n.d.), available at www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/MnR-matteoli.htm. Primary sources documenting the Savigny par Valleiry camp can be found in RG-68.045M (WJC, Geneva), War time Reports, France, reel 1; ITS, collections 0.1 (CNI); 1.1.0.6 (Documents and Correspondence on Persecution/Detention Sites), folder 53; and 6.3.1.2 (Search Lists), folder 2, PCIRO, Missing Persons Broadcast Lists. VHA holds one testimony, by Max Kahane, August 12, 1996 (#18915).

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NOTES

1. See, for example, ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Max Kowalsky, (DOB January 18, 1903), Doc. No. 52069956; and Kurt Rosendorf (or Rosendorff), (DOB February 1, 1905), Doc. No. 52226737.

2. Report on Savigny work camp, October 1941, RG-68.045M (WJC, Geneva), War time Reports, France, 2, 1941, reel 1, frames 395–396.

3. Translation of Hans E. Rothschild, GTE No. 514, to Mr. and Mrs. Lew, November 2, 1941, RG-68.045M, War time Reports, France, 2, 1941, reel 1, frame 397. The original French version is not included in the folder.

4. Report on Savigny work camp, reel 1, frame 395.

5. VHA #18915, Max Kahane testimony, August 12, 1996.

6. Report on Savigny work camp, reel 1, frame 396.

7. Ibid., fr. 399 (the commandant's quotation is from the French original).

8. Rothschild letter, November 2, 1941, RG-68.045M, War time Reports, France, 2, 1941, reel 1, frame 397.

9. Escapees: ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Ludwig Mandel, (DOB March 5, 1902), Doc. No. 50560629; Kowalsky, Doc. No. 52069956; Rosendorf(f), Doc. No. 52226737; Rudolf (Rudi) Hirschstein, (DOB January 27, 1916), Doc. No. 52833719; Georg (Jair, Jür, or Jir) Sonnenschein, (DOB December 29, 1893), Doc. No. 53193867; and Selig Süsser, (DOB September 12, 1899), Doc. No. 53294919.

10. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Paul Levy, (DOB March 1, 1909), Doc. No. 52248654.

11. See, for example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Walter Frohwein, (DOB January 19, 1903), Doc. No. 52292041.

SEREILHAC

Sereilhac (Haute-Vienne Département) is a town located more than 242 kilometers (150 miles) south of Toulouse and almost 16 kilometers (10 miles) southwest of Limoges. There was a Vichy reception center (*centre d'accueil*) located in Sereilhac that had the official name of Social Control of Foreigners (*Contrôle Social des Étrangers*, CSE), CSE No. 14. Foreigners, both Jewish and non-Jewish, alleged to have threatened the public order or violated the law were interned in Limousin in camps such as Sereilhac, La Meyze, and Nexon. Sereilhac housed a mix of French and foreign "undesirables" throughout the war, though it was designated for the disabled (*inaptes*)—both elderly detainees and internees unfit for work.[1] The camp administration answered to the Labor Ministry.

The Sereilhac camp was located almost 20 kilometers (more than 12 miles) northwest from the La Meyze camp. These two camps are often written about and documented in conjunction with one another, despite being under different commands during the Vichy period. As of January 28, 1946, the two camps still had separate commandants: Frédéric Garrec at Sereilhac and Émile Lacroix at La Meyze.[2]

The Sereilhac center comprised 11 barracks located on the Saint-Martin-le-Vieux Road on land leased by a Parisian woman named Mrs. Duval. The internees had freedom of movement within the camp and in the town of Sereilhac. The disabled were sorted by age and illness. Camp security was maintained by the managerial staff.[3] The internees at Sereilhac were given more restrictions and greater punishments than those at La Meyze.[4]

The Sereilhac camp did not have a separate dining hall. The internees prepared their own meals on a communal stove and ate their meals in their barracks. All the barracks had heating. Each internee was issued one sleeping bag and four blankets. The camp was equipped with a number of games and a small library with

books in a variety of languages. It had an infirmary under the direction of a general doctor, and an internee doctor acted as the specialist nurse who gave the internees routine exams. The internees had to procure water from a pump 300 meters (984 feet) from the camp.[5]

As of August 26, 1942, forced laborers from the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 643, were sent to Aixe-sur-Vienne and Sereilhac. Around this time, many internees were in transit to or from the camp at Gurs. As of March 23, 1943, Sereilhac held 87 men, mostly Spanish.[6] As of June 30, 1943, there were 41 Jews in Sereilhac. One month later the camp held 124 men. On July 20, 1944, the camp held 205 internees.[7]

The following nationalities were represented at Sereilhac: German, Spanish, Czech, Polish, Russian, Hungarian, Austrian, Belgian, French, Turkish, Romanian, Ukrainian, Dutch, Luxembourger, Argentine, Armenian, and Egyptian (some were unknown).[8] The professions represented among the internees at Sereilhac included the following: farmer, metalworker, hairdresser, driver, baker, artist, pharmacist, doctor, railway worker, typist, and engineer.[9] The internees were able to work inside the camp as cooks and cleaners, and in some cases craftsmen were able to practice their profession.[10]

Belgian and Spanish internees were sent to GTE No. 643 in Limoges from Sereilhac in 1943 and 1944.[11] Seventy-two internees were liberated in November 1944 and an additional 19 in December.[12] By January 30, 1945, 91 internees at Sereilhac were released.[13] The plan according to the Labor Ministry as of February 15, 1946, was that the Jewish internees at Sereilhac and La Meyze were to be transferred to the Château du Coudeau and the non-Jewish internees to La Meyze.[14]

Shortly before the Liberation, 12 internees, most of whom were Spanish, became involved with the French Resistance.[15] The Resistance requisitioned the camp's well-stocked infirmary in July 1944 to supply a hospital at Dournazac (Haute-Vienne Département).

At this stage the internees were allowed to reside in the town of Sereilhac, if they received official permission. Five internees found

regular work, but the remainder were deemed disabled due to illness or age. French authorities found the clothing situation to be deficient and the heating to be inadequate in the barracks, but the state of general health seemed to be satisfactory. Internee morale was good, with the food considered healthy and abundant. The functioning of the camp at Sereilhac was deemed satisfactory by the French authorities at this time.[16]

A proposal was issued in 1946 to combine the administration of Sereilhac and La Meyze. By August 12, 1946, the barracks at Sereilhac were transferred to the Reconstruction Ministry.[17] Within two months, the camps shared a joint command under Lacroix, the former commandant of La Meyze, although the dissolution of both camps was well underway, having begun in May of that year.

SOURCES Secondary sources covering the camp at Sereilhac include Yves Soulignac, *Les camps d'internement en Limousin: 1939–1945* (Saint-Paul, France: Soulignac, 1995); Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001); Pascal Plas and Simon Schwarzfuchs, eds., *Mémoires du grand rabbin Deutsch: Limoges 1939–1945* (Saint-Paul, France: Lucien Souny, 2007); Shannon L. Fogg, *The Politics of Everyday Life in Vichy France: Foreigners, Undesirables, and Strangers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Marie-Juliette Vielcazat-Petitcol, *Lot-et-Garonne, terre d'exil, terre d'asile: Les réfugiés Juifs pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Narosse: Albret, 2006), Pascal Plas and Michel Kristophe Kiener, eds., *Enfances juives: Limousin-Dordogne-Berry, terres de refuge, 1939–1945* (Saint-Paul, France: Lucien Souny, 2006); and Maurice Moch and Claire Darmon, *L'Étoile et la francisque: Les institutions juives sous Vichy*, edited by Alain Michel (Paris: Éditions du CERF, 1990).

Primary source material documenting the Sereilhac camp can be found in AD-H-V, available at USHMMA under RG-43.047M, reels 3, 4, and 9. Limited digital records of reported detention in the Sereilhac camp are available in the CNI of the ITS, available in

digital form at USHMM.

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NOTES

1. "Rapport sur les Centres du Contrôle Social des Étrangers," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M (AD-H-V), reel 3, p. 1117.
2. "Le Ministre du Travail à Monsieur le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne" January 28, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 958.
3. "Désignation exact des Centre," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 1102.
4. "Le Commissaire Principal Chef de Service à Monsieur le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne 1ère Division 3ème Bureau," January 20, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, pp. 1033–1036.
5. Ibid.
6. "État No. 2," March 31, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 1119.
7. "Le commissaire divisionaire Chef du Service Régional des Renseignements Généraux," July 20, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 1059.
8. "Liste Nominative des Héberges du Centre 14 bis," September 9, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 4, pp. 2732–2736.
9. "Liste Nominative des Héberges du Centre 14 bis," December 31, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 9, pp. 437–439.
10. "Désignation exact des Centres," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 1102.
11. "Groupement et de T.E. de la Région de Limoges," September 21, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 4, p. 2741; "Nationalité: Espagnole (suite)," n.d., reel 4, pp. 2744; and "Nationalité: Espagnole (suite)," September 21, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 4, p. 2747.

12. “Le Commissaire Principal Chef de Service à Monsieur le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne 1ère Division 3ème Bureau,” pp. 1033–1036.

13. “Le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne a Monsieur le Ministre de l’Interieur Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale,” January 30, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, pp. 1040–1041.

14. “Le Contrôleur Régional de la Main d’Ouevre Étrangers,” February 23, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 957.

15. “Le Commissaire Principal Chef de Service à Monsieur le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne 1ère Division 3ème Bureau,” pp. 1033–1036.

16. Ibid.

17. “Note pour M. l’Inspecteur Divisionaire,” October 23, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 9, p. 3138.

SISTERON

The Sisteron camp was in a fortress (*Fort de Sisteron*) located in the town of Sisteron (Alpes-de-Haute Département). Sisteron is nearly 109 kilometers (68 miles) south of Grenoble and more than 119 kilometers (74 miles) northwest of Nice. Sisteron was an administrative internment camp and was sometimes described as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) in the Southern Zone. The first prisoners were "undesirable" French common criminals, and the camp later held black marketeers and some communists.

The citadel's military barracks were adapted to house civilian suspects, initially both male and female. Historically Sisteron had water supply problems and lacked sanitation facilities, but a new water and sanitation system was installed for the internment center, so the reservoirs were always full.[1] The prospect of infrastructure improvement was one of the reasons why Sisteron's mayor was eager to lend the citadel to the Vichy regime free of charge.

From May to September 1942, François Risterucci was the commandant of Sisteron. The nearby Reillanne camp was also run by Sisteron's administration.[2]

Following roundups and deportations on October 30, 1942, Sisteron was designated for black market offenders and traffickers (also described as pimps and convicts).[3] As of 1943 Sisteron held 400 black market internees. André Jean-Faure of the French General Inspectorate of Camps (*Inspection Générale des Camps*, IGC) proposed that they serve for limited terms. With this knowledge, the prisoners did not feel the need to share the packages they received, but used what they did not want to bribe other internees, guards, and the camp doctors. Corruption became widespread.

In November 1943, all of the six staff members of the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de*

France, UGIF) Camp Commission in Sisteron, as well as three detainees from the citadel, were arrested. The arrests were ordered by SS-Hauptsturmführer Alois Brunner. In December 1943, in the wake of a mutiny at the Eysses prison in Villeneuve-sur-Lot (Lot-et-Garonne), Sisteron admitted some communists, deemed disciplinary cases by the Vichy authorities. At the same time many detainees interned at Sisteron for black marketeering were transferred to Nexon. As of February 1944 Sisteron held 147 prisoners.

Although a menu for the confinement center indicated a varied diet, Sisteron suffered from food shortages.[4] In March 1943, the prisoners were not receiving the equivalent of one plate of vegetables per week.[5] Health was also poor. About half of the internees (46%) were in grave condition. Many suffered from wasting syndrome (cachexia) due to the lack of food.

Among the prisoners was a hotel owner, Antonin Sudre. Sudre was an entrepreneur and a young leader of the Secret Army (*Armée secrète*, AS). He was imprisoned at Sisteron for black market activities, after being arrested for running a horse-drawn shuttle service for Les Milles detainees who were permitted to visit foreign consulates. A leader of the Toulouse AS who was held at Sisteron was later liberated with four others, using a forged telegram encrypted in official French police code.

At the end of July 1944, 40 gendarmes and all of the camp guards quit their posts at the Sisteron fortress. Two-thirds of the prisoners at Sisteron then escaped. The citadel was severely damaged by the Allied bombings between August 15 and 17, 1944, and much of the city was destroyed.

SOURCES Secondary literature describing the camp at Sisteron includes Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (New York: Basic Books, 1981); Adam Rayski, *The Choice of the Jews under Vichy: Between Submission and Resistance* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005); Corinne Jaladieu, *La prison politique sous Vichy: L'exemple des centrales d'Eysses et de Rennes* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2007); Donna F. Ryan, *The Holocaust & the Jews*

of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Policies in Vichy France (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Danielle Bailly, *The Hidden Children of France, 1940–1945: Stories of Survival* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2010); Michel Reynaud, *Eysses contre Vichy 1940* (Paris: Tirésias, 1992); Françoise Job, *Racisme et répression sous Vichy: Le camp d'internement d'Écrouves* (Paris: Éditions Messene; Centre de documentation juive contempor aine, 1996); Gerard Gobitz, *Les déportations de réfugiés de Zone Libre en 1942: Récits et documents* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997); Jean-Claude Duclos, *Fort Barraux: camps et prisons de la France de Vichy, 1940–1944* (Grenoble: Musée de la résistance et de la déportation de l'Isère, 1998); Jean Débordes, *À Vichy: La vie de tous les jours sous Pétain* (Thionne: Éditions du Signe, 1994); Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary source material for Sisteron can be found in AD-A-H-P, available at USHMMA under RG-43.089M; Selected records from the Départemental Archives de la Haute-Garonne, available at USHMMA as RG-43.058M; Selected records from the AN (Police Générale), available at USHMMA as RG-43.016M; UGIF (Camp Commission), available at USHMMA as RG-43.025M; CDJC (UGIF collection), available at USHMMA as RG-43.027M; and ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. "Installation d'une 2ème conduit de refoulement entre l'usine élévatoire du Buëch et le réservoir de distribution," December 20, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 12, pp. 4882–4883.

2. "Reillanne (Basses Alpes): Annexe du camp de Sisteron," ITS,

2.3.5.1, Folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371041.

3. “Note pour Monsieur le Directeur du Personnel et de l’Administration de la Police,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 11, p. 2727

4. “Menu du 23 juin au 30 juin 1942,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 12, p. 4818.

5. “Le directeur du personnel et de l’administration de la Police, pour le SGP, au secrétaire d’État au Ravitaillement,” March 23, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 11, pp. 4996–4997.

SOUDEILLES

The camp at Soudeilles was located in a brick barrack in the middle of the village of Soudeilles (Corrèze Département). Soudeilles is located 77 kilometers (48 miles) southeast of Limoges and 87 kilometers (54 miles) southwest of Clermont-Ferrand.

In February 1940 the prefect of Corrèze told the mayor of Soudeilles that the community needed to be ready to accept 165 civilian refugees. The municipal council thus decided to acquire some land with the goal to construct a barrack there for the incoming refugees. It was located 50 meters (164 feet) from the town's train station and a half-kilometer (one-third of a mile) from the town's city hall, church, and school. The building measured 40 × 8.5 meters (131 × 28 feet). It had electricity and running water, wood floors, 14 small windows, a kitchen in the basement, outdoor latrines, and a dormitory divided into separate rooms, each with 8 bunk beds. In winter it was heated by two stoves at either end. At the beginning of May 1940, refugee families from the Occupied Zone began to arrive at Soudeilles, eventually numbering 125 people in total.

It is unclear when and to where this first group of refugees was moved, but by June 1941, the barrack at Soudeilles became a detention site for foreigners who performed labor as a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE).

GTE No. 665 was based at Soudeilles beginning in June 1941. By the end of 1941, it contained only Jews and became known as a "group of Palestinian (Jewish) foreign workers" (*Groupe Palestinien des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GPTE). Most of the men in GPTE No. 665 were Polish, with other sizable groups from Belgium, Alsace, and Paris. Historians Mouny Estrade-Szwarckopf and Paul Estrade estimate that more than 500 people were assigned to the GPTE at Soudeilles during its existence, but it is difficult to tell how many were there at any given time because

of the widespread locations of the work assignments and other factors such as escapes.

According to Henri Sulewic and Maurice Wolf, both Polish Jews who labored in GPTE No. 665, their labor deployments included cutting timber and peat.[1] Other assignments were pulling nettles to make textiles, dam construction, and work in slaughter houses, factories, hospitals, and on farms. Some worked in nearby coal mines. In addition to their GPTE labor, some prisoners also made and sold crafts. They scrounged fabric and materials to make slippers and shirts. The forced laborers wore black uniforms, with black berets and wooden shoes.

The camp's boundaries were not secure, and inmates moved about freely. The camp lacked watchtowers and barbed wire, and its staff was made up mostly of civilian volunteers, including some former soldiers. Sulewic said of his escape from Soudeilles that he "did not escape. I left."[2] Other prisoners, especially those working on farms, lived on or near the premises of their work sites and did not stay in the camp while working.

Due in part to its lax security, the food situation at Soudeilles was better than in most other camps because prisoners were able to obtain food from local farms, including eggs, milk, butter, and vegetables. The Soudeilles camp did not report any deaths.

During the August 1942 roundups, 37 men from GPTE No. 665 were sent to the Drancy transit camp. This deportation was part of two larger convoys of Jewish GPTE laborers on August 23 and 27 via Égletons (Corrèze) and Nexon (Haute-Vienne), respectively.[3] From Drancy they were deported to Auschwitz.

After the August 1942 deportations, the remaining prisoners were gradually sent to other nearby camps such as Rossiers d'Égletons. The date of the camp's official closure is uncertain, but Soudeilles was empty by the end of November 1942. For a brief time the barrack was used as a hall for public performances and municipal gatherings, before it was destroyed in a fire in 1944.

SOURCES The principal secondary source for the Soudeilles camp is Mouny Estrade-Szwarckopf and Paul Estrade, *Un camp de juifs oublié: Soudeilles (1941–1942)* (Treignac, France:

Éditions "Les Monédières," 1999), which includes detailed information about individual GPTE members. Gérard Gobitz, *Les deportations de réfugiés de Zone Libre en 1942* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996), includes information on the August 1942 deportation from Soudeilles.

Primary documentation on the camp at Soudeilles can be found in AD-Cor, under classifications 147W4812 (deportations) and 529W76-84 (GTEs). Some of this documentation is available on microfilm at USHMMA under RG-43.125M. ITS holds some documentation on Soudeilles, copied from CDJC (CCXIII-127), under 1.2.7.18 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Frankreich und Monaco). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. VHA holds two survivor testimonies that describe Soudeilles: Henri Sulewic (#12398) and Maurice Wolf (#5694).

Abby Holekamp

NOTES

1. VHA #12398, Henri Sulewic testimony, March 19, 1996; and VHA #5694, Maurice Wolf testimony, November 8, 1995.

2. VHA #12398.

3. Caubriere, Chef du Sud Groupement des GTE/Cor to P/Cor, August 29, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.125M (AD-Cor), reel 1, 147W4812, pp. 772–773 (USHMMA, RG-43.125M/1/147W4812, pp. 772–773); "Itinéraire et horaire du transport du 27 août entre Égletons et Nexon," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.125M/1/147W4812, p. 57.

TENCE

Located approximately 9 kilometers (5.5 miles) north of Le Chambon-sur-Lignon and 84 kilometers (52 miles) southwest of Lyon in the Haute-Loire Département, the buildings of the abandoned paper mill in Tence initially served as an internment camp in May 1939 for Spanish refugees. One year later, perhaps as early as May 1940, after the Third Republic's decision to imprison civilians from Germany, the "paper mill camp" (*camp de la Papeterie*) reopened, this time for German nationals deemed "suspect" in time of war. French Army lieutenants Belaubre and Tassaux served as successive commandants, and the guards consisted of French recruits and mobile guards (*gardes mobiles*).

From May to October 1940, conflicts erupted between the local gendarmerie and the military commander over the Tence camp's leadership. The gendarmes contested Lieutenant Belaubre's decision to allow internees to work on farms outside the camp. On June 22, 1940, the date of the Franco-German Armistice, with Belaubre's complicity, the prisoners ran away and the commander did not report their escape. Nevertheless, 43 inmates were later caught and brought back to the camp. Most of the 132 internees listed on August 25, 1940, were opponents of the Nazi regime, who had fled to France from German and Austrian towns after 1933. Many were Jewish, but Jews were not singled out as such until the Vichy regime's adoption of the first antisemitic statute (*Statut des Juifs*), on October 3 and 4, 1940.

After that date, and until its dissolution on October 22, 1940, the camp exclusively held foreign Jews. Several additional successful escapes occurred after October 3, 1940. On October 22 and 23, the gendarmes transferred Tence's remaining prisoners to the Gurs internment camp.

SOURCES Two valuable secondary sources for Tence are François Boulet, "Tence (1936–1945): Face aux Espagnols, aux

Juifs, aux Gens du Maquis et … au Chambon-surLignon," *Tence*, 23 (June 2006): 21–54; and Gérard Bollon, "Tence, 1939–1940: Du Camp d'Internement de la Papeterie à la Protection des Persécutés," *Tence*, 23 (June 2006): 16–20.

As cited by Boulet and Bollon, primary documentation for the Tence camp consists of ADH-L, Series R6391and R6375/1; ASHM, "Récit d'un gendarme R. Chaumard," April 3, 1986; SHD-DGN (Maison-Alfort): 43E1, reports of the commandant of the gendarmerie company, Le Puy, numbers 343/2, 386/2, 616/2, 662/2, 692/2, June to November 1940; 43E68, reports of the commandant of the Yssingeaux gendarmerie section, numbers 242/2 and 418–419/2, respectively, on June 23 and October 22 to 24, 1940. The latter includes the list of prisoners in the camp on October 22, 1940.

Marianne Robins

TROYES

Situated in the administrative center of the Aube Département, 143 kilometers (89 miles) southeast of Paris, the camp at Troyes at first held foreigners and Jews expelled from the Forbidden Zone (*zone interdite*) to the north. It later served as a transit camp for Jews in the region. The camp consisted of two public elementary schools, the Jules Ferry School (formerly for boys) and the Diderot School (formerly for girls), requisitioned for this purpose on the orders of the occupying German Army. The detainees were also given the option to pay for their lodgings elsewhere in the city of Troyes.

In an October 28, 1942, report of the Interior Ministry, camp inspector Robert Lebègue noted that the camp was originally envisioned as a temporary holding place for foreigners and French Jews deported from the Pas-de-Calais Département (part of the Forbidden Zone) by the occupying authorities. Women were then to be sent on to the camp at Vittel (Vosges Département) and men to Saint-Denis-sur-Seine.[1] Many detainees were instead resettled or sent to do agricultural and forestry work in nearby towns such as Vernonvilliers and Lévigny. In a January 14, 1941, letter to the Feldkommandantur of Troyes, the prefect of Aube estimated that 120 to 150 detainees were soon to be deployed in such labor.[2] However, some detainees were transferred to these camps as planned; departmental archives show that on July 22, 1941, 23 British detainees were sent to Vittel and two to Saint-Denis, for example.[3] The camp at Troyes contained a particularly high number of British detainees. The historian Denis Peschanski pointed out that of the 211 people held in Troyes as of July 1941, 124 were British.[4]

The first group of 127 deportees from Pas-de-Calais arrived in Troyes on December 18, 1940, and a second convoy of about 350 people arrived the next day, according to a police report from February 21, 1941. Many of these first two groups were women, children, and elderly people. At first, all non-British detainees were allowed to move freely around the city, but after four Jews

escaped from Jules Ferry, Jews were no longer allowed freedom of movement. Those who had already found lodging outside the camp were allowed to continue living there under surveillance.[5] These initial restrictions were later eased somewhat. One hundred and twenty-nine more refugees arrived on February 24, 1941.[6]

Both schools lacked washing facilities and regular hot water, and they were difficult to heat in winter.[7] Although conditions were bad, restrictions on detainees were not especially harsh, but in an April 30, 1941, letter to the police signed on behalf of all the detainees, a prisoner pleaded with the administration to stop withholding letters from detainees "especially since we are not even criminals."[8] Several detainees believed they had been detained without reason and wrote appeals to the Ortskommandant of Troyes.[9]

The camp was administered by the mayor of Troyes, who appointed the camp's staff and director. Jean Lacelle (or Lasselle) was the director of the portion of the camp in the Diderot School from February 8, 1941, until all prisoners were moved to Jules Ferry at the end of April 1941, at which point he became director of the entire camp.[10] The local French police force guarded the camp.[11]

A number of people escaped from Troyes. A report from the beginning of April 1941 listed 19 people who escaped from Jules Ferry during the preceding three months, in addition to 4 who escaped from the town hospital and 23 who were staying elsewhere in Troyes and had dis appeared. The majority of these escapees were Jewish.[12] The aforementioned police report noted that security difficulties were partly caused by having only one police officer on guard during the day and two at night; authorities considered enclosing the buildings with a fence, but there is no evidence that these plans were implemented.[13]

A police report from February 13, 1941, described an incident in which three German soldiers stopped in a car at Jules Ferry one night to pick up a group of three teenaged girls detained there. The guard on duty asked the soldiers to leave, and they complied, but other departmental correspondence mentioned this incident as another ongoing problem at the camp.[14]

As mentioned earlier, after April 1941, the authorities stopped

using the Diderot School as a detention center and sent all detainees to Jules Ferry. In his October 1942 report Lebègue estimated that Troyes had held a total of 776 people, but the most held at any one time was 343 in January 1941.[15] According to Peschanski, in December 1941, there were only 10 people left in Troyes, because most detainees had found places to live outside the *zone interdite*.

The camp was used as a transit camp in the summer of 1942 as Vichy roundups of Jews in France intensified. On July 19, 1942, the first roundup aiming at arresting Jewish foreigners in the Aube Département sent 14 people (of the 24 people listed by the French police services) to pass through Jules Ferry. The next day, the group was sent to Châlons-sur-Marne in the bordering Marne Département.[16]

On the evening of October 8 and on the next day, there was a second roundup, which French authorities said was aimed at reuniting the families separated by the first roundup.[17] A total of 24 people (30 were anticipated), including at least 7 children, were arrested. The French gendarmes arrested not only Jewish foreigners but also French Jewish children whose parents had already been arrested in July.

All the Jews who transited through Jules Ferry after their arrest were eventually deported to Auschwitz. The two roundups were ordered by the regional prefecture, which was then directed by Louis de Peretti (beginning in May 1942).

During this period Jules Ferry also continued to serve as an accommodation center (*centre d'hébergement*) for a much smaller number of detainees; Lebègue gave the number of detainees as of October 21, 1942, as 60 (42 Britons, 5 Poles, 7 Yugoslavs, 1 Greek Jew, and 5 French Jews). Of this group, 38 were fed by the center, and 22 worked in Troyes and paid for their own food. Lebègue also noted that a "good number" of foreigners were allowed to live in town with periodic police surveillance, and he ultimately recommended that Jules Ferry be shuttered because most of its detainees could work and afford to house themselves elsewhere in Troyes.[18] In the spring of 1942, some detainees were allowed to return to Pas-de-Calais.[19]

Aside from the two roundups, a few cases stood out in 1943 and

1944. Clementine Weill, a French Jewish woman who was born in Reguisheim in 1876, was arrested and transferred via the Jules Ferry center on January 27, 1944. She was then sent on convoy 68 to Auschwitz, where she was murdered. On March 9, 1943, Raphael Koen, a Greek man who was born in Crete in 1885, passed through Troyes and was then put on convoy 53 and deported to Sobibor, where he died.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention Troyes include Henri Cahen, "1940–1944: les années tragiques de la barbarie nazie," *Troyes et ses juifs* (Jerusalem: self-published, 2001), pp. 117–134; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000). In 1998, the Troyes Academy of Cartophily Studies published a 42-page booklet, "La véridique histoire de l'école Jules Ferry de Troyes," which can be found in AD-Ab under 1J1050.

Primary documentation on the camp at Troyes can be found in AD-Ab, primarily under 100W1-35, 310W99, and 1214W25 (documents on Jewish roundups). Some of this material is held at USHMMA under RG-43.090M. Additional documentation can be found in AD-Me, copied to USHMMA as RG-43.098M. Other primary source material can be found in AN, under AN, 737/MI/2 (documents on the camp and list of all transferred detainees), and in PAAA, Inland II A/B 8326 Frankreich (Juden in Frankreich, R 127 697). The PAAA archives hold ICRC reports on Troyes under R1377/42 and R25927/41.

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NOTES

1. "Rapport de M. Lebègue chargé de mission à l'inspection générale des camps & centres d'internement du territoire sur le centre d'hébergement de Troyes, visite le 21 octobre 1942," October 28, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.098M (AD-Me), reel 1, 16W61, p. 308 (USHMMA, RG-43.098M/1/16W61, with page).

2. P/Ab to FK/Troyes, January 14, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, p. 40.

3. FK/Troyes to P/Ab, July 21, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, pp. 139–141; FK/Troyes to P/Ab, July 22, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, p. 143.

4. ICRC report, July 11, 1941, PAAA, R1377/42 and R25927/41, as cited in Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement," pp. 351–352.

5. Commissaire de Police to Lieutenant Englert, Feldpolizei/ Troyes, February 21, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.098M/1/16W61, pp. 22–24.

6. "Liste des refugiés arrives à Troyes, le 24 février 1941," February 24, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, pp. 86–90.

7. FK/Troyes to P/Ab, January 10, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/310W199, p. 3013.

8. Quotations from Commissaire Central/Troyes, April 30, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, p. 33.

9. Madeleine Giachevie to Ortskommandant/Troyes, February 28, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/310W199, 2928; Odette Blond to Ortskommandant/Troyes, February 28, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/310W199, p. 2929.

10. Maire/Troyes to P/Ab, April 21, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, p. 34.

11. "Rapport de M. Lebègue," October 28, 1942, p. 309.

12. Commissariat de Police, "Liste des Internés du Pas-de-Calais qui sont évadés de Troyes," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, pp. 19–21.

13. Commissaire de Police to Lieutenant Englert, Feldpolizei/ Troyes, February 21, 1941, 24; "Vérification des clôtures de l'École Jules Ferry," March 31, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, p. 85.

14. Sous-Brigadier de la Sûreté Halle to Commissaire Central, February 13, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, 44; Commissaire de Police to Lieutenant Englert, Feldpolizei/

Troyes, February 21, 1941, p. 24.

15. “Rapport de M. Lebègue,” p. 308.

16. Capitaine Berthelemy to P/Ab, July 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/1214W25, p. 5994.

17. Adjutant-Chef Vrinat to P/Ab, October 10, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/1214W25, p. 6002.

18. Quotation from “Rapport de M. Lebègue,” pp. 310–316.

19. FK/Troyes to P/Ab, May 30, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/310W199, pp. 2522–2523.

VALBONNAIS

The village of Valbonnais (Isère Département) is located in the Rhône-Alpes, some 50 kilometers (31 miles) south of Grenoble and 95 kilometers (59 miles) east of the French-Italian border. Foreign-born Jews lived in Valbonnais under house arrest as a center of assigned residence (*centre de résidence assignée*) at the time of the major raid of August 26, 1942. The records of the Isère Prefecture indicate that the authorities slated 680 Jews in Valbonnais for arrest that day. Per official guidelines, the intended targets were foreign-born adult Jews who had arrived in France after January 1, 1936. Children without families, parents of young children, pregnant women, the elderly, and foreign-born spouses of French citizens were among the categories ostensibly exempt from this roundup.[1] After screening procedures, 250 detainees were transferred from Valbonnais to two collection centers (*centres de rassemblement*) located at the Fort-Barraux camp and a barrack at Bizanet near Grenoble. Together with Jewish detainees arrested in Uriage and Pontcharra, they were subsequently transferred to Drancy. According to researcher Serge Klarsfeld, at least 109 Jews of Polish, German, and Austrian origins arrived at Drancy from Isère on the night of August 29, 1942.

SOURCES Valbonnais as a site of assigned residence for Jews is described in the following secondary resources: Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persecution des Juifs de France, juillet 1940–août 1942* (Paris: Fayard, 2001); and Christian Eggers, *Unerwünschte Ausländer: Juden aus Deutschland und Mitteleuropa in französischen Internierungslagern 1940–1942* (Berlin: Metropol, 2002).

Primary documentation for the Valbonnais center for assigned residence is scarce. The mid-1942 deportations from southern France are documented at CDJC, collections CII-62 and XXVI-48.

See ADI for documentation related to war time events in Isère.

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NOTE

1. CDJC, CII-62, as cited by Eggers, *Unerwünschte Ausländer*, pp. 170–171.

VILLEMUR-SUR-TARN

Villemur-sur-Tarn (Haute-Garonne Département) is a town in southwestern France. It is located more than 559 kilometers (almost 226 miles) southwest of Paris and is almost 30 kilometers (more than 18 miles) northwest of Toulouse. During the Vichy regime, it was in the Southern Zone. Villemursur-Tarn was the site of an accommodation center (*centre d'hébergement* No. 5) in an old sawmill and later a center of assigned residence (*centre à résidence assignée*).

The camp at Villemur-sur-Tarn was created as early as May 1940.[1] Starting on October 24, 1940, its organization and administration changed significantly, particularly concerning location. Aid was provided for the internees by the Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced (*Comité inter-mouvements Auprés des Évacués*, CIMADE) founded by the Protestant activist and member of the French Resistance, Madeleine Barot.

The internees were admitted with reference to age, nationality, and state of ill health. In 1942 Villemur's internees began to be deported to other camps. The internees included Jacques Baumgarten (a German Jew from Berlin), who passed through Villemur only briefly, and Bertha Schwartz (née Teitelbaum, a Belgian Jew from Antwerp) who was interned there for a few months with her family. Baumgarten was 21 when he was interned at Villemur and later recalled that the internees were not required to perform forced labor. He was subsequently deported to Gurs, Drancy, and then Blechhammer, a subcamp of Auschwitz.[2]

Bertha Schwartz was seven years old when her family fled Belgium as refugees to France escaping from the Germans. They were taken by the French authorities to Villemur-sur-Tarn where they stayed in a school gymnasium. The French Red Cross (*Croix-Rouge Française*, CRF) was in charge, and tried to help the refugees who lacked food and clothes. After one week the

refugees were dispersed across the town. The Teitelbaum family stayed in a little house along the river. The house lacked access to water so the family had to use buckets to retrieve water from the river.

Schwartz's mother assigned her to do the shopping and taught her a few French expressions. The family had obtained false papers, but Schwartz did not remember her name at that time, saying, "Don't know about names. Never made a point to remember because my name changed so many times."[3] The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC) was responsible for providing food in the camp. After staying in Villemur-sur-Tarn for a few months, the Teitelbaum family was rounded up with others by French gendarmes and sent to the Brens camp.

In February 1943, there were 50 internees in the town, including 18 Jews. Ten of the Jewish prisoners were children. In 1944, there were 150 internees in Villemur-sur-Tarn. After D-Day, as the Vichy regime began to disintegrate, the camp at Villemur-sur-Tarn was dissolved.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Villemursur-Tarn include Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); Jean Estèbe, *Les Juifs à Toulouse et en midi toulousain au temps de Vichy* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1996); and Jeanne Merle d'Aubigné and Violette Mouchon Fabre, *Les Clandestins de Dieu: CIMADE 1939–1945* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1989).

Primary source material documenting the Villemur-sur-Tarn camp can be found in the CNI cards of the ITS, collection 0.1. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. VHA has rich interviews on Villemur-sur-Tarn with Jacques Baumgarten, July 2, 1997 (#30514) and Bertha Schwartz, September 9, 1998 (#48666).

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NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Wolfgang Meyer-Udewald (DOB August 17, 1893), Doc. No. 40750549.

2. VHA #30514, Jacques Baumgarten testimony, July 2, 1997.

3. VHA #48666, Bertha Schwartz testimony, September 9, 1998.

VOVES

The Voves camp was located in the Eure-et-Loire Département about 20 kilometers (12 miles) south of Chartres and some 84 kilometers (52 miles) southwest of Paris. It was situated on the edge of a forest, on the Voves-Orléans Road near the Paris-Tours-Orléans-Rouen railroad axis. The site first opened in 1939 as an air-defense training center (*Défense contre avion*, DCA). After the Fall of France, the German Army converted it into Frontstalag 240, with a capacity of 3,500 prisoners of war (POWs), which closed in June 1941.[1]

In the fall of 1941, the French authorities selected Voves as a "confinement camp" (*Centre de Séjour Surveillée*, CSS) for male political detainees held at the Aincourt camp. In December 1941, Commissaire Spécial Andrey, the Aincourt camp director, inspected the site, finding it "usable."[2] On January 5, 1942, 30 skilled prisoners from Aincourt arrived at Voves to refurbish the camp.[3] Andrey became Voves's first director.

Shaped like a trapezoid, Voves was divided into the "small camp" (*petit camp*) used for administration, kitchens, and a few living quarters, and the "big camp" (*grand camp*) where detainees lived. Barbed wire encircled the whole camp. Reinforcing the barbed wire were 12 rows of 10-foot-high bramble to guard against escape. Among the changes made in the winter of 1942 was the addition of internal barbed-wire fencing, which divided the big from the small camp. Chevaux-de-frise (spiked obstacles) were installed between the two camps in the fall of 1943 for additional security.[4] The big camp's dimensions were 333 × 301 × 217 meters (364 × 329 × 237 yards). There were 52 wooden and brick barracks, not all of which were habitable.[5] Laid out on a broad plain, the site was subject to periodic flooding.[6]

CSS Voves was operational from January 1942 to May 1944. Aside from Aincourt, prisoners arrived from the camps at Châteaubriant (Loire-Inférieure Département; today: Loire-

Atlantique); Écrouves (Meurthe-et-Moselle); Gaillon (Eure); Pithiviers (Loiret); and Rouillé (Vienne). The prisoners, called "administrative internees" (*internés administratifs*), were mostly communists and trade unionists. There were also a few "undesirable foreigners" and common-law prisoners.

The Voves staff consisted of a director, 2 police inspectors, gendarmes, civil guards, approximately 10 administrative employees, a doctor, and 5 nurses. Overall, 180 people staffed the camp. Andrey was soon replaced by an infantry lieutenant and then, in May 1942, by Lieutenant Charles Moreau, previously camp director at Choisel and Moisdon-la-Rivière and a member of the French Foreign Legion.[7] Duval succeeded Moreau as director in November 1942. The Inspector General of Camps (*Inspection Générale de Camps*, IGC) for the Center Region, Robert Lebègue, described Duval as ineffectual.[8] The last director was Raymond Bazin. In addition to doing temporary duty at the Nexon camp, Dr. André Dubuc served as camp physician. Numerous reports attested to the guards' poor equipment: their uniforms and armaments were inadequate.[9] Repeated requests to the German authorities in Orléans resulted in the guards being equipped with machine guns, machine pistols, and gas grenades.[10]

Approximately 1,500 detainees passed through Voves, averaging 850 at a time from May 1942 to November 1943. The population peaked at 944 on October 1, 1942. On November 18, 1943, the authorities transferred 713 less committed communists from Voves to Pithiviers, in order to intensify surveillance of the "diehards" (*irréductibles*).[11] Thereafter, Voves's population fluctuated between 450 and 500. The camp population included a small number of Jews. As late as the spring of 1944, there were seven Jews in the camp, including survivor André Migdal.[12]

The German authorities demanded the handover of many prisoners, who then either became hostages in reprisal actions or deportees to Nazi camps. When the Germans removed one prisoner for questioning in October 1942, the camp erupted in catcalls and the spontaneous singing of *La Marseillaise*. The protest led to collective punishment with a reduction in rations and isolation for some prisoners.[13]

The Voves detainees engaged in many cultural activities. With

the camp administration's support, the camp housed a university, theatrical and musical performances, exhibits, and workshops. Survivor Migdal characterized Voves as "an intellectual camp."[14] Given its mostly communist prisoner population, religious services were nonexistent.[15]

The French National Relief (*Secours Nationale*) furnished assistance to the prisoners, subject to security restrictions. This aid was particularly important in the infirmary and in supplying supplementary clothing for the prisoners. The clothing supplements were welcome, as many prisoners wore the worn-out clothes in which they were imprisoned—a subject of recurrent complaints. French Red Cross representatives Renée Chaligne, Madame Monod, and Madame Moreau visited Voves and the Chartres hospital, which treated seriously ill prisoners, regularly in 1943 and 1944.[16] A prefectural representative, Ernest Renaud, accused Chaligne of "complicity" with the Voves prisoners in the Chartres hospital, as one inmate was observed preparing a gift for her.[17]

A recurrent theme in camp inspection reports was the fear that Allied paratroopers and local resisters would coordinate a prisoner uprising or stage a liberation. Compounding this concern was the French authorities' perception that the local populace sympathized with the communists.[18] On the night of April 26, 1944, a Royal Air Force (RAF) bombing killed 18 staff members at Voves and wounded 25 more, but the detainees did not sustain any injuries.[19]

The prisoners participated extensively in clandestine propaganda and organized many escapes. Before his November 1943 transfer, Director Moreau divided the barracks according to the reason for arrest and the detainee's political tendency, in an unsuccessful attempt to stifle communist agitation.[20] Between June 1942 and May 6, 1944, there were 20 escapes involving 82 prisoners. Other detainees often supported the escapees by assuming the place of the escapees during the five daily roll calls, so as to confound the prisoner count. The hospital at Chartres, which cared for seriously ill prisoners, posed a significant flight risk. Food-gathering details also provided opportunities for escapes. In February 1944 on one such assignment, three communist prisoners lured their lone, 19-year-old guard into a stable, where they "chloroformed," bound, and gagged him. The

question of how they acquired the chloroform remained a mystery.[21] The last and largest escape, which took months of preparation, occurred on the night of May 5, 1944, when 42 prisoners fled through a tunnel 162 meters (177 yards) long and 1.8 meters (around six feet) deep beneath the shower barrack. Not all of the prisoners got away successfully: Migdal was recaptured and returned to Voves within days.[22]

After that large tunnel escape, the Nazi SS closed the camp on May 9, 1944. The remaining 407 French and foreign detainees were dispatched via the Compiègne police camp to the Neuengamme concentration camp. Reflecting the many escapes, only 23 detainees of the 407 remaining Voves detainees, or just under 6 percent, were younger than 24 years old (born in or after 1920).[23] From Neuengamme, according to International Tracing Service (ITS) documentation, many of the Voves prisoners entered its subcamps at Bremen-Farge, Drütte, Sandbostel, and Watenstedt. A few were sent on to Buchenwald, Mittelbau-Dora, and Ravensbrück.[24]

Beginning in August 1944, the camp held German POWs.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Voves camp are Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Stéphane Fourmas, "Le Centre de séjour surveillé de Voves (Eure-et-Loir), janvier 1942 à mai 1944" (unpub. MA thesis, University of Paris 1, 1999). An older book, Régis Portal, *Le Camp de Voves (1939–1947)* (Chartres: Nouvelle, 1972), is partly autobiographical and provides some anecdotes on the French Resistance, but does not furnish any sources. The city of Voves maintains a camp memorial at www.ville-voves.fr/camp.php.

Primary sources on the Voves camp can be found in ADE-L, collections 106W1–106W77. These files contain a wealth of detail about camp life, which is unusual at the prefectural level. They are available in digital form at USHMMA as RG-43.108M. Important files in this collection include camp plans, photos, and renovation preparations (106W2); inspection and monthly reports (106W9); prisoner dossiers (106W10–106W50); transfers to the German authorities (106W65); escapes (106W70); and camp hygiene,

including Red Cross visits (106W73). At AN, there are several additional collections: 737/MI/2 (documents about the camp); F7 15 086 (additional copy of Lebègue's April 30, 1943, report); and F1–F4535. The ITS holds CNI cards and a prisoner envelope for a number of former Voves prisoners, which can be used to track their ordeals in the Nazi camp system. VHA holds one testimony about Voves by survivor André Migdal (#19438).

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Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTES

1. Undated memo, USHMMA, RG-43.108M (AD-E-L), 106W2, p. 209 (USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W2).
2. Commissaire Spéciale Andrey to Sécretaire Générale, Police Nationale, December 20, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W2, p. 205.
3. Andrey to P/E-L and P/Seine-et-Oise, January 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 198.
4. IGC Robert Milliat rapport, November 10, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 29.
5. Commissaire Spéciale, Aincourt, "Situation et organisation du Centre de séjour surveillée de Voves (E&L)," January 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W2, p. 179.
6. P/E-L to DGPN, IVe Bureau, stamped November 17, 1942, Object: "Construction d'un puisard pour l'évacuation des eaux usées," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W2, p. 49.
7. IGC Lebègue rapport, April 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W2, p. 71.
8. IGC Lebègue rapport, February 21, 1944, USHMMA, RG-108M/106W9, p. 10.
9. Ibid., pp. 8, 11.
10. On gas grenades, ibid., p. 16.

11. CSS Voves, "Rapport pour le mois de Novembre 1943," November 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 247; Lebègue rapport, April 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 75.

12. "Camp d'internement (ou centre d'hébergement) de Voves," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 185; VHA #19438, André Migdal testimony, August 28, 1996.

13. "Remise de l'interné René B. aux autorités allemands, 11 Octobre 1942," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W65, pp. 128–137.

14. VHA #19438.

15. IGC Lebègue rapport, September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 118.

16. CSS Voves, "Rapport pour les mois de Mars et Avril 1944," May 1, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43-108M/106W9, p. 166.

17. Inspecteur aux Reinseignments Généraux, Ernest Renaud, to Commissaire Principal, Chef de District et du Service des Reinseignements Généraux d'E&L, April 14, 1943, Objet: "Visites de Mme Chaligne, délégué de la Croix-Rouge, aux internés du camp de Voves en traitement à l'hôpital de Chartres," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W73, p. 115.

18. Gendry, Intendant de Police, Orléans, to P/Région Central, stamped August 13, 1942, Objet: "Visite au Camp de Voves, 7 Août 1942," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 145; Gendry, Intendant de Police, Orléans, to P/Région Central, stamped July 6, 1943, Objet: "Visite au camp de Voves, le 25 Juin 1943," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 132.

19. CSS Voves, "Rapport pour le mois d'Avril 1944," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 160.

20. Lebègue rapport, April 30, 1943, 75.

21. Lebègue rapport, February 21, 1944, p. 10.

22. "Évasion de 42 internés, 5–6 Mai 1944," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W70, pp. 12–89, including Détachment de

Gendarmerie de CSS de Voves, “Croquis joint au procès verbal No. 12,” n.d., pp. 13–14.

23. “Liste des internés du centre de séjour surveillé de Voves qui été pris en charge par les autorités allemandes le 9 Mai 1944,” USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W65, pp. 21–36.

24. For the subcamps, ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for François A. (Doc. No. 1344856); Pierre B. (Doc. No. 16123337); Pierre C. (Doc. No. 18520335); Jean F. (Doc. No. 21462988); Henri G. (Doc. No. 23631604); ITS, 1.1.5.3 (Individual Documents Male Buchenwald) Guy D. prisoner envelope (Doc. Nos. 5721915, 5721919).

VICHY AFRICA

As part of the terms of the Franco-German Armistice of June 22, 1940, the German authorities permitted France to retain its colonial empire and, for the purposes of the empire's defense, a portion of its navy.[1] For the Germans, the situation avoided the risk that France would continue the war overseas; for the French, soon to form an authoritarian and collaborationist regime under Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain, the retention of the colonial empire provided some bitter consolation in the wake of humiliating defeat.

In Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, and French West Africa (*Afrique occidentale française*, AOF), the Vichy authorities established networks of camps—penal, labor, and internment—for these categories of people: Jewish and non-Jewish European refugees, those already residing in French colonial Africa before the Fall of France, those dispatched from the metropole for forced labor in the Sahara, and Allied prisoners of war (POWs) and civilian internees. (Because of the complicated situation in Tunisia, where the French, German, and Italian authorities simultaneously operated camp systems during World War II, Tunisia and its French-and Italian-run camps are treated as a separate chapter in this volume.)

In terms of territories, cultures, and colonial models, French colonial Africa was extraordinarily diverse. To understand Vichy antisemitic policy in Africa and in the camps, a brief overview of these colonial models is necessary. Algeria was integrated within metropolitan France in 1848 as three departments (*départements*): Algiers, Oran, and Constantine. The French established a settler colony in Algeria, meaning that the metropole encouraged European settlement at the expense of tribal lands. Despite some reform efforts, such as granting French citizenship to favored groups of Muslims, Arabic speakers in Algeria were treated as third-class subjects. In contrast, in Morocco and Tunisia the colonial authorities established protectorates, a form of indirect rule in which the residents-general (*résidents-générales*) governed through local monarchs. Under the Vichy regime, the

sultan of Morocco, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef (succeeded in 1957 by King Mohammed V), walked a tightrope between adhering to Vichy demands and protecting his autonomy. The resident-general was Générale d'armée Charles Noguès. Noguès established camps for foreign Jews in Morocco. In the AOF, which encompassed seven sub-Saharan territories, the French authorities practiced direct rule under a governor general based in Dakar. As of 1940, the territories were Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast); Dahomey (today: Benin); Mauritanie (Mauritania); Niger; Sénégale (Senegal); and Soudain français (French Sudan; today: Mali). A lieutenant governor oversaw each territory. From 1940 to 1943, Pierre Boisson was Vichy's governor general of AOF and was responsible for its internment camps.

ANTISEMITIC POLICY IN VICHY AFRICA

Reflecting the different colonial models found in French Africa, the application of Vichy's antisemitic decrees was uneven, with the most vigorous implementation taking place in Algeria, where the Vichy regime had direct rule. In 1940, the Vichy regime revoked the Crémieux Decree of 1870, which extended French citizenship to Algerian Jews. As a consequence, Jews from Algeria who had migrated to France over the past century and lived in communities in Lyon, Marseille, and Paris suddenly lost their citizenship. Stranded on the Continent, they were among the deportees to Nazi camps. The Jews living in Algeria avoided this particular fate: although they were the victims of the Vichy antisemitic legislation and were potential internees in camps across North Africa, they were not deported to Nazi camps in Europe.

The second Jewish Statute, issued on June 2, 1941, barred Jews from professional life and business in all the colonies. It forbade Jews from working in finance and implemented a *numerus clausus,* which limited the number of Jews per profession (such as doctors, lawyers, and architects). The existence of a relatively large professional class of assimilated Jews in Algeria meant that, among the colonies in North Africa, this decree had a disproportionate impact on them. After Jewish teachers had been forbidden to teach at non-Jewish institutions, the Algerian Jewish community had established its own independent educational

system. Run by Jewish teachers, the schools were administered by the Vichy regime. The educational restrictions were imposed partly to prevent the Jewish community from creating its own university. A final antisemitic measure, issued in July 1941, was the "Aryanization" of Jewish property except for private homes; Jewish businesses were awarded to non-Jews. The implementation of Aryanization was most effective in Algeria, where it was administered by the Vichy-established Office of Economic Aryanization.

The implementation of antisemitic decrees was less extensive in Morocco and the AOF. Regardless of Sultan Mohammed's motives, Moroccan Jews did not suffer the full effects of the antisemitic decrees. In particular, Aryanization was never carried out in Morocco. In the AOF, which according to a 1941 census had only 110 Jews of several nationalities, the decrees concerning the employment of Jews in banks, among other fields, proved ineffectual.[2] Historian Catherine Akpo-Vaché characterized Boisson's implementation of Vichy's antisemitic decrees as "moderate."[3]

CAMPS IN VICHY AFRICA

During World War II, the Vichy authorities opened a network of camps in North and West African colonies. In all, there were 67 verified camps in North Africa and 6 in the AOF. By the end of 1940, the Interior Ministry was dispatching foreigners and "undesirables" for internment in Saharan labor camps where they were organized by the Ministry of Industrial Production and Labor (*Ministère de la Production Industrielle et du Travail*) into forced labor groups. Beginning in April 1941, many refugees and displaced people interned in Vichy camps in metropolitan France —mostly men, but also women and children—were transferred to North African confinement centers (*Centres de Séjours Surveillé*, CSSs), labor camps for groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs), forced labor camps for autonomous groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers Autonome*, GTEAs), and forced labor camps for groups of demobilized foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Démobilisés*, GTDs), and

"volunteers of the French Foreign Legion engaged for the duration of the war" (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG). The camps housed former Jewish volunteers of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion étrangère*, LE), Spanish Republicans, and political dissidents. They lived in small brick houses, or tents. The forced laborers were distributed among GTEs in several major camps: Bou Arfa (GTE Nos. 1, 4, 9, and 12); Colomb-Béchar (GTE Nos. 3, 5, 6, and 10); Kenadsa (GTE No. 2); and around Constantine (GTE No. 7). The camps of Djelfa and Berrouaghia were largely reserved for political undesirables.

In North Africa, the camps were organized along railroad axes, in large measure in connection with the Mediterranean-Niger (*Mer-Niger*) railroad project. Members of the GTEs were moved around in times of unrest and uprisings. The camps fell under the authority of French military administrators. For guards, the camp administrations relied on *spahis* (members of the cavalry regiments of the French Army recruited primarily from the indigenous population), Moroccan *goumiers* (military auxiliaries), Senegalese *tirailleurs* (infantry), local *douaïr* (mobilized Muslims engaged in the police auxiliary service), and the paramilitary staff of the Railroads of Eastern Morocco (*Chemin de Fer du Maroc Oriental,* CMO). Although many local Muslim camp guards refused to participate in the torture of internees, a few did take part in enacting some harsh policies toward them.

Military internment camps were set up in southwestern Mali, Guinea, and Senegal. Because the Vichy regime was officially neutral, the prisoners were given internee status. It established three such camps in French Guinea (today: Guinea)—at Conakry, Kindia (Kinda), and Kankan—to hold Allied POWs. In southwestern Mali, the Koulikoro camp was built to intern the captured crews of British, Dutch, Danish, and Greek ships. The Sebikotane camp was established east of Dakar and housed mostly captured Belgian and British merchant sailors. The most remote of the internment camps was at Tombouctou in Mali.

The treatment of detainees held in internment camps was shaped by Vichy's official neutrality in the war and the French Navy's seizure of British merchant ships during the course of the Battle of the Atlantic. Although Allied military personnel were accorded

privileges under the 1929 Geneva Convention, the same was not so for Allied merchant seamen, who were not recognized as having belligerent status. Consequently the treatment of Allied internees in West Africa (and at the Laghouat camp in Algeria) varied from tolerable to abysmal.

THE MEDITERRANEAN-NIGER (*MER-NIGER*) RAILROAD PROJECT

The major construction project that occupied the GTEs in Vichy Africa was building the Mediterranean-Niger (*Mer-Niger*) railroad. In the last de cades of the nineteenth century, the French colonial authorities began planning a trans-Saharan railroad between the port of Dakar and the Algerian and Moroccan coastal cities. After many years of military and geographic expeditions that resulted in the French taking political control of sub-Saharan, North, and West African territories, a heated debate erupted between supporters of the railway proposal and advocates of a system of motor roads that would cross the Sahara. Neither plan materialized until the Fall of France. The few railroad lines connecting North African ports with West African and sub-Saharan mines and regions and the need to maintain French colonial power in the region were two key reasons that drove Pétain to authorize construction of the Mer-Niger railway system in March 1941. The Nazi regime supported the Vichy project because Berlin recognized its strategic advantage in transporting Senegalese troops through the Saharan interior, instead of using risky maritime routes.

The major challenge in building such a large railroad system connecting the AOF and North Africa was recruiting a labor force willing to work under extreme Saharan weather conditions. Political prisoners in metropolitan France and, especially, the large number of refugees in France's North African colonies who were regarded as undesirable provided an answer to this challenge.

RELIEF FOR PRISONERS IN VICHY AFRICA

Jewish and non-Jewish nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) provided some relief to the prisoners in Vichy Africa. The

principal Jewish relief agencies were the Hebrew Immigration/ Jewish Colonization Association (HICEM) and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC). The main non-Jewish relief organization was the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). In Casablanca, the AJJDC and HICEM relied on the services of Hélène Cazès-Benathar, a Moroccan female Jewish lawyer who in 1939 had opened an office to support internees in French camps and refugees who were waiting in Casablanca for a visa. Before she began working with the AJJDC, she served as a volunteer for the Red Cross in Casablanca. After Operation Torch in November 1942, Cazès-Benathar was invited to visit every concentration camp established in Morocco and prepare records of their internees. In 1943 she was appointed the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) liaison for displaced persons (DPs) in Philippeville, Algeria. In 1945 she became a representative of JDC for Northern Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya) and equally supported the Zionist organizations that took charge of immigration to Palestine.

Although escaping the near-certain death that would have awaited them in German concentration and extermination camps in Europe, the refugees were faced with an extremely harsh reality as the Vichy government ordered their deployment in forced labor camps. To survive, internees in the camps attempted to use the bureaucratic means at their disposal within the inhumane structures of the camp. Given the widespread poverty among the Muslim and Jewish communities, it was the offices of the AFSC that dealt with supporting the thousands of men interned in the labor camps by implementing a relief program that provided food, clothes, and visas. To provide these forms of relief to internees throughout Morocco and Algeria, the AFSC had to rely on its own bureaucratic networks of management without clashing or interfering with governmental activities. The AFSC began reporting to consulates and to the U.S. State Department on the struggles and sufferings of European refugees in the Saharan camps before the war, and it continued to do so during the war's early stages.

AFTERMATH

The Anglo-American landings in French North Africa—Operation Torch on November 8, 1942—did not automatically result in the liberation of Vichy-held prisoners, the termination of the Mer-Niger project, or the revocation of Vichy antisemitic policies. In December 1942, the AFSC reported an estimated total of 5,000 refugees "in internment camps or work companies under extremely difficult conditions."[4] Instead, the Vichy military leaders in North Africa who changed sides to support the Allies, Admiral François Darlan and Général d'Armée Henri Giraud, continued Vichy policies until Allied pressure led Giraud to repeal them in early 1943.

Censorship in Algeria was very strict and did not permit writing about the foreign workers and their internment in the press. After the liberation in the summer of 1943, the press started publishing details about atrocities in the camps. The offenses in the camps could no longer be ignored, and a military tribunal to try the perpetrators was set up by the French authorities in October 1943. In February and March 1944, the court of Algiers issued its verdicts, which ranged from the death penalty and life imprisonment to 10 years at hard labor.

SOURCES Important secondary sources relating to Jewish life and the persecution, atrocities, and camps under Vichy rule in Africa are André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); Henri Msellati, *Les Juifs d'Algérie sous le régime de Vichy* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1985); Ruth Ginio, *French Colonialism Unmasked* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Ruth Ginio, "La politique antijuive de Vichy en Afrique occidentale française," *Aju* 36:1 (2003): 109–118; Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975); Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950); Joëlle Allouche-Benayoun and Doris Bensimon, *Les Juifs d'Algérie: Mémoires et identités plurielles* (Paris: Éditions Stavit, 1998); Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during*

the Second World War, trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); Christine Levisse-Touzé, "Les camps d'internement en Afrique du Nord pendant la seconde guerre mondiale," in 'Abd-al-Ǧalīl at-Tamīmī and Charles-Robert Ageron, eds., *Mélanges Charles-Robert Ageron*, *2* (Zaghouan, Tunisia: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1996), 2: 601–608; André Labry, *Les Chemins de fer du maroc: Histoire et évolution* (Rabat: Office National des Chemins de Fer, 1998); Catherine Akpo-Vaché, *L'AOF et la Seconde Guerre mondiale, septembre 1939–octobre 1945* (Paris: Karthala Éditions, 1996); David Miller, *Mercy Ships* (London: Continuum, 2008); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Jacques Cantier, *L'Algérie sous le régime de Vichy* (Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob, 2002); Benjamin Stora, *Les trois exils juifs d'Algérie* (Paris: Éditions Stock, 2006); Lucette Valensi, "Multi-Cultural Visions: The Cultural Tapestry of the Jews of North Africa," in David Biale, ed., *Cultures of the Jews: A New History* (New York: Schocken Books, 2002), pp. 887–931; Reeva Spector Simon, Michael Menachem Laskier, and Sara Reguer, *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in Modern Times* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); Michael M. Laskier, *North African Jewry in the Twentieth Century: The Jews of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria* (New York: New York University Press, 1994); Georges Bensoussan, *Juifs en pays arabes: Le grand déracinement 1850–1975* (Paris: Tallandier, 2012); Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Jacques Taïeb, *Etre Juif au Maghreb à la veille de la colonisation* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994).

Numerous local, regional, and national archives contain documentation, with much of the material available in micro-form or digital form at USHMMA. At USHMMA, see, among others, RG-67.008M (AFSC, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); RG-43.070 (CDJC, Special Rec ords from LIV, Tunisia and Morocco); RG-43.071M (CDJC, Selected records from collection LII Algeria 1871–1947); AN (Pierre Boisson

collection); RG-43.062M (CAOM collection); RG-68.115M (Private collection of Hélène Cazès-Benathar); RG-43.144M (Afrique du Nord, Congrès Juif Mondial, Maroc—pays étrangers); and RG-43.016M (AN—Police Generale). The ITS holds a survey of camps, including Vichy Africa, under 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten). This collection is available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA holds rich interviews on the camps. Among published testimonies by former prisoners of camps in Vichy-run Africa are Paul Caillaud, *Tournant Dangereux: Mémoires d'un déporté politique en Afrique du Nord, 1940–45* (La Rochelle, France: Imprimerie Jean Foucher and Cie, 1957); and Mohamed Arezki Berkani, *Mémoire: "Trois années de camp," un an de camp de concentration, deux ans de centre disciplinaire, Djenien-Bou-Rezg, Sud oranais, 1940 à 1943 (régime Vichy)* (Koudia-Sétif: N.P., 1965). The text of the Franco-German Armistice can be found in *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, 13 vols., Series D (London: HMSO, 1949).

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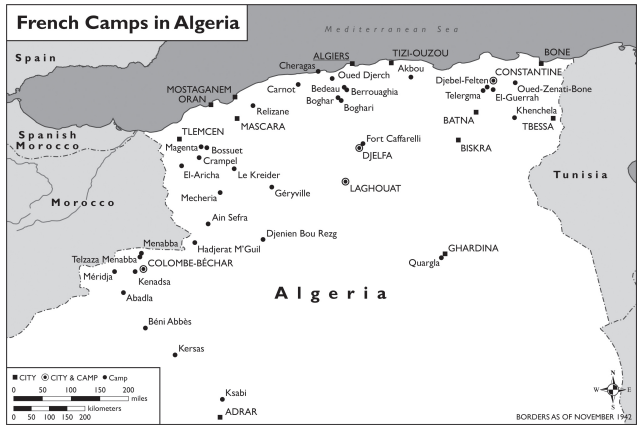
NOTES

1. See Article VIII, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D, 9: 673.
2. Akpo-Vaché, *L'AOF et la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, p. 55.
3. Ibid.
4. "Memorandum concerning work in North Africa," December 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-68.007M, box 1, folder 33, p. 62–63.


French Camps in Algeria
Mediterranean Sea
Spain
ALGIERS
TIZI-OUZOU
BONE
Cheragas
Oued Djerch
Akbou
CONSTANTINE
Djebel-Felten
Oued-Zenati-Bone
El-Guerrah
Telergma
MOSTAGANEM
ORAN
Carnot
Bedeau
Berrouaghia
Boghar
Boghari
Relizane
MASCARA
BATNA
Khenchela
TBESSA
Spanish Morocco
TLEMCEN
Fort Caffarelli
DJELFA
BISKRA
Magenta
Bossuet
Crampel
El-Aricha
Le Kreider
Tunisia
Morocco
Mecheria
Géryville
LAGHOUAT
Ain Sefra
Djenien Bou Rezg
Menabba
Hadjerat M'Guil
GHARDINA
Telzaza Menabba
COLOMBE-BÉCHAR
Quargla
Méridja
Kenadsa
Abadla
Algeria
Bêni Abbès
Kersas
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0 50 100 150 200
miles
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kilometers
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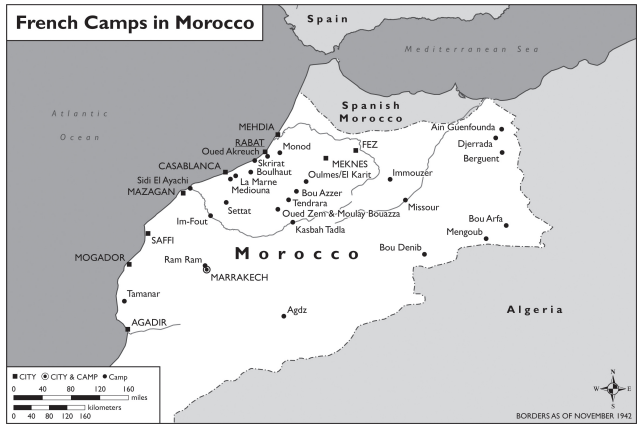
ADRAR
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942


French Camps in Morocco
Spain
Mediterranean Sea
Atlantic Ocean
Spanish Morocco
MEHDIA
RABAT
Oued Akreuch
Monod
FEZ
Ain Guenfounda
Djerrada
Berguent
CASABLANCA
Skrirat
Boulhaut
MEKNES
Oulmes/El Karit
Immouzer
Sidi El Ayachi
La Marne
MAZAGAN
Mediouna
Bou Azzer
Tendrara
Missour
Settat
Oued Zem & Moulay Bouazza
Bou Arfa
Im-Fout
Kasbah Tadla
Mengoub
SAFFI
Morocco
Bou Denib
MOGADOR
Ram Ram
MARRAKECH
Tamanar
Agdz
Algeria
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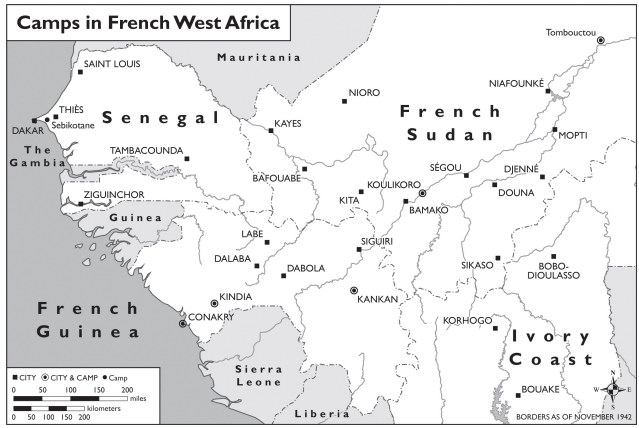
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942


Camps in French West Africa
Tombouctou
Mauritania
SAINT LOUIS
NIORO
NIAFOUNKÉ
THIÈS
Senegal
French
Sudan
DAKAR
Sebikotane
KAYES
MOPTI
The
Gambia
TAMBACOUNDA
SÉGOU
DJENNÉ
BAFOUABÉ
KOULIKORO
DOUNA
ZIGUINCHOR
KITA
BAMAKO
Guinea
LABÉ
SIGUIRI
DALABA
DABOLA
SIKASO
BOBO-
DIOULASSO
KINDIA
KANKAN
French
Guinea
CONAKRY
KORHOGO
Ivory
Coast
Sierra
Leone
BOUAKÉ
Liberia
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kilometers
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BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

ABADLA

Abadla (also known as Ksar El Abadla or Abdala) served as a disciplinary and internment camp for prisoners transferred from the Kersas and Ksabi camps. It was located on the bank of the Guir River, about 82 kilometers (51 miles) southwest of Béchar. On March 22, 1941, Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain authorized the construction of the Trans-Saharan Railroad, also known as the Mediterranean-Nigerian (*Mer-Niger*) railroad project. It was intended to connect ports in Morocco and Algeria with the port at Dakar, Senegal. The detainees were members of the demobilized foreign workers group (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Démobilisés*, GTED), GTED No. 6. The Abadla-Colomb-Béchar railroad line was officially opened on April 5, 1948.

The camp was made of old *marabout* (large) tents supported by walls or on the ground. The tents were grouped into three sections, depending on the type of treatment to be received by the occupants: ordinary discipline, isolation, and repression. The camp was under the direction of Commandant Viciot from the camp at Hadjerat-M'Guil and was guarded by *goumiers* (fighters provided by Arab tribes to police French colonial territories). Overall, Abadla housed approximately 1,500 internees during its existence. On August 16, 1941, 13 people were held in regular custody, 63 in isolation, and 23 in the harsh punishment section.[1] The prisoners were of different nationalities and included Germans, Austrians, Russians, Spaniards, and Poles.

The prisoners were mostly involved in the fabrication of bricks.[2] Like other disciplinary camps, prisoners were held at Abadla for between three to six months depending on the camp administrator's decision. However, some prisoners' six-month sentences were extended for another three months. On January 11, 1942, the Abadla camp was closed, and its prisoners were transferred to the disciplinary camp of Hadjerat-M'Guil.

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Abadla camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on Abadla camp can be found in ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Aomar Boum

NOTES

1. Annexe No. 31, Gouvernement Générale de l'Algérie, "Rapport du Colonel Lupy C. R. Inspecteur des TED sur le GTED No. 6 à Abadla," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371236.

2. Ibid.

AGDZ

The Agdz (or Agdt) camp was located in an oasis at the southern slopes of the Atlas Mountains in southwestern Morocco, approximately 182 kilometers (113 miles) southeast of Marrakech. The camp was an old fortress (locally known as a *kasbah*) that housed members of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) and was an important French military outpost in the region.

Under the Vichy regime, Agdz was used as a camp for foreign workers. The internees worked for the Mediterranean Niger Company (*Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*, MN), which had the job of maintaining the railway link between Morocco, Algeria, and the coal mines in western Africa. Some interned sailors attempting to flee the Mediouna camp were transferred to Agdz on January 3, 1941; that year the camp also received Belgian and British sailors transferred from the Sidi El Ayachi internment camp. The camp was usually guarded by local soldiers known as *meghazenis* (or *moghazis*).[1] During the five weeks between January 3, 1941, and February 8, 1941, the internees were not allowed to leave the camp. Later they were permitted to walk outside.[2] Most of the internees were kept in Agdz until May 1942, after which they were released and taken to Marrakech.

According to historian Michel Abitbol, the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE) held at Agdz was composed mainly of foreign Jews, mostly from Central Europe but including a few French Jews from mainland France, as well as Spaniards or Italians. A lack of detailed reports makes it impossible to estimate the number and the nationalities of the detainees. According to historian Jacob Oliel, however, there were between a few dozen and 100 forced laborers at Agdz, approximately 10 percent of whom were Jews (but not Moroccan Jews). The camp's physical environment was unaccommodating,

in part because of the presence of snakes and scorpions.[3]

The camp was operational from October 1940 to November 1942, when the Americans and British landed during Operation Torch.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the forced labor camp at Agdz are Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War,* trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); André Moine, *La déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); and Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Agdz forced labor camp can be found in CDJC, collection CGQJ (414–50), regarding labor camps and transit camps; CAHJP, Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. Moine cites a report that briefly describes Agdz, which was compiled by Henri Prudhomme and Charles Dupuy and submitted to ARDIEP.

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Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTES

1. Annexe No. 5, Procès-Verbal d'interrogatoire, Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371186.

2. Testimony of Paul V., July 11, 1951, extracted in Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371121.

3. Report of Henri Prudhomme and Charles Dupuy, n.d., reproduced in Moine, *La déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord*, p. 233.

AIN GUENFOUNDA

Ain Guenfounda (also Ain Guenfouda; today: Guenfouda) was an internment camp in Morocco, located 522 kilometers (almost 325 miles) east of Casablanca, more than 25 kilometers (17 miles) southwest of Oujda, and 22 kilometers (14 miles) northeast of Djerrada. It was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. Officially the camp was classified as housing a group of civilian foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Civils Étrangers*, GTCE).[1] The mines at nearby Djerrada were labeled as being "at Guenfounda."[2]

In June 1940, the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) was disbanded, and its "volunteers engaged for the duration of the war" (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG) were dispatched to camps in North Africa, including Ain Guenfounda. On March 22, 1941, Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain authorized the construction of the Trans-Saharan Railroad, also known as the Mediterranean-Nigerian (*Mer-Niger*) railroad project. It was intended to connect ports in Morocco and Algeria with the port at Dakar, Senegal. Ain Guenfounda was one of the camps designated to provide labor for the construction of the Mer-Niger railway line.

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Ain Guenfounda were progressively returned to civilian life. However, the camp was still in use well into 1943. A census in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection counted seven "ex-German" and Jewish detainees at Ain Guenfounda.[3]

The prisoner Erwin Sommer makes a good case study in considering how prisoners made the transition to civilian life after liberation. He was a forced laborer in the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 11, at Djerrada who left on May 28, 1943, to work for the Americans at

Oujda as a "clerk-interpreter" without contract. After that he was happy to work at Ain Guenfounda, albeit for less pay but with accommodation provided.[4]

While at Ain Guenfounda, Sommer was liberated by the Americans. Writing from Ain Guenfounda in care of the Moroccan Society of the Coal Mines at Djerrada (*Société Chérifiennes Charbonnages de Djérada*), he requested the assistance of Cazès-Benathar, a Moroccan Jewish lawyer who worked on behalf of refugees, on June 5, 1943; he asked for help finding work and also assistance for his wife and two children who were then in Marseille.[5] Shortly thereafter, on June 23, an official from Ain Guenfounda wrote on Sommer's behalf to the director of the Casablanca office of the French bank, Crédit Lyonnais, recommending him for the position of accountant. He described Sommer as an expatriated German Jew, 45 years old, with 23 years of commercial experience and who spoke French, English, German, and Spanish.[6]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the camp at Ain Guenfounda are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary source material documenting the Ain Guenfounda camp is available in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform and digital form at USHMMA as RG-68.115M).

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. "Groupes de Travailleurs Civils Étrangers, Camp AinGuenfouda," n.d., USHMMA (CAHJP), RG-68.115M, pp. 328–329.

2. "W. Cohen, Mines de Djerada à Guenfouda," December 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-68.115M, pp. 437–438; and "Cohen W.

Mines de Djerada Guenfouda," n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, n.p.

3. "Desgroupement des Internés par Nationalité et Confession," n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, pp. 254–255.

4. "Erwin Sommer chez Société Chérifiennes Charbonnages de Djérada Ain-Guenfounda par Oujda," June 5, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.115M, n.p.

5. Ibid.

6. "Monsieur le Directeur du Crédit Lyonnais, Casablanca," June 23, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.115M, n.p.

AIN SEFRA

Ain Sefra (Aïn Séfra or Aïn Sefra) is located in Algeria, 93 kilometers (almost 58 miles) south of Mecheria and almost 199 kilometers (nearly 124 miles) northeast of Colomb-Béchar. Ain Sefra was also the name of the military territory that included such camps as Djenien Bou Rezg and Colomb-Béchar. The Ain Sefra camp was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

In June 1940, the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) was disbanded, and its volunteers engaged for the duration of the war (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG) were sent to camps in North Africa such as Ain Sefra. In December 1941, two companies of the LE 1st Regiment in Algeria were sent to the camps at Ain Sefra and Saida. Each company had 200 to 300 men, about a third of whom were Spanish. There was a hospital in the town of Ain Sefra.

There is little documentation on prisoner demographics, prisoner names, or daily life in the camp. Ain Sefra was among a list of North African civil and military internment camps that the French Red Cross (*Croix-Rouge Française*, CRF) assigned for inspection between July 18 and 20, 1942.[1] The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Ain Sefra were progressively returned to civilian life. However, the camp was still in use well into 1943.

Ain Sefra was also a center for assigned residence (*assignation à residence*). Jewish internee Isaac Temimi (or Temime) was held in forced residence at Ain Sefra and was designated to be sent with inmates from other camps to the Mecheria camp on June 30 or July 1, 1941.[2]

SOURCES Secondary sources referencing the camp at Ain Sefra include Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of*

the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Primary source material available for Ain Sefra can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reels 6 and 8.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. "Service des Affaires Indigènes Militaires Territoire Colomb-Béchar," July 16, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, n.p.; "Surveillance suspects (camps) Alger 13 Juillet 1942," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

2. "Telegramme Chiffre Demarque," June 28 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 8, n.p.

AKBOU

Akbou is a small town located in north-central Algeria, 137 kilometers (85 miles) southeast of Algiers and 59 kilometers (37 miles) southwest of Bejaia. The scant information available suggests that the Akbou camp was one of the Vichy internment camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

The Akbou camp was in a former French Army compound of four permanent buildings in which the internees slept on beds with two blankets each. The treatment at the camp was particularly harsh: the prisoners suffered frequent and tough punishments, and the women were assigned to conduct arduous chores.

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, but the Akbou camp was still in use well into 1943. In July 1943 the camp was reserved for 100 female internees and their children. At this stage, a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) counted 10 German women, 50 Italian women, 34 women of diverse origins, and 21 children in the Akbou camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the camp at Akbou are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

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BEDEAU

Located approximately 134 kilometers (83 miles) south of Oran, Algeria, at the edge of the Sahara between Sidi-belAbbès and Mascara, the camp in Bedeau (today: Râs el Ma) served as a forced labor camp for the Vichy regime; many Jewish soldiers were detained there between 1941 and 1943. French Jewish soldiers who had been interned after the Franco-German Armistice at the Saint-Marthe camp in Marseille were moved to Algeria at the end of July 1941; there, they were distributed among different regiments, especially the 8th in Algiers and the 2nd in Oran. In addition, at the end of 1941, some Jewish soldiers in the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) were expelled from the army and sent to the French Army-run camp at Bedeau for two years, living in tents under the control of Capitaine Orsini and Commandant Boitel.

Similar to other camps in terms of multiplicity of purposes and fluency of inmate population, the camp consisted mostly of *marabout* (large) tents, which each held up to 10 detainees. Bedeau was under the direct authority of LE soldiers commanded by Capitaine Orsini, who was known for his hatred for Jews. Between 1940 and 1942, the camp population included a Group of Jewish Workers (*Groupe de Travailleurs Israélites*, GTI). After March 1942, the Bedeau camp was reclassified and became a camp for Algerian workers (*Groupement des Travailleurs Algériens*, GTA); it was then placed under the direct control of the general governor of Algeria instead of the military authority.

Despite their previous military service to France, the detained Jewish war veterans were subjected to hard labor, poor hygiene, and the extreme heat of the desert. They did not have a means of communication with the outside world, not even by radio or newspapers. When the camp was placed under civilian authority, the guards were members of the Legionary Order Service (*Service d'Ordre Légionnaire*), a collaborationist group notorious for its

antisemitism. Survivors of the Bedeau camp described it as a concentration camp. The prisoners were forced to wear old civilian clothes and a black cap; hence the name given them by their guards: "crows" (*corbeaux*). They experienced daily harassment and had to do forced labor, such as cutting trees and clearing roads. Prisoners were told to fill bags with rocks and carry them for a long distance under the sun. They were also subjected to a disciplinary action common in other camps called the "tomb," which involved digging a hole and lying in it under the blazing sun for hours, if not days.

The Bedeau camp was closed on April 15, 1943, and prisoners were transferred to military camps in Morocco (Marrakech) and Tunisia (Le Kef and Le Sers). Almost 750 Jewish prisoners were sent to Marrakech where they joined the Autonomous Group of Ground Anti-Aircraft Forces (*Groupe Autonome des Forces Terrestres Antiaériennes*, GAFTA). They were later incorporated into the regular Free French Army and fought in France, Italy, and Germany.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing or mentioning the camp of Bedeau are Norbert Bel Ange, *Quand Vichy internait ses soldats juifs d'Algérie: Bedeau, sud oranais, 1941–1943* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006); Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Primary sources documenting the Bedeau camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M). Published testimonies by Bedeau prisoners are Léon Benhamou, "Les camps d'Algérie," *IJ* 136 (1994): 15; Maurice Benkemoun, "Le camp de Bedeau," *IJ* 138 (1994): 5; and Golski, *Un Buchenwald français sous le règne du Maréchal* (Périgueux: Éditions Pierre Fanlac, 1945).

Aomar Boum

BEN-CHICAO

Ben-Chicao (or Ben-Chica) was an internment camp in Vichy-run Algeria located 64 kilometers (40 miles) southwest of Algiers, 11 kilometers (almost 7 miles) southeast of Medea, 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) northwest of Berrouaghia, and 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the Djelfa internment camp. The Third French Republic and the Vichy regime used Ben-Chicao to hold Spanish refugees and, after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940, to intern prisoners.

Before the Armistice, Ben-Chicao had served as a reception camp (*camp d'accueil*) for refugees from the Spanish Civil War. In April 1940 the camp contained 218 Spanish refugees: 49 men, 74 women, and 95 children under 16 years old.[1] At the time there were no political suspects interned at Ben-Chicao.[2] The majority of the refugees were factory or shop workers,[3] but there were two farmers, one baker, one railroad worker, one accountant, one nurse, two teachers, one soldier, one pharmacist, two tanners, and one weaver.[4] The total camp bud get for the year 1940, including medical care and food, was 1,733,750 francs.[5]

When the Vichy government took over, the camp's population diversified. In a list of French camps prepared by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), "Ben-Chicao next to Medea" was listed as an "internment camp for Poles in Africa, Algeria."[6]

The commandant of the 19th Army Corps, Général des Corps d'Armée Henry Martin, had a plan to transfer the military detainees form Ben-Chicao, and he ordered Vichy official Lehuraux to solicit the opinion of the governor general of Algeria about such a move. Martin proposed to transfer the prisoners to Laghouat and to deploy some of them in various military services. Lehuraux disagreed with this approach: he did not think it was appropriate to transfer the prisoners to the Southern Territories because it was beneath the dignity of the French Army and the detainees. He suggested that they be transferred to the Quargla internment camp (525 kilometers or 326 miles southeast of Ben-

Chicao), which was a large installation where the prisoners (elderly and officers) would have a higher quality of life.[7]

In response, a "Note of Service" from Algiers reported that the members of the Transit Company No. 1 of the French Foreign Legion (*Companie de Passage de la Légion étrangère Nr. 1*) currently stationed at Ben-Chicao, could be transferred to the Quargla internment camp. Général des Corps d'Armée Martin ordered the provision of accommodations at Bordj-Chandez in Quargla for 3 officers, 16 French noncommissioned officers (NCOs), 208 French of other ranks, and 2 indigenous rank-and-file soldiers.[8]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch, November 8, 1942, after which the prisoners at Ben-Chicao were progressively returned to civilian life.

SOURCES The only secondary source found that mentions the Ben-Chicao camp is Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary source material documenting the Ben-Chicao camp can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M (reel 9 contains especially rich material on the Spanish refugee camp before the Armistice); and A-ICRC, "Division d'Assistance Special CICR 1940–1963," available at USHMMA under RG-58.002M.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. "Department d'Alger: État Previsionnel de Dépenses pour le Mois de Avril 1940, Camp de Réfugiés Espagnols de Ben-Chicao," USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 9, n.p.

2. "Suspects," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, p. 78.

3. L'Administrateur-Adjoint, Directeur du Camp de Ben-Chicao à Monsieur le Sous-Préfet de Medea, January 29, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

4. “Centre d’Herbergement de Ben-Chicao: Recapitulation,” USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, p. 63.

5. “Projet de Bud get de Centre d’Accueil de Ben-Chicao pour l’Année 1940,” USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

6. “Camps en France,” USHMMA, RG-58.002M (A-ICRC), reel 5, n.p.

7. Note à Monsieur le Directeur du Cabinet de M. le Geur Gal s/c de Monsieur le Secrétaire Gal du Gouvernement, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.

8. Note de Service, 19ème Corps d’Armée, État Major, 3ème Bureau, Nr. 2151/3, Algiers, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.

BÉNI ABBÈS

Located approximately 167 kilometers (104 miles) south of Béchar, the Béni Abbès (Beni-Abbas) camp was used as an internment and labor camp for a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 5. It was set up in the Saoura Valley, on the bank of the Saoura River, between April 1941 and November 1942. The internees were volunteers of the French Foreign Legion engaged for the duration of the war (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG). They were joined by forced laborers, most of whom were originally from Poland.

GTE No. 5 was deployed on the construction of the trans-Saharan dirt road linking Goa with Hadjerat-M'Guil; the laborers worked along the route at Ksabi, located between Béni Abbès and Adrar. There they revolted over working conditions on May 29, 1941. The Vichy authorities managed to subdue the revolt by force, killing one prisoner and injuring two. On August 31, 1942, the Polish forced laborers were transferred to Morocco to work on the Mediterranean-Niger (*Mer-Niger*) railway line. From Kenadsa the Mer-Niger line was to run through Béni Abbès, traverse the desert to Adrar, and continue on to Tassit in the French Sudan.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Béni Abbès camp are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Édition du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Béni Abbès camp can be found in CAOM, available in microform as USHMMA, RG-43.062M (selected records from France's North African colonies).

Aomar Boum

BERGUENT

Operating under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Industrial Production (*Direction de la Production Industrielle*) and named after a French colonel, the Berguent camp in Morocco housed the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 4. Berguent (today: Ain Beni Mathar, but also known as Ain Berguent or Bergame) was located about 76 kilometers (47 miles) south of Oujda and 36 kilometers (22 miles) west of the Algerian border. Berguent had a large indigenous Jewish community; however, no one from the community was held in the Berguent camp, although many foreign Jews were interned there.

Berguent was part of a series of camps along the Algerian-Moroccan border housing prisoners who worked on the Trans-Saharan Railroad—also known as the Mediterranean-Nigerian (*Mer-Niger*) railway line—as part of the Mediterranean Niger Company (*Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*, MN). The majority of Berguent's prisoners were Jewish. At one point the camp held about 400 Jews, many of whom had been transferred to the detention site from camps in France. On July 29, 1942, Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the Berguent camp. He recorded that there were 155 prisoners at this location: 13 were away and 142 were present inside the camp (of these, 113 were at work in and around the camp). These internees were allowed 500 grams (1.1 pounds) of bread per day, 125 to 150 grams (4 to 5 ounces) of meat over a six-day period, and a half-liter (more than a pint) of wine twice a day.[1] A canteen was located in a shelter dugout and provided lemon soda, beer, aperitifs, preserved fruits, and cigarettes. It opened after working hours and closed at 10 P.M. As in other camps along the Mer-Niger railroad works, the avail-ability of shoes and clothes was a concern for many forced laborers, who suffered from the hot summers and cold winters. At Berguent, prisoners were issued two shirts, shorts, and sandals for the

summer and a pair of warm trousers and shoes for winter.

Water was not available in the camp: it was brought in twice a day on camelback from the neighboring oasis of Berguent, about 5 kilometers (just over 3 miles) from the camp. Prisoners bathed once a week in the pool at Berguent. Every Monday they had access to laundry; however, the lavatory was in the open. Mail was received daily, including books in German and French. Dr. Wyss-Dunant counted approximately 40 books in German during his trip to Berguent. Jewish prisoners were allowed to attend prayer services at the three synagogues in Berguent.

All prisoners of Berguent were involved in working on the railway line and the surrounding roads. The Department of Industrial Production paid 4.25 francs per day per forced laborer. Sometimes a bonus was added, making a total daily payment of 9.25 francs.

Given the fact that most of the internees were tradesmen, accountants, artisans, and intellectuals, they were not able to easily bear the physically challenging roadwork. They complained of shortages of water and food and of heat exhaustion. Although the camp's commandant was a former legionnaire and was lenient in his treatment of most of the detainees, six were sent to the Bou Arfa disciplinary camp, whereas others were held in solitary confinement for short periods at Berguent.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the camp at Berguent are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Berguent camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); and NaP, JAF 1007: MSP-L (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-48.011M).

NOTE

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), box 1, folder 15.

BERROUAGHIA

Berrouaghia is a town located approximately 70 kilometers (almost 44 miles) south of Algiers in the prefecture of Algiers. A railway station on the line connecting Algiers-Djelfa via Boghari and Blida was in the town.

The Berrouaghia camp was located in the town's old prison: four dormitories housed internees who were seriously ill, internees eligible for repatriation, and prisoners held on a permanent basis in a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS). The section reserved for the sick was isolated from the other dormitories, with its own shower and bathroom. The rooms were whitewashed and ventilated, and each room had a stove. The beds were made of wood, with straw mattresses and two blankets per internee.

On August 14, 1942, Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp and recorded that there were 80 internees at Berrouaghia: 33 Spaniards, 12 Germans (4 Jews), 12 Italians (3 Jews), 1 Austrian, 6 Czechs (1 Jew), 5 Poles (4 Jews), 8 Russians (4 Jews), and 3 stateless (1 Jew). Among these internees, 32 had tuberculosis (TB), and 16 had minor illnesses. Several Italians and Germans were eligible for repatriation, and another 32 prisoners were in good health, but were not eligible for release.[1]

The internees had access to 500 grams (1.1 pounds) of bread per day, meat three times a week, but no wine. Those with money could leave the camp, when accompanied by an armed guard, to buy more food in the village to supplement their inadequate rations: there was no canteen inside the camp. A small amount of worn-out clothes was supplied occasionally, but prisoners still lacked shirts, shoes, linens, and towels. Sick prisoners did not have access to medicine; the only doctor available complained about the lack of medicine to combat disease, mainly lung hemorrhages. The camp did not have a library. The priest in the neighboring village of Berrouaghia visited on call.

The internees permitted to do so worked on a voluntary basis. They were paid 18 francs per day: half of this amount went to cover their food and lodging, and the other half was disbursed to their savings accounts. There were carpentry, shoe-repair, watchmaking, and blacksmithing workshops. The men who worked in them received between 1.25 to 2 francs per hour. The internees unable to work due to illness could not afford the goods sold in the village, increasing the misery of their stay. According to Belgian internee Gabriel Délépine, the prisoners classified as "undesirables" and held in the prison's CSS were likewise not permitted to work.[2]

The Berrouaghia camp was connected with the Ben-Chicao camp, located 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) northwest of Berrouaghia.

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning the camp of Berrouaghia is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Berrouaghia camp can be found in AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), box 1, folder 15.
2. "Berrouaghia," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82381127.

BOGHAR

Boghar was a forced labor camp located 98 kilometers (61 miles) southwest of Algiers; it held an autonomous group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Autonome*, GTEA). Under the supervision of the Algiers Regional Office of Labor, Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited Boghar on August 16, 1942. He recorded the following statistics on the prisoner population within the camp: 40 Poles, 340 Spaniards, and 20 German Jews. An additional 45 internees were deployed to the Morand internment camp and to camps in Algiers, 16 were in the infirmary, and 1 was in prison. The number of inmates was 401; the camp's capacity was 500.[1]

Located on the top of a hill not far from the Morand (Boghari) internment camp, Boghar comprised 20 barracks, of which 6 were permanent stone buildings. Other camp buildings were not as sturdy, but were still in use, including some wooden barracks. Each barrack accommodated about 40 prisoners. The climate was good, and the barracks were ventilated.

The prisoners slept on wooden beds with straw mattresses and sufficient coverings for winter. There was a stove and adequate wood for winter heating. The forced laborers were mostly free to move around.[2] Prisoners were punished with extra work or prison time. Six guards and five inspectors guarded Boghar.

Approximately 230 prisoners were hired by private employers and paid between 50 to 70 francs a day, depending on the terms of the collective contract. Other foreign laborers worked as carpenters and blacksmiths in camp workshops. Finally, labor was voluntary for those considered disabled, infirm, or old.

Forced laborers were served 500 to 600 grams (more than a pound) of bread daily, meat three times a week, and a half-liter (more than a pint) of wine. The camp commandant received a daily grant of 11 francs per detainee from the local authorities. A

garden within the camp supplied vegetables and potatoes to supplement purchased provisions. A grocer from Boghar managed a canteen that operated at different hours. Although the Algiers Regional Office of Labor provided some winter clothes, there were shortages of linens, sweaters, and towels.

Prisoners had to shower twice a week, but had the option of taking a third hot shower each week. There was a shortage of water during the summer, but toilets were available. A detainee doctor, a military doctor, and an infirmary nurse cared for sick refugees, despite the shortage of medical equipment and medicine. The infirmary had 24 beds; serious cases were transferred to the nearby Morand camp. An Austrian dentist with the help of a dental technician set up a dental unit that crafted plates and bridges for patients in need of dental work. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) sent many books to the camp.

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Boghar camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Boghar camp can be found in AFSC (available at USHMMA, RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), box 1, folder 15.
2. "Notice sur Boghar," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371151.

BOGHARI

Boghari (also known as Ksar El Boukhari, Ksar Boukhari, and Boughari) is 100 kilometers (62 miles) southwest of Algiers. The Boghari camp was an internment camp located near the Boghar camp; it was also known as the Morand camp.[1] The camp housed demobilized foreign workers, as well as Spanish and Belgian refugees. The internees were issued civilian clothes and blankets. They were not expected to work, but were given the freedom to go to Algiers to find jobs. The prisoners were able to walk out of the camp freely at night and on Sundays. Many Boghar camp prisoners were transferred to Boghari either for work or health reasons.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Boghari camp are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Jacques Cantier and Éric Jennings, *L'empire colonial sous Vichy* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2004).

Primary sources on the Boghari camp can be found in AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTE

1. "Notices dur le camp d'hébergement de Boghari ou camp Morand," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371150.

BOSSUET

Located 57 kilometers (35 miles) south of Sidi bel Abbés, the camp of Bossuet (or Bousseut; today: Dhaya) in Algeria occupied a fortress that was built in 1845. During World War II, the fort was transformed into a confinement center (*Center de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS). It housed many communists arrested in 1939 and 1940 who had been transferred from camps in France, especially Nexon, Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux, and Saint Sulpicela-Pointe. It was part of what former prisoner and author André Moine called the "camps of death," along with Djelfa and Djenien Bou Rezg.

Surrounded by walls as high as 8 meters (26 feet) and barbed wire, the camp was directed by Capitaine Seynave. Its capacity was 492 prisoners, who were known as "undesirables." Approximately 350 of those prisoners were former soldiers of the French Army (110 were wounded in the war, 24 were awarded military medals, 3 were members of the *Légion d'Honneur*, 120 held the *Croix de Guerre*, and 15 were members of the *Ordre Étrangers*).

Like Djenien Bou Rezg and Djelfa, Bossuet was one of the most inhospitable camps in Algeria during the Vichy period. The prisoners were humiliated daily and forced to work in horrible conditions. Typhus, dysentery, and malaria affected a substantial part of the camp population in 1941.[1] Many famous French politicians and Algerian nationalists were held at Bossuet. Among them was the historian André Moine, who published his testimony of this camp and others. Another was Bernard Lecache, the president of the International League against Antisemitism (*Ligue internationale contre l'antisemitisme*, LICA). On May 26, 1941, Lecache was transferred from Djelfa to Bossuet. After Bossuet, he was sent to Djenien Bou Rezg. A good number of the prisoners had been transferred from Djelfa.

The camp was liberated by the U.S. Army in the spring of 1943. Bossuet was mentioned during a French Army investigation

convened in Algiers in late 1943.[2]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mentions the Bossuet camp include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972).

Primary sources documenting the Bossuet camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); the France North African Colonies collection (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.062M); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. Photographs of the camp can be found in Moine.

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NOTES

1. For health conditions, see the report by prisoner "Dr. Bourgeois," quoted in Moine, *Déportations et résistance en Afrique du nord 1939–1944*, pp. 151–153.

2. "Le Colonel Lupy à Monsieur le Capitaine Juge d'Instruction au TM d'Armée—Alger," December 27, 1951, Annexe 24, Rapport définitif No. 52, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371221.

BOU ARFA

Bou Arfa (or Bouarfa) is located in northeast Morocco, 296 kilometers (184 miles) southeast of Oujda. The discovery of manganese and other minerals in its vicinity made it a major French settlement and mining industry center. The colonial administration began its exploitation of Bou Arfa's natural resources in 1913 at Ain Beida. The French government also developed a network of railroads that connected the region to Mediterranean ports. In 1941, the Vichy government built a set of tent and barracks camps around Bou Arfa; these satellite camps were Aïn al-Ouraq, Foum-Deflah, and Tamlelt.[1] The camp of Bou Arfa and its satellite camps served both as forced labor and discipline camps for political prisoners and Jews.

The Bou Arfa camp and its subcamps were the largest Vichy camps designed primarily for internment purposes in French Africa. Bou Arfa primarily housed the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 4,[2] although at different times members of GTE Nos. 9 and 1 were also held in the camp.

Bou Arfa was built at a place where a gorge opened into the plain and stretched along the banks of a dry creek. It was composed of seven large buildings made of tiles and wooden beams. The Mediterranean Niger Company (*Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*, MN) played a key role in its establishment. The workers earned between 20 to 60 francs per day.

Bou Arfa was opened first as an internment camp for refugees who fled the Spanish Civil War after 1936. The French colonial authorities decided to use the refugees confined in Bou Arfa-Tamlelt as forced labors. The work done by Spanish refugees was key to the pre-Vichy French infrastructure projects around Bou Arfa, especially the early stages of construction of the MN railroad. In January 1941, Spanish republicans who sought refuge

in North Africa were assigned to the construction of the railroad connecting Bou Arfa to Kenadsa. By October 1942, about 70 Polish prisoners were transferred from the Oued Zem camp to Bou Arfa, joining about 200 former Polish soldiers already housed there. Jews were later added to the workforce constructing the railroads connecting Bou Arfa to other settlements.[3]

In July 30, 1942, Dr. Wyss-Dunant, a representative from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), recorded the following statistics on the forced laborers at Bou Arfa: Spanish (694), German (21), Italian (11), Austrian (19), Belgian (5), Algerian (2), Stateless (2), Hungarian (1), Dutch (2), Romanian (1), Yugoslav (4), Greek (1), Portuguese (2), French (2), Russian (4), Brazilian (1), and Cuban (1).[4]

Prisoners slept on beds with springs fabricated by the Mediterranean Niger Company. Each bed had a mattress and blanket. The food included on average 600 grams (1.3 pounds) of bread per day and 600 to 700 grams of meat per week. There was a canteen on site where supplies could be purchased, as well as a hall where concerts were held and recreation was allowed in the evening, including listening to a radio. Although there was a shortage of Spanish books and newspapers, the workers had access to a library. After one year of work, the inmates were allowed a 12-day leave, but were not permitted to travel to large urban centers. The hygiene was adequate. The Mediterranean Niger Company built a hospital not far from the camp, which provided a variety of health services for internees. A priest came to the camp to celebrate Mass every Sunday.

The first subcamp of Bou Arfa to be established was Aïn al-Ouraq, a disciplinary camp approximately 60 kilometers (just over 37 miles) west of Bou Arfa on the road leading to Colomb-Béchar. It served as the main punishment camp for Bou Arfa's forced laborers. Established near a mine, the prisoners slept and worked in the open air while building the barracks. Under Capitaine Abala, the detainees faced three types of harsh punishment. In the first type, the prisoner was tied up and struck repeatedly with a rifle butt. In the second type of punishment, known as "the tomb," a prisoner was forced to sleep in a hole for 25 to 30 days under the surveillance of a Senegalese soldier.[5] Movement in the confined space resulted in the prisoner being struck by a stone, clubbed with

a rifle butt, or fired on. Finally, the "lion cage" was a 1.80-meter (1.9-yard) cube surrounded by barbed iron threads. The prisoners could only either stand up or lie down. Prisoners being punished only received 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread and water daily.

Bar Arfa's second subcamp was Foum-Deflah (Foum El Flah or Foum Defla). In May 1942, the French authorities sold the site of the Aïn al-Ouraq camp to an Arab notable for the amount of 100,000 francs and in its stead opened the camp at Foum-Deflah. The Foum-Deflah disciplinary camp was located 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) east of Bou Arfa. The camp's name originated from the eponymous dry creek. Approximately 50 inmates worked mostly on the MN railroad; they worked for 10 hours every day for which they were paid 8 francs.

As a temporary camp most of its structures were tents; workers slept on straw mats and were provided with a single blanket. Food was inadequate (and less than provided at the Bou Arfa camp). Water had to be transported from outside the camp; the climate was dry. The workers were subjected to some of the worst treatment, including punishment by the tomb and lion cage. A doctor visited the camp once a week; the Bou Arfa camp supplied the infirmary with medicine and supplies.

The third Bou Arfa subcamp was Tamlelt, a small site initially built to hold Spanish republicans and located near the manganese mine of Tamlelt. French colonial authorities used foreign refugees as forced laborers. Later during the war Tamlelt primarily housed German dissidents from Nazi Germany.

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) records contain many individual files on prisoners who spent time in Bou Arfa and its subcamps. A case in point is the file of Ernest Sello. Sello attempted to flee the Bou Arfa camp in September 1941. As punishment following his recapture, he was sent to Aïn al-Ouraq. After experiencing a series of harsh punishments at Aïn al-Ouraq, including spending time in the tomb, he returned to the Bou Arfa camp, where he was again imprisoned. Capitaine Avelin and the commandant, Janin, tried to deport him to Nazi Germany, but the Bou Arfa camp doctor interceded in his favor. Because of his poor health, he was sent to the Oujda hospital in January 1942, where both of his feet were amputated as the result of his torture.[6]

SOURCES There is a wide range of secondary literature about Bou Arfa camp and its subcamps, including Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions de Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Christine Levisse-Touzé, "Les camps d'internement en Afrique du Nord pendant la seconde guerre mondiale," in 'Abd-al-Ǧalīl at-Tamīmī and Charles-Robert Ageron, eds., *Mélanges Charles-Robert Ageron*, *2* (Zaghouan, Tunisia: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1996), 2:601–608; André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975). On the Mediterranean Niger Company, see André Labry, *Les chemins de fer du maroc: Histoire et évolution* (Rabat: Office National des Chemins de Fer, 1998).

There is a considerable amount of primary documentation on the Bou Arfa camp and its subcamps. Among them is the private collection of Hélène Cazès-Benathar, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M). The Cazès-Benathar collection includes her correspondence with Bou Arfa detainees. The AFSC Refugee Assistance Case Files (available at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296) include files for prisoners held at Bou Arfa, Aïn al-Ouraq, and Foum-Deflah. Abraham Uriel and Sinforiano Rodriguez recorded two of the few photographs of the Bou Arfa camp known today. The Uriel photograph is available at www.danielabraham.net/tree/abraham/uriel.

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NOTES

1. Private collection of Hélène Cazès-Benathar, USHMMA, RG-68.115M (CAHJP), reel 1, dossier 16.
2. Ibid., reel 7, dossier 47.
3. Ibid., reel 1, dossier 12.

4. USHMMA, RG-67.008 (AFSC), box 1, file 15.

5. USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296 (AFSC), case file 8985, Ernest Sello.

6. Ibid.

BOU AZZER

Bou Azzer (also Moulay Bou Azza and Moulay Bouazza) is located in north-central Morocco about 54 kilometers (34 miles) northeast of Oued Zem, 133 kilometers (83 miles) southeast of Casablanca, and 105 kilometers (65 miles) southeast of Rabat. Bou Azzer was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. It was set up to house a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE) and was built on a clay slope.

Dr. Wyss-Dunant, a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), visited the camp on July 15, 1942. At this time there were 52 male internees: 2 British, 8 Belgian, 5 Spanish, 2 French, 4 Italian, 1 Luxembourger, 1 Dutch, 15 Poles, 5 Russian, 1 Slovak, 2 Swiss, 3 Czech, and 3 Yugoslavs. The heat was excessive and the sanitary conditions deplorable. Ten internees were hospitalized, and five more were medical patients in the camp. The men suffered from dysentery and isolation. Many were dressed in rags, and five went barefoot. The internees were lodged in tents and slept on mats with two blankets each.

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942. However, evidence suggests that the Bou Azzer camp might have been in use until 1945. Materials available in the archive of Hélène Cazès-Benathar and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) Casablanca collection confirm that contract employment for refugees to work at the Bou Azzer mines continued until 1945. However, these files do not specifically refer to Bou Azzer as a camp. Dr. Julius Ullman worked as a doctor at the Bou Azzer mines from liberation until 1945.[1] Alfred Kuhn and Charles Burger also had contracts to work at the Bou Azzer mines after liberation.[2] In 1943 Kuhn wrote to Benathar that he and Ullman were very happy at Bou Azzer: the lodging and food were good.[3]

SOURCES The secondary source that mentions the Bou Azzer camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary source material can be found in the AFSC Refugee Assistance Case files, available in hard copy at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296; and the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform and digitally at USHMMA as RG-68.115M).

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. "Dr. Ullman médecin de mines," January 30, 1945, USHMMA, RG-68.115M, n.p.
2. "Monsieur le Directeur de la CTM Casablanca," April 15, n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, n.p.; and "Certificat de Travail," March 23, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.115M, p. 20.
3. "Maître Benathar, Casablanca," May 14, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.115M, n.p.

BOU DENIB

Also called the Meknès camp, Bou Denib (Boudenib or Bou Dnib) was a former military base for the 37th French Aviation Regiment that was earlier known as the Haricot camp. Under the Vichy regime it was transformed into a confinement center (*Centre de Séjours Surveillé*, CSS) and labor camp for the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 2.[1] It was located in Tafilalet in the region of Meknès (hence its alternative name). Bou Denib is 282 kilometers (175 miles) southeast of the city of Meknès.

The Bou Denib camp consisted of 21 stone and adobe brick buildings. Walls, but not barbed wire, surrounded the camp. Administered by French security, the camp's number of inmates was 243 prisoners; including 210 Italians, 12 Germans, one American, and one Japanese prisoner.[2] The camp had a lecture and entertainment hall, showers, and a sports field.

Bou Denib was guarded by one policeman and six armed indigenous personnel (*moghazeni*). The forced laborers were allowed to work outside the camp and were paid a salary. They mostly worked hydraulic jobs approximately 1,500 meters (almost a mile) from the camp. Inside the camp, the prisoners performed a variety of tasks. Guards oversaw the prisoners as they did their daily work. When accompanied by an indigenous guard, the prisoners were also allowed to do shopping in the neighboring village of Bou Denib.

In addition to the foreign laborers, there were 100 prisoners at Bou Denib, one-third of whom were Jews. In addition, some local Moroccan Jews were held in the camp, apparently because of their support for the national independence movement.

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Bou Denib camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

A primary source on the Bou Denib camp is ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. "Boudenib-Meknès," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371147.

2. Annexe 21, "Enquêtes sur les prisons et les camps d'internement," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 823716.

BOULHAUT

Boulhaut (also Bouhaut; today: Ben Slimane) is in northwestern Morocco near the Atlantic coast, 44 kilometers (27 miles) east of Casablanca and 235 kilometers (146 miles) northeast of Marrakech. The Boulhaut camp was one of the Vichy internment camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Establishing the proper documentation for the Boulhaut camp is difficult for four reasons. First, the town of Boulhaut was sometimes referred to as Camp Boulhaut before and during World War II. Second, there was a road in Morocco named Camp Boulhaut (*Route de Camp Boulhaut*). Camp Boulhaut was also a base for the mobilization of French and Moroccan troops. Finally the Vichy paramilitary group, Builders of French Youth (*Chantiers de la jeunesse française*, CJF), CJF No. 101, was stationed at Camp Boulhaut. Despite these limitations, there is evidence from the humanitarian aid activist Hélène Cazès-Benathar and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) that Boulhaut also served as a camp for volunteers engaged in the French Foreign Legion for the duration of the war (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG).[1]

The Boulhaut camp continued to remain in use after the Allied landing, Operation Torch, on November 8, 1942. When ICRC representative Camille Vautier inspected Boulhaut on April 24, 1943, he found that the camp consisted of small brick barracks (*noualla*), each holding four prisoners. The internees were issued a mattress and two blankets apiece. At that point the camp held 35 prisoners, most of whom were Italian, although there was one Portuguese: all the prisoners were classified as EVDG. The internees complained to Vautier about their hard labor and poor sanitary conditions.[2]

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Boulhaut camp are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and David Bensoussan, *Il était une fois le Maroc: Témoignages du Passé Judéo-Marocain* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2012).

Primary source material can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M).

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. "Camp Boulhaut—Italians," n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M (CAHJP), n.p.
2. ICRC report, April 24, 1943, as summarized in Oliel, *Camps du Vichy*, p. 115.

CARNOT

Carnot is located in northern Algeria, 133 kilometers (83 miles) southwest of Algiers, 441 kilometers (274 miles) west of Constantine, and 118 kilometers (73 miles) northeast of Relizane.

Before the Franco-German Armistice, Carnot was one of the two reception camps (*camp d'accueil*) established by the authorities in 1939 for refugees from the Spanish Civil War; the other camp was at Orléansville. Planned and built in haste, these first two camps were equipped with makeshift facilities. The Carnot camp was initially intended to hold women, children, "unfit" people, and some intellectuals and servicemen who had arrived in the first wave of refugees. There were no political suspects interned at Carnot.[1] On May 1, 1939, there were 317 detainees in the camp: 39 able-bodied men, 7 elderly or "unfit" people, 138 women, and 133 children (under 18 years of age).[2]

Seventy residents of the Carnot camp were transferred to the camp at Ben-Chicao according to a report dated August 16, 1939, leaving 247 refugees at Carnot at this point.[3] A report from August 26, 1939, complained that the guard commanders at Carnot changed too frequently.[4] In December 1939, the camp was guarded by a staff sergeant (*Maréchal de logis-chef*) and four police officers.[5] The doctor at Carnot was named Mademoiselle Colombani.[6] The sub-prefect of the residential center of Carnot ordered a system of supervised self-administration for the refugees and purchased 50 oil stoves for the refugee families.[7]

Files from the Carnot camp give a picture of the internees' lives. During Carnot's phase as a reception camp, the occupations of more than 60 internees could be identified and included accountants, doctors, a lawyer, and a pharmacist, as well as people in the building trades.[8] The pharmacist Jose Vazquez Sanchez expressed his desire to leave the French territory.[9] In October 1939, a baby boy with the surname of Exillio was born in the camp.[10] A Spanish refugee named Confero Cuenca Francisco

based at the Relizane reception camp was relocated to Carnot in December 1939,[11] and that month a refugee named Garido Carrasco died at Carnot.[12] In a single petition, 30 Spanish refugees requested their release; in 9 of the cases, the authorities refused their request. Other refugees were recommended to live elsewhere at their own expense, provided that they chose any location that was not in the Algier Département, which already had too many refugees. Other refugees were ordered to present work authorizations to the Service of Spanish Refugees (*Service du réfugiés espagnols*).[13]

The camp population declined over the course of 1940. On January 10, 1940, there were 306 men, women, and children interned at the camp.[14] In March 1940, there were 289 detainees: 88 males, 105 females, and 96 children under the age of 16.[15] Some Carnot internees were relocated to the Boghari military camp on March 18, 1940.[16] Seven detainees at Carnot were employed in factories under the control of the French Navy's Service of Naval Construction (*Service des Constructions Navales en Algérie*) as of the same date.[17] In April 1940, 47 detainees at Carnot were designated for transport to the Boghar camp.[18] There were 99 internees deemed "unfit" on July 9, 1940: 73 men, 9 women, and 17 children.[19] There were 108 detainees on November 18, 1940: 76 men, 14 women, and 18 children.[20]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942. After 1942 the detainees at Carnot were gradually returned to civilian life, but the camp was still in use well into 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention Carnot include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary source material available for Carnot can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reels 9 to 10. The majority of information on Carnot in this collection covers its use as a Spanish refugee camp. Reel 10 consists of identification questionnaires for the Spanish refugees.

NOTES

1. “Récapitulation Générale,” USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 9, p. 78.
2. “Réfugiés d’Espagne en Algérie,” May 1, 1939, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, pp. 1–2.
3. “Le Préfet d’Alger à Monsieur le Gouverneur de l’Algérie—Cabinet,” August 16, 1939, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, pp. 2–3.
4. “Le chef d’Escadron Commandant la Gendarmerie,” August 26, 1939, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
5. “Carnot, le 27 December 1939, Rapport du Maréchal des logis chef Mixa (sic.), Commandant le Détachement de Carnot,” USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
6. “Ministere de Sante Publique, Département d’Alger,” March 13, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
7. “Orléansville, 29 Aout 1939,” USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
8. “Centre d’hébergement de Carnot, Récapitulation,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
9. “Rélève des Miliciens espagnols ou anciens,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, p. 66.
10. “Orléansville, le 18 Octobre 1939,” USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
11. “Orléansville, le 26 Decembre 1939,” USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
12. “Orléansville, le 2 Janvier 1940,” USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
13. Le Sous-Préfet d’Orléansville, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

14. “Le Chef d’Escadron commandant la Compagnie de Gendarmerie,” January 10, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

15. “Departement d’Alger, Arrondissement d’Orléansville,” May 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

16. “Alger le: 18 mars 1940, Réfugiés Espagnols dirigés sur Boghar,” USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

17. “Alger, 18 Mars 1940, Monsieur le Général de Brigade Commandant p.i. 1er Division Territoriale d’Alger,” USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, p. 1.

18. “Le nombre de réfugiés espagnols à diriger sur le camp militaire de Boghar est de 104,” April 11, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

19. “État numerique des réfugiés espagnols inaptes et leurs familles héberges au camp de Carnot,” July 9, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

20. “Effectif numerique des réfugiés présents au camp d’acceuil de Carnot,” November 18, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

CHERAGAS

Cheragas (today: Cheraga) was a small settlement 8 kilometers (approximately 5 miles) northwest of Algiers. The Cheragas or Cheragas-Meridja camp was used for the internment and punishment of soldiers, most of whom were Jews, who had enlisted in the French Army before the defeat of June 1940 and who were subsequently expelled by Vichy. Most of the Cheragas prisoners were Jewish Pioneers (*Pionniers Israélites*) known as the 202nd Company of the 1st Zouave (light infantry regiment). According to historian Robert Satloff, under the Vichy regime the label "pioneer" was synonymous with prisoner. The camp also housed a number of Arab nationalist prisoners.

The camp was under the control of Capitaine Suchet, who subjected the Jews to harsh treatment and humiliation. Most of the guards were members of the Vichy paramilitary organization, Service of the Legionary Order Service (*Service d'ordre Légionnaire*, SOL), that was notorious for its antisemitic doctrine. Jewish prisoners were required to hike daily for 20 to 25 kilometers (12 to 15 miles). Capitaine Suchet and his associates unsuccessfully attempted to sow infighting between Arab and Jewish prisoners. The prisoners were also subjected to the "tomb" punishment (burial in the sand) for days at a time.[1]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Cheragas camp are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary sources on the Cheragas camp can be found in USHMMA, RG-43.071M (CDJC, Selected records from collection LII Algeria 1871–1947).

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NOTE

1. July 1943 report, CDJC, 385–387, as cited by Satloff, *Among the Righteous*, p. 104.

CHERCHEL

The town of Cherchel (Cherchell, Cherchelles) is located in northwestern Algeria on the Mediterranean coast. It is 78 kilometers (48 miles) west of Algiers, 396 kilometers (246 miles) due west of Constantine, and 235 kilometers (146 miles) northwest of Djelfa. The Cherchel camp was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Before the Armistice, Cherchel was a reception center for Spanish refugees (*Centre d'Hébergement des Réfugiés Espagnol*) established in the autumn of 1939 along with the Ben-Chicao camp.[1] As of December 30, 1939, there were 290 refugees at Cherchel; another 110 refugees were supposed to be transferred soon thereafter to Cherchel from the neighboring Boghar camp.[2] The projected bud get for 1940 totaled 1,282,312 francs, covering among other things the costs of food, administration, heating, lighting, hygiene, and transportation.[3]

The most common occupations among the refugees at Cherchel were farmers, accountants, office employees, teachers, sailors, and mechanics.[4] Once war broke out, numerous Spanish refugees at Cherchel appealed to the French authorities, offering their services (such as drivers and mechanics) for national defense. Those deemed physically able could be employed by a company of foreign workers (*Companie de Travail-leurs Étrangers*, CTE).

On March 18, 1940, nine refugees at Cherchel, including one female, were reassigned to Boghar.[5] On the same day the head of the Naval Construction Service (*Service des Construction Navales*) in Algeria reported that seven Cherchel inmates were working in marine factories.[6] According to a report issued on April 11, 1940, 55 Cherchel inmates were transferred to the Boghar camp.[7] At one point Cherchel had 260 detainees, none of whom were political suspects.[8]

A notable internee at Cherchel was the Spaniard José Campos

Peral. He was the editor of *Lucha*, a Republican newspaper in Almeria, Spain, that was opposed to Francisco Franco. When Franco's forces won, Peral fled to Oran, Algeria, and was interned at Cherchel. In June 1940 he was deployed with other Cherchel detainees to work on the railroad at Bou Arfa. He subsequently served as a guide for the American journalist Kenneth G. Crawford.

On April 1, 1942, Cherchel held indigenous prisoners.[9] The governor general of Algeria recommended on April 22 that El Hachemi Abdelaziz, the sheikh of Zaouia Kadrya at El-Oued, be placed in monitored residence at Cherchel.[10] At one point Cherchel had a total of 220 demobilized foreign laborers.[11] Staffing the camp hospitals at Cherchel, Boghar, and Kenadza was one Spanish nurse, Francisco Comba.[12]

After Operation Torch began on November 8, 1942, the detainees at Cherchel were progressively returned to civilian life, but the camp was still in use well into 1943.

SOURCES The secondary sources mentioning the Cherchel camp are Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950); Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Primary sources documenting the Cherchel camp can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reels 6, 7, 9, and 10; and the AFSC Refugee Assistance Case files, available in hard copy at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296.

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NOTES

1. "Le Préfet d'Alger à Monsieur le Gouverneur Générale de l'Algérie," August 16, 1939, USHMMA, RG-43.062M

(CAOM), reel 9, p. 1.

2. “Observations,” December 30, 1939, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

3. “Articles: Nature des Dépenses Sommes prévues,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

4. “Centre d’Hébergement de Cherchell, Agriculteurs (de 28 à 35 ans),” n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, pp. 47–56.

5. “Alger le 18 mars 1940, réfugiés espagnols dirigés sur Boghar,” March 18, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

6. “Marine Nationale, Service des Construction Navales en Algérie,” March 18, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, p. 1.

7. “Le nombre de réfugiés espagnols à diriger sur le camp militaire de Boghar est de 104,” April 11, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

8. “Récapitulation Generale,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, p. 78.

9. “Copie, Liberation d’Internés du Centre de Séjour Surveillé de Mecheria,” April 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.

10. “Liste des Individus Places en Résidence Surveillée,” October 19, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

11. “Tableau Annexe I,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

12. “M. Francisci, Jean Charles,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.; “Nurse,” n.d., USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296 (AFSC), Casablanca Series, box 2 (C–F), folder AFSC Casablanca Subject Files “C” 1942–1945, Subfolder Comba, Francisco,” n.p.

COLOMB-BÉCHAR

Located 58 kilometers (36 miles) south of the Moroccan border and 748 kilometers (approximately 465 miles) southwest of Algiers, Colomb-Béchar (today: Béchar) is an Algerian town at the foot of Mount Béchar. The town housed the command center of the southern Algerian territory, which administered many camps along the Moroccan-Algerian frontier. It was also the location of many train stations for the railway line along the Moroccan border that was administered by the Mediterranean Niger Company (*Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*, MN, or *Mer-Niger*). In 1942, the Colomb-Béchar camp opened as a detention center and labor camp for several groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs). GTE No. 5 prisoners worked in the nearby Béchar-Jdid coal mines, whereas GTE Nos. 2, 21, and 22 repaired railways. Colomb-Béchar and its environs thus held many satellite camps for groups of forced laborers who took part in Mer-Niger railroad construction.

On August 2, 1942, Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Red Cross (ICRC) visited the Colomb-Béchar camp of GTE No. 22 and recorded that there were 112 prisoners at this location: 75 were inside the camp and 37 were away on labor assignments. They included 97 Spaniards, 3 Germans, 3 Poles, 1 Austrian, 1 Belgian, 1 Czech, 1 Italian, 1 Luxembourger, 1 Portuguese, 1 Russian, 1 Latvian, and 1 Swiss.[1] He noted that the camp's normal capacity was no more than 60 prisoners. The camp was set up in an oasis under the shade of palm trees and consisted of many canvas tents and six *marabout* (large) tents. Wyss-Dunant noted how the guards treated the members of the various GTEs differently. The prisoners of GTE No. 22 were in relatively good health and had access to water, showers, and some leisure time. They served as an advance group in the construction of the Mengoub and Menabba rail stations at which GTE Nos. 1, 21, and 22 were stationed. The group was handed over to the control of the general governor of Algeria after August 20, 1942, when 205

Polish prisoners were transferred to Colomb-Béchar.

Under the supervision of the Algiers Regional Office of Labor, the 205 Polish prisoners were part of the group of demobilized foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Démobilisés*, GTED), GTED No. 2. Members of GTED No. 2 were tank specialists, aviation experts, and bridge builders who had served in the French Army before the Armistice. They were brought to Colomb-Béchar from Mascara in northern Algeria after attempting to escape. As punishment they were compelled to work on the Mer-Niger railroad. They were housed in a subcamp near Colomb-Béchar, in which there were tile-covered barracks that lacked ceiling insulation. The prisoners slept on straw mats laid on the dirt floor. Each prisoner had access to one blanket. The camp had sufficient water for washing, drinking, and showering. The prisoners also had access to dental services twice weekly and were allowed to go to the neighboring town and the recreation halls of other subcamps around Colomb-Béchar.

Prisoner pay differed according to group category. The first group, made up of Polish prisoners, was paid 45 to 50 francs daily in addition to a food allowance of less than 15 francs. Those in the second category were paid, fed, and lodged by private employers. The third group received 4 to 12 francs a day for light work inside the camp. Those who broke the law were sent to the jail of the neighboring Moll camp. The Polish prisoners complained about excessive heat, cold, and long work days: from 6:00 to 11:15 A.M. and 4:00 to 7:00 P.M. In September 1942, the residents-general of Morocco and Algeria began negotiating the exchange of these prisoners for Spanish workers from a Moroccan camp and moving the Poles to a place close to the mountains that had a climate similar to that of northern Europe.

The third main group of prisoners in Colomb-Béchar was GTE No. 21, which was under the authority of the Directorate of Industrial Production (*Direction de la Production Indus-trielle*) headquartered in Rabat. According to Wyss-Dunant, GTE No. 21 consisted of 747 men who worked on the Mer-Niger railway line (696 were Spaniards and 51 were other nationalities). The camp had stone barracks covered with red tiles. Each barrack housed 50 prisoners who slept on beds with springs but no mattresses. Each

had access to two blankets. The floor was made of beaten earth and cement. Wyss-Dunant also reported that prisoners were fed 500 grams (1.1 pounds) of bread per day. They were given meat four days a week, a half-liter (just over a pint) of wine per meal, and dessert on Thursdays and Sundays.

GTE No. 21 prisoners wore shorts, shirts, and sandals during the summer and were given a cloth work suit during the winter. Specialized workers were paid between 1,400 to 1,500 francs per month, whereas unskilled workers received only 5.25 francs in addition to bonus pay per day. Religious prisoners attended church in Colomb-Béchar. The prisoners had access to showers and a pool at the garrison infirmary every three days.

The prisoners had the opportunity to visit two Mer-Niger company doctors at the Béchar hospital. They also received medical assistance from two Spanish doctors in the camp. Minor illnesses were handled by a male nurse in the camp infirmary. As in other sections of the Colomb-Béchar camp, there were no libraries in the GTE No. 21 satellite camp. However, the prisoners had access to recreational and music programs in the camp hall, as well as to games of football and chess. Most of the complaints were about the poor quality of the food. Many prisoners were able to send the money they earned to their families.

According to a cursory Belgian report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), GTE No. 2 was housed in unused cavalry barracks. Its guards were unarmed civilians, and the prisoners included at least one Belgian.[2]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Colomb-Béchar camps are Jacob Oliel, *Les Juifs de Colomb-Bechar et des Villages de la Saoura 1903–1962* (Orléans: self-published, 2003); Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Christine Levisse-Touzé, "Les camps d'internement en Afrique du Nord pendant la seconde guerre mondiale," in 'Abd-al-Ǧalīl at-Tamīmī and Charles-Robert Ageron, eds., *Mélanges Charles-Robert Ageron*, *2* (Zaghouan: Fondation Temimi pour la

Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1996), 2: 601–608; and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Primary sources documenting the Colomb-Béchar camps can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); NaP, JAF 1007: MSP-L (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-48.011M); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA has one testimony by a Colomb-Béchar prisoner, Louis Cohn (#9399, February 12, 1996).

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC collection), n.d., box 1, folder 15.

2. "Notice sur Colomb-Béchar," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371152; Annexe 33, Liste 15, "Liste des Belges passes par Colomb-Béchar," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371268.

CONAKRY

The Conakry internment camp was located in the capital city of Conakry in French Guinea in French West Africa (*Afrique occidentale française*, AOF), approximately 705 kilometers (438 miles) southeast of Dakar and 1,412 kilometers (almost 762 miles) southwest of Tombouctou. The city was also the terminus of a railway that ran from Kankan on the upper Niger River, spanning 330 miles. The Conakry camp was originally located solely on Tombo Island in the Atlantic Ocean, which served as a port of entry for both naval vessels and aircraft. It later was relocated to a swamp four miles out of town and then again to a former school in town. It held foreign internees.

The Vichy government was in charge of the zone from June 1940 to January 1943, and its governor general, Pierre Boisson, directed all internment camps in the AOF. The camp at Conakry was known as "Seven Kilo meters" (*Sept Kilometres*).

The Royal Navy prize merchant ship, the *SS Criton*, was sunk by the Vichy ship *Air France IV* on Saturday, June 21, 1941. The *Criton* crew totaled 24 men, and all were interned at Conakry.[1] Immediately after the sinking its passengers were also interned at Conakry: the total number of internees, including both the *Criton*'s crew and its passengers, was 52. The passengers were later sent to Sierra Leone.[2] The *Criton* crew was found guilty of piracy by a Vichy French naval court-martial.[3]

During the *Criton's* crew's three-month stay at Conakry, the crews of the *Allende Samsø, Vulcain,* and *Pandias* were also interned there. Internee H. J. W. Flett testified that, in 1941, some British civilians were detained there as well in poor living conditions. The rations were meager and of poor quality, consisting chiefly of rice, beans, and macaroni; the internees were also given a cup of coffee and a piece of bread in the morning.[4] The rations just barely kept the internees from starving.[5] They did not have shoes. Officers and sailors were kept in common quarters

(in violation of the Geneva Convention of 1929), and guards escorted their charges to the latrines with bayonets.[6]

The seamen of the *Criton* were interned successively at Conakry, Tombouctou, and Kankan. Peter de Neumann (the second officer aboard the *Criton*, later named "the Man from Timbuktu" by the *Daily Express*) was interned at all three camps. Internee N. T. Clear described as "rather a strange coincidence" that at all three camps the native military band was sent to rehearse in the internees' near vicinity. He claimed, "We (the prisoners) were inclined to won der if this was part of our punishment."[7]

It rained constantly for the three months that the *Criton* crew was interned at Conakry. The internees were not issued clothing during their internment. They were accommodated in circular huts that were 5.2 meters (17 feet) in diameter—10 men in each hut—and each slept on a platform of branches. The men were given old army blankets, only one apiece, and some were too small to provide adequate cover.[8] Each hut had only one small entrance without ventilation. Sometimes due to the heavy rain the men were confined to their huts for an entire week. The internees did not receive the Red Cross parcels sent to them.[9]

There were already prisoners in the Conakry camp when they arrived, and the *Criton* crew was kept separate from them by barbed wire and posted sentries. Their food was supplied by a hotel in the town of Conakry, to which the Vichy authorities paid 40 francs per day per internee. The local population of Conakry occasionally gave unauthorized gifts of bananas or cakes to the internees. The British Anglican priest in Conakry, Father de Coteau, made a special effort to assist the camp internees. The Conakry hospital designated two wards for the sick internees, and those 30 beds were always full.[10]

George Whalley, the second radio officer aboard the *Criton,* remembers that the crew had to "trudge through ankle [deep] mud to answer the calls of nature."[11] The latrines were open trenches in open view of the families of the Af-rican troops. Each morning the men were escorted to a line of 10 taps to bathe and do their washing. There was no privacy, and the taps were also used by the African families living near the camp. Whalley attributes the ill health of the internees to two main causes: (1) the location of the

camp on a swamp teeming with malarial mosquitoes, with no mosquito netting for the beds, and (2) malnutrition.

The location of the Conakry camp changed six weeks into the stay of the *Criton* crew: it was moved from the swamp outside the town to the Tomba Grammar School in Conakry, and the housing situation improved considerably. There the crew occupied a single-story building of three rooms, and the compound had adequate exercise space, unlike "Sept Kilometres." The new location provided the internees with an iron bed and a piece of matting, but because the beds crawled with bugs, many men elected to sleep on the floor. Here the latrines were in trenches, and the bathing took place in a well outdoors in full public view.[12]

During George Whalley's internment, the Vichy authorities psychologically tortured the crew by lying to them that they would be repatriated to Freetown shortly. Whalley was hospitalized for four or five weeks and had a very high opinion of the medical services.[13] Eight *Criton* seamen who were hospitalized were left at Conakry after the majority of the crew departed for Tombouctou; these eight detainees were transferred to Kankan in September 1941.[14] An airgram from the U.S. consulate in Dakar dated December 1, 1942, documents that non-British sailors and British or British chartered merchantmen were interned at Bamako, Kankan, and Conakry camps. These detainees included 4 Irishmen, 1 Spaniard, 13 Norwegians, 1 Czechoslovakian, and 20 Dutch.[15]

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Conakry internment camp is Catherine Akpo-Vaché, *L'AOF et la Seconde Guerre mondiale, septembre 1939–octobre 1945* (Paris: Karthala Éditions, 1996). An unpublished but detailed account of the camp is Bernard de Neumann, "Sand in their Sea-boots: The Story of the SS CRITON" (unpub. MSS, 2004). This account is based in part on documentation about his father's internment.

Primary sources on the Conakry internment camp can be found in TNA, FO 371, WAPIC; AN, Pierre Boisson collection; NARA, RG-84, Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the U.S. Department of State, Senegal, Dakar Consulate General, General Records 1940–49; and IWM, "The Private Papers of P Le Q

Johnson," Cat. No. Docs 101, 1988.

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NOTES

1. De Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 98.
2. Ibid., p. 107.
3. Ibid., p. 87.
4. Interview with H. J. W. Flett, WAPIC Bulletin No. 11, Annex B, 1941, TNA, FO 371/28246, quoted in Akpo-Vaché, *L'AOF et la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, pp. 65, 67.
5. De Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 115.
6. Interview with H. J. W. Flett, pp. 65–67.
7. De Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 126.
8. Ibid., p. 135.
9. Ibid., pp. 114–115.
10. Ibid., p. 135.
11. Ibid., p. 136.
12. Ibid., p. 137.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., p. 142.
15. NARA, RG-84 (Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the U.S. Department of State, Senegal, Dakar Consulate General, General Records), 1940–49, box 1, folder 700.

CONSTANTINE

Constantine is located in northeastern Algeria, 357 kilometers (222 miles) northeast of Djelfa and 322 kilometers (200 miles) east of Algiers. The forced labor camp and prison at Constantine were two of the Vichy camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Constantine was one of four locations where groups of demobilized workers were stationed in the Constantine Département. At one point the forced laborers held in the Constantine camp totaled 400.[1] On August 31, 1942, the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 21, held at the Constantine camp had one commander, an assistant, and two indigenous supervisors on staff. In addition, there were one indigenous superintendent and one indigenous auxiliary official. Of the 251 forced laborers, 250 were indigenous, and only one was French. The Army Service (*Service de l'Armée de Terre*) employed GTE No. 21.[2]

A fortress at Constantine also served as a prison. According to documentation submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS) by the kingdom of Belgium, a Belgian national, Séraphin Cartiens, was among the prisoners in the fortress.[3]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Constantine were progressively returned to civilian life; however, the camp was still in use well into 1943.

SOURCES The secondary sources describing the Constantine detention sites are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the detention sites at Constantine can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reels 6 and 8; ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutsch-land und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. "Tableau Annexe I Organisation-Stationnement et Éffectifs des Unités de Travailleurs Démobilisés," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, p. 4.

2. "Lieux de stationnement du Groupement et des different Groupes compesant le Groupement," October 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, pp. 1–2.

3. Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), Annexe No. 33, Liste No. 24, December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371277.

CRAMPEL

Crampel is located in northwest Algeria, 434 kilometers (270 miles) southwest of Algiers and 192 kilometers (119 miles) southwest of Relizane. Crampel was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Together with the neighboring sites at Boghar and Saida, Crampel was a camp for a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE) formed in Southern Oran (*Sud Oranais*). Altogether, there were 100 Jewish forced laborers in the three camps. Each camp had a canteen. The commandant of Crampel was named M. Roger Auger, and the supervisor (*surveillant*) was Vincelet.[1]

The prisoners at Crampel had to work 10 hours per day in the heat of the "semi-desert," where the only crop that grew was alfalfa. Meals consisted of insufficient soup (such as beets), fried cucumber, or onions cooked in water. Most of the prisoners had to sell their last personal effects, such as shirts and sweaters, to supplement their rations.[2] The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) at Marseille administered aid to Crampel; in the summer of 1942 prisoner Erwin Müller, a physician, received 860 francs, and in the fall of 1942 he received 645 francs.[3]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942. Müller testified that the Allied invasion was "a day of unheard-of persecutions" that was "dramatic" for the Crampel prisoners.[4] Neither Auger nor Vincelet notified the prisoners whether the Americans or Germans had occupied Oran. The chief of the alfalfa factories, Ollier, forbade the civilian workers from passing along any war news to the Crampel prisoners. The members of the French Legion of Veterans (*Legion française des combattants*, LFC) and the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) were mobilized, and the prisoners were told that anyone who left their quarters risked being

shot.[5]

It was not until the next day, on November 9, that refugee Erwin Müller discovered that the Allies had landed in North Africa. That afternoon, relying on his "exceptional position as physician of the detachment known by the government," he spoke with Auger.[6] Their conversation went as follows:

MÜLLER: In case new Franco-American authorities should arrive at Crampel, I beg you, Monsieur, to ask their authorization for me to talk to them, in your presence, in order to better explain to them our special situation as refugees.

AUGER: But that's conspiring with the enemy!

MÜLLER: With the enemy?

AUGER: Yes, because the government has ordered resistance. What you want to do is contrary to its orders.

MÜLLER: But the Americans are not our enemies. They are the friends of France, and the friends of our Spanish and German refugees, too.

AUGER: We shall see about that.[7]

That night, troops of the French Foreign Legion roused Müller. Based in Bedeau, 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) from Crampel, the LE unit was commanded by Sergent-Chef Fischer, a German. The unit threatened to hang Müller from the nearest tree and also seized a German biologist named Levy at Crampel because he expressed joy to Vincelet about the arrival of the American troops. Both men were labeled "undesirables" and transported to the LE prison at Bedeau. They were held at Bedeau until November 17, 1942, when they were sent to the Boghar camp. Müller made it clear that German and Austrian refugees did not have anyone to advocate for

them following the Allied landing and that discrimination against the Jews in North Africa continued.[8]

After 1942 the detainees at Crampel were progressively returned to civilian life, but the camp was still in use well into 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention Crampel are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950); and Joëlle Allouche-Benayoun and Doris Ben-simon, *Les Juifs d'Algérie: Memoires et identités plurielles* (Paris: Éditions Stavit, 1998).

Primary source material available for Crampel can be found in collection LIII Algeria, 1871–1947, at CDJC, available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.071M; and AFSC, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa, available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M.

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NOTES

1. Notes récueilliés sur les groupements de TÉ du Sud Oranais, n.d., LIII-25, USHMMA, RG-43.071M (CDJC), n.p.; and USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), n.d., box 1, folder 33.
2. Copy, Translation from French, Oran (Algeria, 11/25/42), USHMMA, RG-67.008M, box 1, folder 33, pp. 70–72.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

DJEBEL-FELTEN

Djebel-Felten was an internment camp in Algeria located 311 kilometers (193 miles) southeast of Algiers and 23 kilometers (14 miles) southwest of Constantine. The Vichy regime used Djebel-Felten, which was already operational in the first half of 1940 under the Third French Republic, as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveille*, CSS) to hold prisoners deemed "undesirable from the political or public security point of view."[1]

Following the Franco-German Armistice, a group of 142 indigenous soldiers in the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) was purged from the French Army. The governor general of Algeria and Général de Corps d'Armée Henri Martin, commandant of the 19th Region, selected Djebel-Felten as a suitable location for detaining the former soldiers pending their release.[2] Although Djebel-Felten had an official capacity of 300 detainees, it held 425 prisoners—including 195 French and 230 Algerians—on April 1, 1941. There were 495 foreigners in total held at that time as prisoners in Djebel-Felten and the camp at Djelfa.[3]

The 2ème Bureau (Second Bureau of the French General Staff, Intelligence) in Constantine delivered intelligence about the detainees by telephone to the Djebel-Felten camp commandant. This office also developed the camp's general regulations. The camp administration included the commander, an assistant who acted as the general supervisor, two subordinate officer supervisors, and one accountant.[4] The head of the camp was variously termed a capitaine or commandant in conflicting reports.[5] The camp management also included two adjutants; one doctor; an auxiliary doctor; an adjutant who acted as the head of the adjutants; six accounting secretaries and typists (including those intended for the doctors); ten nurses; two drivers; four orderly cyclists; two truck drivers; two cooks (one for the infirmary); and three servers or busboys.[6]

The detainees were divided into groups, generally by ethnicity, and then they selected their own group leaders. The camp was guarded day and night. Punishments were meted out in the vicinity of the nearby police station. There was a system in place for detainees to file complaints, with twice-weekly adjudication by the camp commander. Daily roll calls took place at morning, afternoon (after lunch), and night.[7]

On arrival, prisoner mail was checked by the camp postman (*vaguemestre*), who was also a camp officer, so that it was censored before the prisoners received it. Letters sent from the camp were left open, deposited in a special box, and censored by the postman before mailing. In the presence of an officer, visitors met with individual prisoners at an isolated location in the camp. Trips outside the camp were possible under guard supervision. The camp intended to employ the detainees in their respective civilian trades, such as masonry and carpentry.[8]

Prisoners received the same food as the guards, with cooks drawn from among the guards and prisoners. The French authorities furnished drinking water.[9] The camp had electric lighting. The detainees slept on covered benches.[10] The bath soap was the same for detainees and guards, but showers were taken only every 15 to 21 days depending on water availability. The prisoners were responsible for camp laundry. One internee served as a barber. As for clothing, the detainees wore what was on their person when they arrived. When necessary, the army requested items from the Vichy colonial authority. The authorities provided either a military or civilian doctor to ill patients. The Djebel-Felten infirmary had beds, but cases of serious illness were referred to the nearby military hospital in Constantine.[11] The prisoners' health was assessed in July 1941, with those deemed too old or incurable released.[12]

Despite being under careful watch, several prisoners escaped from Djebel-Felten. Ahmed Benmoumen escaped the camp and was arrested by the mobile brigade of Sidi-BelAbbès.[13] While in police custody he escaped from the SidiBel-Abbès prison.[14] Lucien Chiche escaped Djebel-Felten on May 24, 1941. After his recapture, he was relocated to the Mecheria camp, 682 kilometers (424 miles) southwest of Djebel-Felten, where he was released for good behavior.[15] Allel Muhammed attempted to escape Djebel-

Felten on February 22, 1941. He was also recommended for release after transfer to Mecheria.[16] Agha Abdelkader escaped Djebel-Felten on May 6, 1941.[17]

On June 5, 1941, the Constantine prefect demanded the immediate liquidation of the camp at Djebel-Felten and proposed to relocate the "undesirables" to the Mecheria internment camp.[18] This proposal may have coincided with plans to transfer the control of Djebel-Felten to the local authorities.[19] The camp nonetheless continued to operate. In November 1941, Amar Laid ben Mohamed was interned to Djebel-Felten by a *douair* (a Muslim engaged in auxiliary police service) named Bougzouf stationed in Boghari. He was punished for repeated instances of cattle theft and burglary and was later transferred to the Mecheria camp. Prisoner files underscore the close association between the Djebel-Felten and Mecheria camps. Jean Sanchez, Charles Buriez, Mohammed Saddock, and Louis Schosmann were just some of the many prisoners transferred from Djebel-Felten to Mecheria from 1940 to 1941.[20]

Prisoner files also document attempts by outside authorities, including French prefects, to secure the release of certain detainees; there are also documented efforts made by the detainees themselves to secure their release. The Vaucluse prefect recommended Jacques Cardi for liberation and clemency on August 9, 1941.[21] Cardi's parents resided in his prefecture. A similar request came from the city of Nancy for the release of Alfred Baderot. Although Baderot was rumored to be a communist, the special commissioner of Nancy asserted that he was only guilty of subversive activity in cafés, not of distributing extremist propaganda.[22] Auguste Ricardo appealed for clemency in 1942.[23] Haubraiche was recommended for liberation in a letter dated May 21, 1941.[24]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942. After 1942 the prisoners were progressively returned to civilian life.[25]

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Djebel-Felten camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary source material documenting the Djebel-Felten camp can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M.

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NOTES

1. Note de Service Nr. 4508 7/2 du 7/12/40 du Général Commandant la 19ème Région, February 12, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, n.p.

2. Gouverneur Général de l'Algerie à Monsieur le Général de Corps d'Armée, Commandant la 19ème Région, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.

3. "Les internés sont groupés dans les camps par ordre des Autorités françaises tant que l'exigent le sécurité de l'État et l'ordre public," April 1, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, p. 7.

4. Copie: Renseignements Sommaires sur l'Organisation et le Fonctionnement du Camp d'Internés Politiques du Djebel-Felten (Constantine), USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

5. Ibid.; "Liaison," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, p. 6.

6. Ibid.

7. Copie: Renseignements Sommaires sur l'Organisation et le Fonctionnement du Camp d'Internés Politiques du Djebel-Felten (Constantine).

8. Fragmentary document concerning the vaguemestre, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

9. Ibid.

10. "VI. DIVERS," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

11. Fragmentary document concerning the vaguemestre, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

12. Copie: Conforme Transmise à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, July 22, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M,

reel 6, n.p.

13. Copie: Renseignements Sommaires sur L'Organisation et le Fonctionnement du Camp d'Internés Politiques du Djebel-Felten (Constantine).

14. Le Préfet du département d'Oran à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.

15. Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie à Monsieur le Préfet du département d'Oran, January 31, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.

16. Ibid.

17. Colonel Liebray, Commandant Militaire du Territoire d'Aïn Séfra en residence à Colomb-Béchar à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, January 16, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.

18. Note: Directeur de la Sécurité Générale à Monsieur le Directeur des Territoires des Sud, June 5, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

19. "VI. DIVERS," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

20. "Surveillante Suspects, État Français," August 12, 1941, "Buriez, Charles," "Saddock, Mohammed," Le Préfet d'Alger à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, July 30, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.

21. Préfet de Vaucluse à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, August 9, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.

22. Copie: Commissaire Spécial de Nancy, August 19, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.

23. Note à Monsieur le Directeur de la Sécurité Générale, s/c de M. le Sécretaire Général du Gouverrnement, January 12, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.

24. Préfet d'Ille-et-Vilaine à Monsieur le Préfet de Constantine, Algérie, July 29, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.

25. Fragmentary document concerning the vaguemestre, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

DJELFA

Built as a French military post in 1852, Djelfa is located at the crossroad between Laghouat, Bou-Saada, and Aflou, approximately 232 kilometers (134 miles) south of Algiers. In 1921, Djelfa became the southern terminus of the railroad to Blida. As a central colonial post, Djelfa attracted a Jewish community of about 400 people, mostly from Ghardaia and Bou-Saada.

Under the Vichy regime, the Djelfa camp served as a center for residential assignment (*assignation à résidence*) and a forced labor camp. On March 25, 1941, the camp was opened to receive approximately 1,200 French "undesirables" (*indisérables*) who were later transferred to different camps. The camp was also used to detain Spanish republicans, former members of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) and of the International Brigade (Interbrigade), Jews, and people of other nationalities.[1] The camp was also a disciplinary site for French and foreign political prisoners.

Built on the right bank of the Djelfa River, about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) north of the military post, the Djelfa camp consisted mostly of tents. Between 12 to 20 men occupied each tent, and most slept on the ground on hay. There were shortages of sleeping mats, blankets, towels, and underwear. Many detainees suffered from extreme cold during the winter and heat in the summer. The lack of shoes also put the prisoners at risk of scorpion and snake bites.

According to Dr. Wyss-Dunant, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) representative who visited the camp on August 16, 1942, the camp commandant used the prisoners in such a way as to make the camp virtually self-sufficient. The commandant accomplished that feat by "dividing the men according to their special skills and in establishing workshops where these skills could be utilized."[2] The prisoners erected the barracks and manufactured everything for the camp. According to

Wyss-Dunant, "the blacksmiths built a complete forge, some carpenters their workshop, and they made all the necessary things for the camp. There were some tanners in the group and the commandant in anticipation of the coming winter put them to work making clothing (and shoes) from sheep skin. Moreover, as alfalfa is very plentiful in the country, he set up a workshop for the manufacture of hammocks, sandals, mats and mattresses."[3] Later the prisoners built a canteen and community hall and ran a soap manufacturing operation. The prisoners worked from 6 A.M. to 11 A.M. and from 3 P.M. to 6 P.M. The detainees who worked in the town of Djelfa were paid 20 francs a day, 10 of which was put into the camp's general account and 5 in an account reserved for their eventual release. The prisoners who worked inside the camp were paid 16 francs a day.

Most of the prisoners slept on wooden beds. They ate 50 grams (1.7 ounces) of bread per day and meat three times a week. They raised cattle in the camp and maintained small fruit and vegetable gardens. According to many prisoners there was little food, and some resorted to eating rats and dogs to survive.[4]

In his visit to the camp, Dr. Wyss-Dunant counted 899 prisoners (189 of whom were Jewish). They included Spaniards (444); Poles (52; 44 were Jewish); stateless people (118); Germans (50; 16 were Jewish); Austrians (15; 11 were Jewish); Hungarians (15; 11 were Jewish); Romanians (11, all Jewish); Russians (39; 17 were Jewish); Soviets (85; 37 were Jewish); Czechs (8); Slavs (2); Armenians (6); British (2); Belgians (3); Italians (2); Serbians (1); and Argentinians (3). The remaining prisoners were of several other nationalities.[5]

The Djelfa camp held a number of prominent French and Spanish individuals. The most notable prisoner was Bernard Lecache, the president of the International League against Antisemitism (*Ligue Internationale contre l'antisémitisme*, LICA), who had been transferred from the Bossuet camp. Another well-known prisoner was the Spanish Mexican novelist and literary critic, Max Aub Mohrenwitz. Aub was first imprisoned as a militant communist at the Vichy penal camp at Le Vernet d'Ariège before being deported to Djelfa. In 1942 he escaped and hid in a Jewish maternity hospital in Casablanca with the help of the Hebrew Immigration Committee (HICEM). On September 10,

1942, he fled to Mexico City aboard the Portuguese ship, *Serpa Pinto*. Aub was one of the few Djelfa prisoners who recorded memories of life in the camp in his works and poetry.

Capitaine Chabrol was the first camp commandant; he was succeeded by Général Jules César Caboche. Caboche announced to the prisoners that he was their enemy and that his job was to send as many of them as possible to the cemetery. Prisoners who violated camp rules were sent to the neighboring prison at Fort Caffarelli. Suffering from malnutrition, typhoid, dysentery, and dehydration, more than 50 prisoners died in the camp. In early December 1942, there were 870 inmates, mostly Spaniards, in the Djelfa camp.[6]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Djelfa camp are André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing, 1975). For more on Aub, see Eloisa Nos Aldás, "El testimonio literario de Max Aub sobre los campos de concentración en Francia (1940–1942)" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Universitat Jaume I, 2001); and Ofelia Ferrán, "Los Campos de la Memoria: The Concentration Camp as a Site of Memory in the Narrative of Max Aub" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota, 2009).

Primary sources on the Djelfa camp can be found in the private collection of Hélène Cazès-Benathar, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M). Additional unpublished documentation can be found in AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M). CAOM holds several files related to Djelfa (available in microform as USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, files 9H115, 9H116, and 9H117; and reel 7, file 9H120). USHMMA also holds the Hans Landesberg collection (Acc. No. 2004.295), which contains some Djelfa documentation, and an oral history interview with Harry Alexander (RG-50.030*0007; interviewed April 4, 1991). The Alexander interview is one of the most detailed accounts of Djelfa. VHA

holds two testimonies by Djelfa survivors, including Charles Flejszer, January 16, 1996 (#8104). Published testimonies on the Djelfa camp are Paul D'Hérama, *Tournant Dangereux: Mémoires d'un péporté politique en Afrique du nord (1940–1945)* (La Rochelle: Imprimerie Jean Foucher & Cie, 1957); and the following memoirs by Max Aub: *Campo francés* (Paris: Ruedo ibérico, 1965); "*San Juan," tragedia* (Mexico City: Ediciones Tezontle, 1943); and *Diario de Djelfa* (Mexico City: J. Mortiz, 1970).

Aomar Boum

NOTES

1. D'Hérama, *Tournant Dangereux*, pp. 92–93.
2. Wyss-Dunant report, August 16, 1942, USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), box 1, folder 15.
3. Ibid.
4. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0007, Harry Alexander, oral history interview, April 4, 1991; D'Hérama, *Tournant Dangereux*, p. 116.
5. Wyss-Dunant report, August 16, 1942, USHMMA, RG-67.008M, box 1, folder 15.
6. USHMMA, RG-67.008M, box 1, folder 33, pp. 47–48.

DJENIEN BOU REZG

Built primarily as a fortified military post by General Delebecque in March 1885 to control movement of people and goods between the Moroccan oasis of Figuig and Aïn Sefra, Djenien Bou Rezg was located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) southwest of Aïn Sefra in Algeria. Before World War II the site was used for the political exile of French communists and Algerian Muslim nationalists. In 1940, under the authority of Vichy's military commanders, Djenien Bou Rezg became a detention site and "punishment camp" for political prisoners from France and North Africa; the prisoners were subjected to harsh punishment in the Saharan interior there. The camp was officially closed in 1943.

Capitaine Metzger, a former member of the French Popular Party (*Parti Populaire Français*, PPF) in Tiaret became the first military supervisor of Djenien Bou Rezg in 1940. After its establishment in 1936, the PPF waged a strong antisemitic campaign in Algeria, disseminating antisemitic propaganda among European settlers in Algiers and other cities. On his appointment as military supervisor of Djenien Bou Rezb, Metzger instituted a policy of terror inspired by PPF ideology. His hatred was directed toward all detainees: Jews, Muslims, and communists from France, Spain, Germany, and Austria. Called "undesirables" (*indésirables*) by the Vichy authorities, the prisoners thus faced terror and repression at Djenien Bou Rezg.

On July 1, 1941, the management of the camp was transferred to Lieutenant Pierre de Ricko, a naturalized French citizen of Russian origin, whose subordinates included Louis Villy, a pro-fascist Alsatian; Ali Guesmi, an Arab policeman; Georges Fabre; Hugues Krengel, a former member of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion étrangère*, LE); and other guards such as Ernest Dupont and Julien Dupont.

According to André Moine, Djenien Bou Rezg was a fortress surrounded by a 7-meter (nearly 23-foot) high wall. Isolated from

the local population, the camp housed Jewish, Muslim, and European detainees. Before the arrival of de Ricko, the prisoners lived together in one courtyard. De Ricko decided to isolate the detainees in separate sections of the camp and ordered his guards to forbid direct communication between the different groups. Walls surrounded each group of prisoners, limiting their capacity to escape. They slept on a cement floor on mats and so were vulnerable to scorpion stings and snake bites. Hygiene was nonexistent, while food was scarce and nutritionally meager. The prisoners usually got up at 6:00 A.M. After breakfast, which was mostly just coffee, they were grouped into teams, given digging tools, and were marched to work sites where they usually cleared the riverbed of rocks, constructed water reservoirs, or cleared roads. Those who broke camp regulations were placed in solitary confinement for days. Djenien Bou Rezg had an administrative section, which included a kitchen, offices, housing for guards, and a quarter with about 20 prison cells.

In 1941, prisoners from the Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe camp in Vichy France, primarily French communists and union delegates, were transferred to Djenien Bou Rezg. Approximately 40 political prisoners were also transferred from the Bossuet camp to Djenien Bou Rezg. Some prisoners were moved to other camps in Mecheria (for instance, Benkemoun Israël) and Bossuet (for example, Paul Nahmias), whereas others were moved from Mecheria to Djenien Bou Rezg (including Mardochée Hazana and Abraham Bensoussan) and from the Djelfa camp to Djenien Bou Rezg (including Jacob Zeberou).

Many famous individuals were detained in Djenien Bou Rezg. Bernard Lecache, the president of the International League against Antisemitism (*Ligue internationale contre l'antisémitisme,* LICA), was transferred from the Bossuet camp to Djenien Bou Rezg in 1941 before being moved again to the Djelfa camp in the Ghardaïa region. Members of the International Solidarity of Anti-Fascists (*Solidarité internationale antifasciste*, SIA) were also sent to Djenien Bou Rezg. They included Grau, Joseph Vallet, Blessi, and Stéphanie Helena who provided logistical help to many sympathizers and combatants of the Spanish Civil War. Grau died on January 23, 1942.

Many members of the nationalist Algerian People's Party (*Parti Poulaire Algérien*, PPA) were held in Djenien Bou Rezg. They included Maamar ben Bernou, Mohand Amokrane Khelifati, Ahmed Mezerna, and Mohamed Arezki Berkani. Berkani wrote one of the few surviving Muslim testimonies about his experience on the camp.

Members of the Algerian Communist Party were also sent to Djenien Bou Rezg. They included Mahed Badsi, Kaddur Belkaim, Larbi Bouhali, Amar Ouzegane, and Ali Rabia. Belkaim and Rabia died in the camp. In addition, important Algerian religious figures such as Cheikh Azoug Tahar (84 years old) and Cheikh Chetout Ahmed (75 years old) were sent to the camp.

On December 22, 1942, the prisoners went on a hunger strike. De Ricko ordered his guards either to limit their access to doctors at the Aïn Sefra hospital or to forbid their access to medication. Many detainees were put in individual cells and some died. In July 1944, the administrators and military personnel of Djenien Bou Rezg were held responsible for the prisoners' abuse in the camp by a military court.

SOURCES There is a wide range of secondary literature about the camp at Djenien Bou Rezg, including Christine Levisse-Touzé, "Les camps d'internement en Afrique du Nord pendant la seconde guerre mondiale," in 'Abd-al-Ǧalīl at-Tamīmī and Charles-Robert Ageron, eds., *Mélanges Charles-Robert Ageron*, *2* (Zaghouan, Tunisia: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1996), 2: 601–608; Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions de Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006). Background on the Djenien Bou Rezg military post can be found in Bernard Augustin and Napoléon Lacroix, *Algérie: Historique de la pénétration saharienne* (Alger-Mustapha: Giralt, 1900), p. 103; and Paul Gaffarel, *Histoire de l'expansion coloniale de la France: Dépuis 1870 jusqu'en 1905* (Marseille: Barlatier, 1906), p. 42.

Primary sources documenting the camp at Djenien Bou Rezg

can be found in A-ICRC, C SC Algeria (reports of visits to camps in Algeria, 1942–1944). Additional documentation can be found in CAOM (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.062M, reel 6, files 9H116, 9H117, and 9H118; reel 7, files 9H121 and 9H122; and reel 8, file 9H123). There is an extensive memoir literature on the camp, including Mohamed Arezki Berkani, *Mémoire: "Trois années de camp," un an de camp de concentration, deux ans de centre disciplinaire, Djenien-BouRezg, sud oranais, 1940 à 1943 (régime Vichy)* (Sétif: N.P., 1965). André Moine, a communist militant arrested in August 1939 and detained in Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe before being sent to Djelfa and Bossuet, is one of the few Algerian camp survivors who collected interviews regarding life in Djenien Bou Rezg and prisoner conditions. His collection is *Déportations et resistances Afrique du Nord 1939–1940* (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972).

Aomar Boum

DJERRADA

Djerrada is 263 kilometers (163 miles) east of Fes. Located near the Beni Snassen Mountains in Morocco close to the Algerian border, the Djerrada (or Jerada) camp was under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Industrial Production (*Direction de la Production Industrielle*). With a capacity of 230 detainees, the camp was reserved for the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 2. The camp opened during the summer of 1941.[1] On July 28, 1942, when Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp, he counted 145 Spaniards, 33 Germans, 11 Poles, 10 Austrians, 10 Belgians, 5 Yugoslavs, 3 Romanians, and 11 others. There were four internees in the hospital in Oujda (47 kilometers or just over 25 miles northeast of Djerrada), and seven were exempted from labor.[2]

The camp consisted of six tile-covered barracks. Some barracks were made of concrete and others of wood. The rooms were of different sizes to accommodate the various groups of forced laborers. The double-tiered bunks were made of wood, and the space was generally very crowded. Mattresses were not provided, and the inmates slept mostly on straw.

The forced laborers worked in the nearby coal mines. Skilled workers earned up to 1,000 francs every two weeks. Others were paid between 14 and 60 francs per day. They were provided 625 grams (1.4 pounds) of bread a day, meat six times a week, and a half-liter (more than a pint) of wine daily, in addition to a supplementary ration of a quarter-liter of wine for men who worked in the mine pit. The night shift workers got a double ration for breakfast. A typical breakfast was coffee, 120 grams (4 ounces) of bread, and sauteed liver. Lunch consisted of fresh tomatoes (one per person), roasted lamb, fried squash and eggplant, peaches for dessert, one-quarter liter of wine, and 250 grams (around 8 ounces) of bread, whereas dinner included tomato soup, pancakes à la mode, baked potatoes, tomatoes, onions, a quarter-liter of wine,

and 250 grams of bread.

There was a canteen inside the camp and a hall where a few newspapers and magazines were displayed for readers. Mail was delivered daily. Games such as dominoes, cards, and checkers were available. Toiletries and beer were also sold. The mining administration provided work clothes—each prisoner was issued a pair of shorts, two khaki shirts, and one blue shirt, as well as one better outfit. Outdoor entertainment was limited to after work hours. Each worker was allowed 12 days of annual leave. However, occasionally they were allowed to leave for Oujda if transportation was available. A Mass was celebrated every Sunday at the chapel on site, and a priest visited the camp once a week.

There was one shower in the camp, but the inmates were allowed to use showers at the mine. The infirmary at the mine had one bathroom, which was not clean. Half of the forced laborers worked above ground and the other half in the pit. The health of the pit workers was good overall. In addition to three foreign male nurses, the mining company's doctor and a dentist were present at the camp at all times. The company provided medications. Conditions at Djerrada were relatively good, although some prisoners occasionally complained about the food quality. There were few cases of disciplinary action.

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning the Djerrada camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

A primary source on the Djerrada camp can be found in AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Aomar Boum

NOTES

1. "Liste des Belges passes par Bou-Arfa-Djeraba (sic.)," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord),

December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371266.

2. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), box 1, folder 15.

EL-ARICHA

El-Aricha (Al-Arisha, Al-Aricha, El-Arisha) is located in the high plateaus of Algeria, 480 kilometers (298 miles) southwest of Algiers, almost 118 kilometers (73 miles) northwest of Mecheria, and just over 303 kilometers (189 miles) north of Colomb-Béchar. The El-Aricha confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. It was located in the Oran Département.

As of November 30, 1941, the camp administration consisted of a camp director, an assistant manager, two secretaries, one assistant secretary, and a postman. To supervise the *douair* (Muslims engaged in auxiliary police service) and militia, there were one troop commander, four French officers, three indigenous officers, two French head corporals, and two indigenous corporals. About 50 to 55 *douair* served at the camp. The militia at El-Aricha had a strength on paper of 99 personnel, but just 67 soldiers were deployed.[1]

El-Aricha held Frenchmen and indigenous people deemed dangerous to public security.[2] For that reason the camp was surrounded by barbed wire. In 1941 there were 124 "undesirables" detained in El-Aricha: 74 Frenchmen, including Jews, and 50 indigenous people. In January 1942, there were 65 Frenchmen, including 9 Jews; 95 indigenous people; and 1 foreigner of an unspecified nationality.

El-Aricha prisoners suffered various fates. One inmate, René Devoyon, was selected for "liberation without condition of (forced) residence."[3] Italian prisoner Giuseppe Clemente was imprisoned at El-Aricha in 1941 and later interned at Djelfa the following year.[4] A prisoner with the first name of Kouider (or Kaddeur) escaped El-Aricha.[5]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees

at El-Aricha were progressively returned to civilian life; however, the camp was still in use well into 1943. In the first six months of 1943 there was an unsuccessful campaign to deploy the inmates from CSS El-Aricha and CSS Bossuet in the mines at Kenadsa.[6]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing El-Aricha are Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005)*:* Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); and André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972).

Primary source material available for El-Aricha can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reels 6 to 9.

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NOTES

1. "Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, Département d'Oran, Centre de Séjour Surveillé d'El-Aricha," November 30, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, n.p.
2. "Maroc, Chantier de l'Oued Akreuch 198," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, p. 6.
3. "Bossuet," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.
4. "Surveillance Suspects: État Français," March 17, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.; "Surveillances Suspects: État Français, Alger," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.; and "Le Général Noguès, Résident Général de France au Maroc à Monsieur la Général Commandant en Chef Weygand, Gouverneur Général de l'Algerie," October 25, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.

5. “Surveillance suspects camp État Français,” December 5, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.

6. “Surveillance suspects camp, République Française,” May 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.; and “Surveillance suspects,” May 31, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.

EL-GUERRAH

El-Guerrah (also El-Guerre or Guerrah) is located in northern Algeria, 326 kilometers (203 miles) southeast of Algiers and 25 kilometers (16 miles) south of Constantine. El-Guerrah was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

The secondary sources contradict each other, as well as the primary source material, giving conflicting information about when the El-Guerrah camp was established, the category of forced laborers it held, and where it fit within the structure of forced labor camps in Vichy-run Algeria. Historians Michel Ansky and Zosa Szajkowski agree that El-Guerrah held Jews who were mobilized to do forced labor, but disagree as to the distribution of such camps. Szajkowski contends that each Algerian department housed a concentration camp for Jews mobilized as forced laborers: Cheragas (Algiers), Bedeau (Oran), and El-Guerrah (Constantine). By contrast, Ansky claims that there were two camps for Jews in each department; in Constantine the camps were El-Guerrah and El Meridja. The claim that El-Guerrah held Jewish forced laborers conflicts with extant archival documents, which state that the camp was already in use for indigenous forced laborers by the time of the Allied invasion in 1942.

Archival documents show that there were five sites where demobilized forced laborers were stationed in the Constantine Département, including Constantine, Oued-Zenati-Bone (today: Oued Zenati), and Sétif-Satne-Saint-Arnaud, as well as El-Guerrah. Apart from El-Guerrah and Constantine, it is not clear how many such sites were forced labor camps.[1]

At least initially, El-Guerrah held indigenous demobilized workers who were part of the group of demobilized workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Démobilisés*, GTD), GTD No. 1, deployed by the Algerian National Railway. On August 31, 1942, the camp held 60 laborers. On September 30, 1942, the total number of laborers increased by four. At one point, El-Guerrah

held at total of 160 demobilized laborers.[2] El-Guerrah had one superintendent and two supervisors for the group.

According to Ansky, the conditions in El-Guerrah were similar to those in the Magenta concentration camp, known as "the trap of Magenta" (*piège de Magenta*). Magenta's food, hygiene, and the general political climate were deplorable. Those detained in El-Guerrah faced the same inadequate material conditions and humiliating circumstances.

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, but El-Guerrah continued to operate for some time afterward.

SOURCES The secondary sources that mention El-Guerrah are Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Primary source material available for El-Guerrah can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reels 6 and 8.

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NOTES

1. "Lieux de stationnement du Groupement et des différente Groupes composant le Groupement," October 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.; and "Encadrement," October 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.

2. "Tableau Annexe I Organisation-Stationnement et Éffectifs des Unités de Travailleurs Démobilisés," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, p. 4.

FORT CAFFARELLI

Fort Caffarelli (Fort Carafelli or Fort Cafarelli, now Djelfa Bedeau) was a prison in Vichy-run Algeria located 232 kilometers (134 miles) south of Algiers, just over 2 kilometers (1.25 miles) from the Djelfa camp and very close to the village of Bedeau. Fort Caffarelli confined inmates from the Djelfa camp deemed recalcitrant and whom the Vichy authorities wanted to punish.

In April 1941, soon after it opened, Djelfa was full of former members of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) and the International Brigade (Interbrigade), Jews of various nationalities, and Soviet citizens. In 1942, there were 180 to 184 Jews, 60 Russians, 46 Poles, and 78 other nationalities present at Djelfa.

The disciplinary measures at Djelfa were imposed by the camp's second commandant, Générale Jules César Caboche; his adjutant, Jean Gravelle; and the camp supervisors. The most common form of punishment at Djelfa was imprisonment at Fort Caffarelli: almost half of Djelfa inmates were imprisoned there at one time during their stay. If a reason did not exist for imprisonment, Caboche invented one. For example, Caboche prohibited the detainees from lighting fires for heating, under penalty of imprisonment at Fort Caffarelli.

At Fort Caffarelli, the Russian prisoners were lodged in two rooms with unglazed windows. One Jewish detainee, Dr. Alexandre Roubakine—a medical doctor and prominent scientist—was sent to Fort Caffarelli for 17 days because he wrote in a letter to his family that "Europe is dying of hunger under German domination."[1] During a debate in the British House of Commons on March 24, 1943, a member of Parliament stated that at Djelfa the prisoners were sent to the "dungeons" at Fort Caffarelli and often horse whipped naked in front of other prisoners.[2]

Former prisoner Paul d'Hérama recalled that at Fort Caffarelli the guards were *douair*, Muslims engaged in auxiliary police

service, with the ranks of corporals and sergeants, who were overseen by four Muslim warrant officers. Only the supervising officers were French.[3]

The prison at Fort Caffarelli consisted of 10 to 12 cells, each measuring about 3.1 square meters (33.6 square feet) and holding up to three prisoners. A cement block without a mattress served as the bed, and it was forbidden to possess more than one blanket. Smoking and reading were also forbidden. There was no lighting, and outdoor walks were not allowed.

On arrival the new inmates at Fort Caffarelli were divided alphabetically into groups of 20, with a leader for each group. D'Hérama described this practice as "naturally, a fascist organization." In the courtyard eight tents were installed for every 12 men, with the additional prisoners lumped together with those already crammed into the cells in the buildings. Food was prepared outside. The prison's water tank, which had an unreliable pump, served the camp's cooking, bathing, and washing needs. Counting the guards, the equipment serviced 600 people.[4]

Roubakine described his experience as follows: "Food consisted of six ounces [170 grams] of bread per day and two measures of always meatless camp soup. In winter it was freezing and the more so as the panes of the windows beneath the ceiling were broken …. After a few days in a cell, the prisoners were directly taken to the infirmary or to the hospital."[5]

There were widespread gastrointestinal epidemics, principally dysentery and typhoid. As former prisoner Frederic Guijarro recalled,

> In April-May 1941 the sick (from Djelfa) were interned at Fort Cafarelli, until the hospital was completed …. The sick lived in tents on the ground and everyday they traveled two kilometers [1.2 miles] on foot in freezing cold or stifling heat, to go to the surgery for a consultation. When Générale Beynet decided that the sick would return to Fort Cafarelli, they were all put in the same room, whether infectious or not, except on the day of inspection.[6]

Historian Jacob Oliel claims that, on August 11, 1942, the

confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) of Djelfa was temporarily located at Fort Caffarelli while the Djelfa camp was being reorganized to serve as a forced labor camp. But multiple reports document that this relocation actually lasted more than a year, from the beginning of the spring of 1941 until September 1, 1942.[7] In a letter dated December 30, 1942, the military commandant of the Ghardaïa Territory asked the commander of the 19th Territorial Region, Algiers, if it was possible to transfer prisoners to the Ghardaïa Territory. It was suggested that a camp of 1,000 be constructed at Djelfa while 200 prisoners were being held in Fort Caffarelli. A similar message was recorded on January 16, 1943, from Algiers in a "Note of Service."[8]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the prisoners were progressively returned to civilian life. Yet Fort Caffarelli was still in operation well into 1943. Two prisoners who passed through Fort Caffarelli during this period were a Belgian, Gabriel Delépine, who was held there for 56 days at the end of March 1943,[9] and Capitaine Khibner, a Soviet citizen who wrote the following year that he "was among those who on March 15, 1943, were threatened with death by Colonel Brot at Fort Caffarelli."[10]

SOURCES Secondary literature on the Fort Caffarelli camp includes Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du decret Crémieux à la Liberation* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950); André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); *Henri Msellati, Les Juifs d'Algérie sous le regime Vichy* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999); Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Primary source material documenting the Fort Caffarelli camp can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under

RG-43.062M; CDJC; and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutsch-land und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. Two testimonies on the camp are Paul D'Hérama, *Tournant Dangereux: Mémoires d'un déporté politique en Afrique du Nord (1940–1945)* (La Rochelle: Imprimerie Jean Foucher and Cie, 1957); and Max Aub, *Diario de Djelfa* (1944; Valencia: Edition de la Guerra & Café Malvarrosa, 1998).

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NOTES

1. As quoted in Oliel, *Camps du Vichy*, p. 106.
2. Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, March 24, 1943 (London, 1943) col. 1728, cited in Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion*, p. 158.
3. D'Hérama, *Tournant Dangereux*, p. 94.
4. Ibid., pp. 94–96.
5. CDJC 385-3, Roubakine, "Quelques renseignements sur le camp d'internees politiques étrangers de Djelfa," (April 1943); other eyewitness accounts of this camp have been published in Moine, *Deportation et resistance*, pp. 195–196.
6. Moine, *Deportation et resistance*, pp. 195–196.
7. Commandant Militaire du Territoire de Ghardaïa à Monsieur le Gouverneur General de l'Algérie, Direction de la Sécurité Générale, August 2, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, n.p.; Directeur du C.S.S. à Monsieur le Commandant Militaire du Territoire de Ghardaïa à Laghouat, August 6, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.; Général Jaubert Commandant Supérieur du Génie de la 19ème Région à Monsieur le Gouverneur Générale de l'Algérie Direction de la Sécurité Générale, July 16, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.; and Général de Division Beynet Commandant la 19ème Région à Monsieur le Gouverneur (Direction des Territoires du sud Service du Personnel

Militaire), February 27, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

8. Commandant Militaire du Territoire de Ghardaïa à Monsieur le Général de Division Commandant la 19ème Région Territoriale, December 30, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.; and "Note de Service," January 16, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

9. "Liste des Belges passes par le Fort de Cafarelli," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371278.

10. Commandant Militaire du Territoire de Ghardaïa à Gouveneur Générale de l'Algérie—Direction des Affaires Musulmanes et des Territoires du Sud, March 6, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

GÉRYVILLE

Géryville (today: El Bayadh) is located 270 kilometers (168 miles) southeast of Oran in Algeria. The camp of Géryville was set up in a military base of the 19th Military Region south of the town. Headed by the officer Estebbe, the Géryville camp was mainly a refugee center for members of the Foreign Legion (*Légion étrangère*, LE) unable to be repatriated and to live in France. The detainees were allowed to live in the LE barracks on base. Overall they were free to move around and work in the city or on the base.

In 1940, 44 British sailors and officers were interned in the camp, where they remained until October 1, 1942. Other prisoners were transferred to Géryville. In November 1941, they included prisoners on trial (46), indigenous people (177), French "undesirables" (35), and indigenous "undesirables" (47).

In May 1942, the German vice consul of Algiers toured Géryville as part of the ongoing search for German nationals to be repatriated as part of the Franco-German Armistice.[1]

After the Allied landing in Operation Torch in November 1942, Géryville held German prisoners of war (POWs).

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Géryville camp are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Jacques Cantier, *L'Algérie sous le régime de Vichy* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2002); and Sylvie Thénault, *Violence ordinaire dans l'Algérie coloniale: camps, internements, assignations à résidence* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2011).

Primary sources documenting the Géryville camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M), and the France North African Colonies collection from CAOM (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.062M).

NOTE

1. Message Express, Le Chef du Gouvernement, Directeur des Services de l'Armistice, to Gouverneur Générale Algérie and le Général Commandant la 19ème Région, May 19, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 8.

HADJERAT M'GUIL

Hadjerat M'Guil (also Hadjeret et Meguil) was a disciplinary, penal, and isolation camp in the territory of Ain Sefra in southwestern Algeria at the northwestern edge of the Sahara. The camp was 143 kilometers (more than 89 miles) northeast of Béchar (formerly Colomb-Béchar) and 158 kilometers (almost 98 miles) south of Meridja. Hadjerat M'Guil was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Hadjerat M'Guil was one of the camps of South Oran (*Camps du Sud-Oranais*) and depended administratively on Colomb-Béchar, which was under the supervision of Colonel Liebray, the military commandant of the Ain Sefra Territory, and Lupy, the Inspector General of the Confinement Centers (*Centres de Séjour Surveillé*, CSSs); officially these camps were classified as confinement centers, although Hadjerat M'Guil also housed a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 6.

When Hadjerat M'Guil was set up in October 1940 it had 2,070 prisoners, including 250 Jews and 1,300 Spaniards, although it typically held only about 150 inmates. Many of the prisoners were forced laborers from other camps who were former volunteers for the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) or Spanish Civil War veterans who had been sent to Hadjerat M'Guil for political reasons when they were labeled as "suspects."[1] For example, Dr. Joseph Heller was sent to Hadjerat M'Guil by the Vichy authorities because he had fought with the Spanish Republicans against Franco. There were three prisoner categories —foreign workers, political refugees, and Jews; the breakdown of nationalities in the camp was as follows: 101 Germans and Austrians (among them 54 Jews), 2 Jews from the German Saarland, 1 Japa nese, 18 Italians (including 1 Jew), 4 Hungarians (including 2 Jews), 3 Romanian Jews, 4 Swiss, 2 Russians, 1

Greek, 2 Albanians, 38 Yugoslavs, 1 Portuguese, and 2 Turkish Jews. At the end of 1941, the Jewish prisoners were sent to Kenadsa to work in the coal mines. In late January 1942, all of the prisoners from the closed Abadla disciplinary camp were transferred to Hadjerat M'Guil.[2]

On March 22, 1941, Marshal Henri-Philippe Petain authorized the construction of the Trans-Saharan Railroad, also known as the Mediterranean-Nigerian (*Mer-Niger*) railroad project. The railway was intended to connect ports in Morocco and Algeria with the port at Dakar, Senegal. Soon after the Allied landing on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) reported on November 18, 1942, that Hadjerat M'Guil had 200 prisoners working on railroad construction.[3] On December 21, 1942, the AFSC reported that 200 internees were still at Hadjerat M'Guil and that the organization wanted to offer food and clothing assistance to them.[4] In January 1943, Hadjerat M'Guil was officially closed, and the remaining prisoners distributed between Colomb-Béchar and Kenadsa. Some who eventually achieved freedom joined the British Pioneer Corps.

Hadjerat M'Guil was notorious for its maltreatment of prisoners and inhumane living conditions and was nicknamed with considerable hyperbole the "French Buchenwald" by survivor Golski. Its prisoners were starved, tortured, and subjected to humiliation.[5] Transfer to Hadjerat M'Guil was held as a threat to prisoners in nearby camps in Ain Sefra, such as Kenadsa. The torturers at Hadjerat M'Guil included Commandant Viciot; camp reserve lieutenant Santucci; his assistant, the head of warrants Finidori; the chief accountant Dauphin; and the guard Riepp, who was of German origin and a former officer of the Nazi Storm Troopers (*Sturmabteilungen*, SA). According to Golski, Riepp was "the incarnation of evil: he passed his days and nights thinking of new tortures to inflict."[6]

The detainees were kept under constant watch and forced to work for 50 centimes (or a half-franc) per day. Golski recalled that the work was brutal and carried out under extreme conditions. The sun was oppressive, and temperatures reached as high as 49 to 54° C (120 to 130° F). As an example of the brutal work, Golski said that the workers had to carry 176 pounds (80 kilograms) of water

to camp, making 12 trips each morning and 12 each night. This labor added up to 20 kilometers (more than 12 miles) per day. Golski concluded, "After spending seven months (in Hadjerat M'Guil) I think that Dostoevsky's *The House of the Dead* (about a Siberian prison camp) is a trifle (*bagatelle*)."[7]

Food was insufficient, consisting of soup and a piece of bread; thus starvation was a cause of death of some inmates. Clothing was pitiful and full of parasites.[8] The lack of bathing water meant that the inmates could not shower. Most of the inmates lived in tents,[9] but those in cells had to share them with two other prisoners and had to relieve themselves in their mess tins. Sometimes the interned doctors were forbidden to bandage the open wounds of the prisoners, caused by brutal beatings by the guards. Ten to twelve prisoners (including three Jews) died from malnutrition or torture. Among the punishments at Hadjerat M'Guil were the "tomb ordeal" and the "lion's cage." For the tomb ordeal, the victim had to lie down in a ditch 1.6 meters (5.25 feet) long and nearly a meter (over 2.5 feet) wide where he was immobilized for between 8 to 25 days. During this time he was continually taunted and tormented by Arab and Senegalese guards, who hit him with their rifle butts and threw stones at him. For the lion's cage punishment, the inmate was put in a closed hole surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by a Senegalese sharpshooter. The prisoner could only either stand up or lie down.

Mosca accused one victim named Moreno of being a violent criminal. Over the next few days Moreno was tortured by having to run long distances carrying water or wood; when he spilled any water, he was struck with iron bars or wooden clubs. He was ordered to throw himself to the ground and get up again. When Moreno fell to the ground unconscious, he was stripped below the waist and thrown into a cold cell. After regaining consciousness he was fed a mixture of pepper, salt, and paprika in hot water. On September 25, 1942, he was sent to the mortuary to await death and died that night.

Survivor Louis Cohn testified that Dauphin, the chief accountant, displayed a particular kind of sadism: "Dauphin saw that the men were scared. He could read it in their eyes and that gave him a certain plea sure … He took a more and more lively plea sure in beating. In inspiring terror."[10]

Censorship in Algeria was very strict and did not permit any reporting about the foreign workers and their internment in the press. Following the liberation, in the summer of 1943, the press started publishing details about atrocities in the camps. The offenses in Hadjerat M'Guil were too heinous to be ignored, and a military tribunal to try the perpetrators was set up by the French authorities in October 1944. On March 3, 1944, the court of Algiers issued the verdict. Viciot, Lieutenant Santucci, Finidori, Dauphin, and Riepp were sentenced to death. Santucci and Riepp were executed on April 12, 1944. The death sentences for Finidori and Dauphin were commuted to forced labor for life. Dourmanoff was also sentenced to forced labor for life. Mosca, Trecs, and Doffi were sentenced to 20 years of forced labor and Cellier to 10 years of forced labor.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the camp at Hadjerat M'Guil begin with Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975); Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950); Joëlle Allouche-Benayoun and Doris Bensimon, *Les Juifs d'Algérie: Memoires et identités plurielles* (Paris: Éditions Stavit, 1998); Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); Christine Levisse-Touzé, "Les camps d'internement en Afrique du Nord pendant la seconde guerre mondiale," in 'Abd-al-Ğalīl at-Tamīmī and Charles-Robert Ageron, eds., *Mélanges Charles-Robert Ageron*, *2* (Zaghouan, Tunisia: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1996), 2: 601–608; and André Labry, *Les Chemins de fer du maroc: Histoire et évolution* (Rabat: Office National des Chemins de Fer, 1998).

Primary sources documenting the camp at Hadjerat M'Guil can be found in USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); USHMMA, RG-43.071M (Selected records from collection LII Algeria 1871–1947); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und

Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. The personal papers of Paul Hollander, 1939–1944 are held at WL (Doc. collection 963; Acc. No. 52278); Dr. C. F. J. Bergmann's original diary recording his experiences at Hadjerat M'Guil is also held at WL (Doc. collection 616). VHA holds an interview on the camp by Louis Cohn (#9399; February 12, 1996), and Kenadsa survivor Paul Hollander (#20060; October 3, 1996) mentions the camp in his interview as well. A published testimony is Golski, *Un Buchenwald français sous le règne du Maréchal* (Périgueux: Éd. Pierre Fanlac, 1945).

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. "Historique du Camp, Hadjerat M'Guil," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371163.

2. "Historique du Camp Abadla, ou Ksar-El-Abadla," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371162.

3. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), November 18, 1942, box 1, folder 33, pp. 44–45.

4. USHMMA, RG-67.008M, December 21, 1942, box 1, folder 33, p. 63.

5. Golski, *Un Buchenwald français*.

6. Ibid., quoted in Oliel, *Les Camps de Vichy*, p. 74.

7. Ibid.

8. Annexe 26, Tribunal Militaire d'Armée de Cométence Particulière séant à Alger, Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371225.

9. Annexe 28, "Rapport sur les faits de vio lences commises par functionnaire sans motifs légitimes," Rapport définitif No. 52

(Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371229.

10. VHA #9399, Louis Cohn testimony, February 12, 1996.

IM-FOUT

Located approximately 95 kilometers (59 miles) southwest of Casablanca and 42 kilometers (26 miles) southwest of Settat in Morocco, the Im-Fout (also spelled Imfoud, In-Fout, and Infoud) forced labor camp was built on a deep gully at the bank of the Oum er Rbia River and housed the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 9. Under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Industrial Production (*Direction de la Production Industrielle*) in Rabat, the camp was located near a dam construction site. It consisted of cement and stone buildings with low ceilings. The rooms had wooden beds supplied by the corps of engineers, but they were infested with bed bugs. The floors were made of cement, and the rooms were hot. Each barrack held approximately 100 people, each of whom was issued one blanket.[1]

During his visit to the camp, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) representative Dr. Wyss-Dunant recorded that the camp housed 264 men: 205 were in the camp at the time of his visit; among the absent, 19 were hospitalized, and 29 were on external assignment.[2] On April 5, 1943, Édouard Conod, another ICRC representative, visited the camp, noting that it had only 23 prisoners (9 Spaniards, 9 Germans and Austrians, 3 Russians, 1 Italian, and 1 Pole). All of them were soon to be released after finding jobs in Casablanca.

While the camp's assembly hall was under construction, the prisoners had access to a canteen set up for the dam construction workers. The food was adequate. The meal menus varied, but included the following foods: boiled eggs, coffee, bacon, jam, and sardines in oil for breakfast; chickpea salad, roast pork, baked potatoes, watermelon, tomato salad, stuffed tomatoes, squash salad, eggs with spicy sauce, lamb stew, cheese, and a half-liter (over a pint) of wine for lunch; and lentil, vegetable soup, and onion soup; beef stew and pork stew; pork; mashed beans; biscuits; hard-boiled eggs with tomato sauce; fig squares; and a

half-liter of wine for dinner.

The forced laborers were paid 1.50 francs per day with the potential to receive a bonus. They were issued shorts in the summer and cloth work suits, raincoats, and sweaters in the winter. They bathed in the river and drank spring water brought by truck. They were allowed to wash their clothes once a week. A male nurse supervised a well set-up infirmary. A doctor visited the camp once a week and treated mild cases of illness; very sick prisoners, such as survivor Sami Dorra, were taken to a hospital in Casablanca.[3] There was a library with some books and games that the prisoners shared with dam workers. They did not have access to places of worship, but they could take an annual 12-day leave. Mail was distributed daily.

A German Jewish prisoner pushes a cart in the stone quarry of the Im-Fout labor camp in Morocco, 1941–1942. USHMM WS #50721, COURTESY OF SAMI DORRA.

According to Dr. Wyss-Dunant, overall the morale of the inmates was very low because their calls for release were rarely answered. Many suffered from health issues, including malaria, because of poor living conditions. According to survivor Sami Dorra, there were also cases of typhus at Im-Fout.[4]

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning the Im-Fout camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Im-Fout camp can be found in AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); NaP, JAF 1007: MSP-L (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-48.011M); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMA holds an oral history interview with survivor Sami Dorra (RG-50.030*0576, interviewed April 30, 2010) and photos of the camp and dam project that Dorra donated to USHMMPA (WS #50719–50721 and 50724–50725).

Aomar Boum

NOTES

1. "Notice sur Imfout," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371149.
2. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), July 16, 1942, box 1, folder 15.
3. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0576, Sami Dorra, oral history interview, April 30, 2010.
4. Ibid.

IMMOUZER DES MARMOUCHA

The Immouzer des Marmoucha (Imouzzer) camp was located in the Fes region, in the Middle Atlas Mountains of Morocco (more than 1,700 meters [almost 5,600 feet] high), approximately 91 kilometers (57 miles) southeast of Fes. It was a camp for foreign workers who were assigned to the Mediterranean Niger Company (*Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*, MN), which was responsible for maintaining the railway link between Morocco, Algeria, and the coal mines in western Africa. The French Army was in charge of the camp; in late December 1941, it had 179 inmates. According to historian Michel Abitbol, the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE) comprised mainly foreign Jews—most from Central Europe with a few French Jews from mainland France—as well as some Spaniards or Italians. According to historian Jacob Oliel, there were between 200 and 250 forced laborers at Immouzer. The camp was operational from October 1940 to November 1942 when the Americans landed during Operation Torch. The camp never held any Moroccan Jews.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the forced labor camp at Immouzer are Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); André Moine, *La déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); and Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Immouzer forced labor camp can be found in CDJC, collection CGQJ (414–50) regarding labor camps and transit camps, and, at CAHJP, the private collection of Hélène Cazès-Benathar (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M).

Eliezer Schilt
Trans. Allison Vuillaume

KANKAN

Kankan is located in eastern Guinea, 488 kilometers (303 miles) east of Conakry, Guinea, and 984 kilometers (611 miles) southwest of Tombouctou, Mali. Guinea was part of colonial French West Africa (*Afrique occidentale française*, AOF). Kankan was the terminus of a railway that ran from Conakry up the Niger River, spanning 531 kilometers (330 miles). The Kankan internment camp was actually located 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the town at Bordo, an agricultural station.[1]

The Vichy governor general, Pierre Boisson, directed all AOF internment camps. The camps were established to hold Allied prisoners of war (POWs), although, because Vichy was officially neutral, the prisoners were given internee status. The Vichy authorities in West Africa operated internment camps at Kankan, Conakry, and Tombouctou. Kankan was newer than the other internment sites in the AOF, but still lacked basic amenities, such as running water, toilets, and electricity.[2] A large well on the grounds provided the water supply. Initially, there were "decent beds and mosquito nets," but this was not the case for prisoners who arrived in late 1942.[3]

The food at Kankan was of good quality, but was in short supply. The local people sold the internees oranges and bananas.[4] The food was supplied by the train station buffet in the town of Kankan and warmed at the camp by an African cook.[5] George Whalley, 2nd Radio Officer aboard the SS *Criton*, deemed Kankan superior in many ways to Conakry and Tombouctou: "The sight of trees, grass, etc., after the sandy waste of Timbuctoo was very restful." Whalley was also impressed that the camp was well supplied with books and games.[6] This improved situation was due to the arrival of next-of-kin parcels and the kindness of Royal Air Force (RAF) officers interned at Koulikoro, a military internment camp in southwestern Mali.[7]

Kankan held European, American, and African internees.

Initially the camp housed 32 British soldiers and 10 African firemen from Freetown, and it eventually reached its full capacity of 150 prisoners.[8] The Europeans at Kankan (mainly British and Norwegians) were housed in a farm building with mud walls and a galvanized iron roof. A "lavatory"—a mud hut covering up a hole in the ground—was located next to their accommodations. The African firemen were housed in mud huts within the compound. The compound was spacious, and the internees enjoyed walks inside the camp. A wooden fence more than 3.5 meters (12 feet) high surrounded the camp, and armed guards patrolled inside. Internees were punished by being sent to the stockade; their sentences usually lasted two weeks. The stockade was a small hut with high walls, but lacking a roof. There were no sanitary facilities inside the stockade or relief from either the sun or cold nights.[9]

The seamen of the armed French sloops patrolling the waters off West Africa intercepted several British merchant vessels, among them the Royal Merchant Navy prize vessel, the SS *Criton*, and the SS *Allende*, and captured their crews. The *Criton*'s crew was interned successively at Conakry, Tombouctou, and Kankan. Noel Clear, Criton's chief engineer, described as "rather a strange coincidence" that at all three camps the native military band rehearsed nearby. He claimed, "We (the prisoners) were inclined to won der if this was part of our punishment."[10]

A telegram dated August 9, 1942, stated that the British merchant seamen who were interned at Tombouctou were being transferred to "a camp near Kankan."[11] Before they arrived, the Kankan internees received tinned food and soap from the British Red Cross Society (BRCS).[12] The internees from Tombouctou arrived at Kankan on August 25, 1942, where they joined a group of *Criton* seamen who had been interned at Kankan since September 1941. As of April 11, 1942, there were 18 prisoners from the *Criton* including Peter Le Quesne Johnson, who served as Senior British Officer (SBO) and was responsible for official correspondence.[13]

The American missionaries at Kankan (the AOF headquarters of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, CMA) often visited the camp and interceded with the French police on behalf of the

internees. They asked the authorities to treat the prisoners like human beings. Every Sunday morning there was a brief, missionary-led church service, with a French officer fluent in English always being present. This officer served as a sort of informant, and his presence prevented any news from the outside world reaching the prisoners. The French authorities finally allowed British-issued military uniforms to be delivered to the prisoners. As a result there was ample clothing; in fact, internee Peter de Neumann wore his until he reached the United Kingdom in 1943. Some parcels of cigarettes and tobacco also arrived, which the *Criton* crew shared throughout the camp.[14]

At the start of October 1942, two men who had earlier attempted to flee the Tombouctou camp made another escape attempt. They were missing for four days and, on their recapture, were sentenced to two weeks in the stockade. After they went missing, the internees were locked in their rooms at night and the windows were closed, preventing all ventilation.[15] The internees' footwear was confiscated to prevent further escapes, and the shoes were left in a heap to rot in the sun.[16] Whalley observed that the authorities "completely closed their eyes to the fact that the two men who escaped had walked about 150 miles [241 kilometers] in five nights wearing sandshoes."[17] Just after this incident the survivors of the Dutch ship SS *Delft-shaven* arrived at Kankan from Conakry; there were four British citizens among them. The food supply decreased as a result of the additional internees.

After Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, many of the arrested African civilians were released, leaving the *Criton* crew alone in the camp. At this point the Vichy authorities disbursed the crates of army clothing and more than 180 food parcels designated for the crew, which significantly improved the prisoners' situation.[18] Up until this point the Vichy authorities had withheld the parcels and stored them at the Kankan police station.[19] The remaining prisoners were allowed to send telegrams and write letters home.[20]

In French Guinea, the Vichy authorities retaliated for Operation Torch by arresting American missionaries and local civilians suspected of being pro-British and detaining them from November 9 to 24, 1942. This local decision did not reflect the wishes of the

French governor general.[21] CMA members P. Possiel and Reverend Clifford C. Ryan were interned at Kankan and appealed to Fayette J. Flexer, the U.S. consul in Dakar, documenting their experience.[22]

Initially, the missionaries, their families, local inhabitants of Kankan (French, Greek, Syrian, and African), and African British subjects were brought to the CMA compound in Kankan by the Vichy gendarmes. On November 13, 1942, Pastor Rupp was brought up from Mamou, Guinea, along with 79 others in two freight cars and taken on foot to Bordo under military escort.[23] On November 16 the male American missionaries (a total of four: Kurlak, Showell, Possiel, and Ryan) were separated from the women and children and sent to the Bordo camp. Thus the camp population at Bordo increased from approximately 50 to several hundred internees, without a corresponding increase in camp facilities or supplies.[24] At Bordo indigenous troops served as guards and carried bayonets.[25] From sunset until sunrise the prisoners were not allowed outside.

The missionaries remained in the camp until November 24, 1942. Although all the Americans were set free, British, Dutch, and Norwegian internees were held until they could be repatriated. They were forbidden to write home or to the U.S. consulate; camp staff refused to send some of Peter Johnson's official correspondence to the U.S. consul.[26]

The *Criton* crew remained at the Kankan camp until December 14, 1942.

SOURCES An unpublished but detailed account of the Kankan internment camp is Bernard de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots: The Story of the SS CRITON" (unpub. MSS, 2004). This account is based in part on documentation about his father's internment. De Neumann also contributed to entries for the BBC *WW2 People's War* series that address the camp at Kankan, which can be found at www.bbc.co.uk/history. Additional information about the Kankan camp can be found in Catherine Akpo-Vaché, *L'AOF et la Seconde Guerre mondiale, septembre 1939–octobre 1945* (Paris: Karthala Éditions, 1996).

Primary sources on the Kankan internment camp can be found in AN, Pierre Boisson collection; NARA, Record Group 84, "Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the US Department of State, Senegal, Dakar Consulate General, General Records 1940–49"; and IWM, "The Private Papers of P Le Q Johnson," Cat. Documents 101, 1988.

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NOTES

1. Report of former internee Noel T. Clear, reproduced in de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 127.
2. Ibid., p. 126.
3. Ibid., p. 127.
4. Ibid., p. 128.
5. Whalley report in ibid., p. 142.
6. Ibid., p. 142.
7. Clear report in ibid., p. 127.
8. Whalley report in ibid., p. 142.
9. Clear report in ibid., p. 115.
10. Ibid., p. 126.
11. Telegram, August 9, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 711.4.
12. Whalley report in de Neumann, "Sand in their Sea-boots," p. 142.
13. Memorandum, April 11, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1 (2521), folder 704, pp. 1–2; "Private Papers of P Le Q Johnson," IWM, Cat. Documents 101, 1988.
14. Clear report in de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 127.
15. Whalley report in ibid., p. 143.

16. Clear report in ibid., p. 127.

17. Whalley report in ibid., p. 143.

18. Ibid.

19. Clear and Whalley reports in ibid., pp. 128, 148.

20. Whalley report in ibid., p. 143.

21. Copy, The Christian and Missionary Alliance, Dedougou, Cote d'Ivoire, January 15, 1943, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 320 p. 1.

22. Kankan, Guinea Francaise, AOF, December 4, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 320, p. 1–4; Mr. Fayette J. Flexer, American Consul, Dakar, Senegal, December 7, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 320 pp. 1–3.

23. Kankan, Guinea Francaise, AOF, December 4, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 320, p. 1; Mr. Fayette J. Flexer, American Consul, Dakar, Senegal, December 7, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 320, pp. 1–2.

24. Clear report in de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 115.

25. Kankan, Guinea Francaise, AOF, December 4, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 320, p. 2.

26. Mr. Fayette J. Flexer, American Consul, Dakar, Senegal, December 7, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 320, p. 3.

KASBAH TADLA

Kasbah Tadla (Kasba Tadla) is located in central Morocco, 161 kilometers (100 miles) southeast of Casablanca and 195 kilometers (121 miles) northeast of Marrakech. The Kasbah Tadla camp was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Following the Vichy regime's forced demobilization of the Polish Army units serving on the Western front in July 1940, a group of Polish laborers was detained at Kasbah Tadla in 1941. According to a Hebrew Immigration Committee (HICEM) report for June and July 1941, there were 900 detainees at the Kasbah Tadla, Oued Zem, and Sidi El Ayachi (Azemmour) camps in Morocco.[1] On December 27, 1941, there were 97 internees at Kasbah Tadla.

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942. A group of British personnel (Navy, Army, and Merchant Navy) interned at an unnamed camp 19 kilometers (12 miles) inland from Casablanca were transferred the day after the invasion to Kasbah Tadla, where they were housed in clean military barracks. Their stay in Kasbah Tadla lasted only 36 hours, when news of the Anglo-American liberation reached the camp on November 11, 1942.

After 1942 the detainees at Kasbah Tadla were progressively returned to civilian life.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Kasbah Tadla camp include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Michel Abitbol, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord sous Vichy* (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1983); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing

House, 1975); Lidia Milka-Wiczorkiewicz, "Groupement spécial Polonais à Kasba Tadla en 1941," *Ht* 38 (2000): 105–124; Mieczysław Zygfrid Rygor-Słowikowski, ed., *W tajnej służbie: Polski wkład do zwyciestwa w drugiej wojnie światowej; In Secret Service: The Polish Contribution for Victory in the Second World War* (London: Mizyg Press, 1977); David Bensoussan, *Il était une fois le Maroc: Témoignages du passé Judéo-Marocain* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2012); and Stanton Hope *Ocean Odyssey: A Record of the Fighting Merchant Navy* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1944).

Primary source material documenting the Kasbah Tadla camp is available in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reel 6.

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NOTE

1. HICEM, "Maroc," June-July 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, p. 6.

KENADSA

Kenadsa (Kenadza or Kenadzan) is located in southwestern Algeria at the northwestern edge of the Sahara, 21 kilometers (13 miles) southwest of Béchar (formerly Colomb-Béchar) and 49 kilometers (30 miles) east of Méridja. Its coal fields, which were discovered in 1907 and first mined in 1917, reached their maximum productivity during World War II. Kenadsa was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

On March 22, 1941, Marshal Henri-Philippe Petain authorized the construction of the Trans-Saharan Railroad, also known as the Mediterranean-Nigerian (*Mer-Niger*) railroad project. The railroad was intended to connect ports in Morocco and Algeria with the port at Dakar, Senegal. The coal mines at Kenadsa belonged to the railway, and both were owned by the government. The camp was under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Industrial Production (*Direction de la Production Industrielle*) in Rabat and the Office of Manpower and Work in Algiers. Approximately 350 tons of coal were extracted daily for use on the Algerian portion of the railway.

Approximately 6,000 workers were housed in two separate camps at Kenadsa: one for Algerians and one for Europeans. Five thousand of the workers were north Algerian mountaineers, called Kabyles, and 1,000 Europeans were deemed "alien workers." The Kabyles worked in the mines, which were about three kilometers (two miles) south of the camps. In June 1940, the Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) was disbanded, and its volunteers enlisted in the LE for the duration of the war (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG) were sent to camps in North Africa, including Kenadsa. The Europeans served as engineers, designers, overseers, doctors, accountants, and architects.

Initially there was only one company for the Europeans, but the

administration soon decided to divide the company into the following groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs): GTE Nos. 3, 4, 7, and 8. Most of the detainees in GTE No. 3 worked for the mining company. GTE No. 4 had "undesirables," including Jews, some employed and others unemployed. GTE No. 8 was made up of Spanish refugees. When Dr. Wyss-Dunant, a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), visited the European camp on August 3, 1942, he reported that there were 600 detainees: 300 German and Austrian Jews, 280 Spaniards and Poles, and the remaining 20 people representing other nationalities.[1] Survivor Eric Loëwe (later Harris) recalled that the camp had "Frenchmen, Germans and Austrians who were the majority, Romanians, Greeks, Slavs, Belgians, Dutch, a few British subjects, one Australian and two Americans."[2] The Jewish prisoners in the nearby disciplinary camp at Hadjerat M'Guil were transferred to Kenadsa at the end of 1941.

The detainees were required to sign labor contracts with the Mediterranean Nigerian Company. They were classified as war time labor conscripts (*requis*), and the contract made them subject to military discipline. The Kabyles received 24 to 30 francs per day, and the Europeans received 10 francs per day, with board and lodging. The camp guards were Arab *goumiers* (fighters provided by Arab tribes to police French colonial territories), Senegalese sharpshooters, and former LE officers, most of whom were antisemitic Germans. The Kenadsa commander was Lieutenant Muttel.

There were 20 men per tent. Wyss-Dunant reported that whitewashed adobe barracks, "*ghorfas*," also provided accommodations. Each ghorfa consisted of a central corridor and rooms holding four to six men each. There were no cement floors, and internees slept on mats with a single blanket apiece. Carbide and acetylene lamps provided light in the winter. Clothing was scarce: each man possessed only one pair of trousers (called *sérouals*), one shirt, a pair of sandals, socks, and a tropical helmet. Toothbrushes, towels, sheets, and soap were luxuries.

Water was scarce, but Wyss-Dunant reported that drinking water was sufficient and that the men were able to shower—but

only once a week. There were wells, and water was drawn each day for only two hours. The camp was very unsanitary: bugs such as lice and fleas were rampant, and the camp did not have sulfur or any other means to fight them.

The spread of disease, particularly typhus, was a serious problem. Those who succumbed were evacuated to the Colomb-Béchar hospital. The infirmary at Kenadsa was housed in two rooms in a specially constructed ghorfa, but it lacked basic medicine, ban dages, tape, and iodine. The resident doctors were a Jewish detainee and a local doctor from Kenadsa. There was also a hospital in the town of Kenadsa where internees with more serious problems could be admitted.

The men were free to travel to Kenadsa; however, only Muslims were allowed inside the holy village walls of Kenadsa, while the Jews had to stay outside. The detainees could also go to the canteen in the miners' camp, where they could buy very expensive meals and drinks. "Coffee" consisted of dried roasted dates and figs with water. The orange juice was also artificial. Wyss-Dunant reported that food consisted of 500 grams (1.1 pounds) of bread and one-quarter liter (1 cup) of wine daily, and meat five times a week.[3] In the evenings the men retired to the camp for conversation.

The detainees in GTE No. 4 had a harder life than the rest because they only made 50 centimes (1 U.S. cent in 1940s dollars) per day. Rather than working in the better paying coal mines, they built barracks. There were three shifts of eight hours per day for workers in every GTE. The weather conditions were severe. In winter, the temperature ranged from 38° C (100° F) at 3 P.M. to almost-18° C (0° F) at 3 A.M. In summer, the temperature rose as high as nearly 63° C (145° F) in daytime and as low as 15.5° C (60° F) at night. It was so hot in the middle of the day that the forced laborers could not work.

The jail at Kenadsa consisted of eight holes dug in the ground, each the size of a person. The jail was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by an Arab with a rifle. The inmate was meant to lie in the hole all day long and not stand up: there were no blankets or reading materials. Loëwe recalled an incident when one man became unhinged after lying there for 15 days and was then shot

outside the camp. "This would serve as an example for the rest of them," said the authorities.[4]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch, November 8 to 16, 1942. On November 10, 1942, Admiral Jean François Darlan ordered the draping of all public institutions with Allied and French flags. During the night of November 11, 1942, an American flag was hoisted on the main flag pole of the Kenadsa camp. The detainees were accused of perpetrating this act, and many were arrested by the camp guards.[5] On December 12, 1942, there was a protest by other inmates against the internment of German and Italian fascists in Kenadsa.

After the Allied invasion, the forced laborers were gradually returned to civilian life. In Kenadsa about 600 detained foreigners became volunteers, serving at the British Pioneer bases at Hussein-Dey and Maison-Carrée. The 250 Jewish internees classified as EVDG were not liberated because they were still judged to be "particularly suspect." The liberation of Jews was formally banned for 18 months.

The officers of Kenadsa were put on trial in February 1944 in Algiers alongside other officers from Vichy-run camps in Algeria. Quite a few members of the unit of survivor Paul Hollander, a German Jewish former member of the LE, testified in the trial. Four to five people were sentenced to death, a few to life imprisonment, and others to 10-year and shorter sentences.[6]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the camp at Kenadsa include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975); Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950); Joëlle Allouche-Benayoun and Doris Bensimon, *Les Juifs d'Algérie: Memoires et identités plurielles* (Paris: Éditions Stavit, 1998); Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); Christine Levisse-Touzé, "Les camps d'internement en Afrique du Nord pendant la seconde guerre mondiale," in 'Abd-al-Ğalīl at-Tamīmī and

Charles-Robert Ageron, eds., *Mélanges Charles-Robert Ageron*, *2* (Zaghouan, Tunisia: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1996), 2: 601–608; and André Labry, *Les Chemins de fer du maroc: Histoire et évolution* (Rabat: Office National des Chemins de Fer, 1998).

Primary sources documenting the camp at Kenadsa can be found in USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); and USHMMA, RG-43.071M (Selected records from collection LII Algeria 1871–1947). The personal papers of Paul Hollander, 1939–1944, are held at WL (Doc. collection 963; Acc. No. 52278). The unpublished autobiography of Eric Loëwe (Harris), "Twelve Years, 1933–1945," is held in the personal papers of David A. Harris. VHA holds rich interviews on the camp by Paul Hollander (#20060; October 3, 1996); Rodolphe Manes (#8339; January 24, 1996); Eric Meier (#19197; September 4, 1996); Peter Roberts (#1620; March 16, 1995); and Emile Schick (#33286; June 27, 1997).

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), August 3, 1942, box 1, folder 15.
2. Loëwe, "Twelve Years," p. 13.
3. USHMMA, RG-67.008M, August 3, 1942, box 1, folder 15.
4. Loëwe, "Twelve Years," p. 20.
5. USHMMA, RG-67.008M, December 28, 1942, box 1, folder 33.
6. VHA #20060, Paul Hollander testimony, October 3, 1996.

KERSAS

Kersas (Kersah, Kerzaz, Khersas, Kerras) is located in the region of Ain Sefra; it is an oasis in central-west Algeria, 912 kilometers (567 miles) southwest of Algiers and 253 kilometers (157 miles) southeast of Colomb-Béchar. Kersas was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940; it also served as a a disciplinary and isolation camp for prisoners near the Moroccan-Algerian border.[1] Kersas had the reputation of being the "Devil's Island of the Sahara," a reference to the penal colony off the coast of French Guiana.

When some members of a group of demobilized foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Démobilisés*, GTD), GTD No. 6, protested against the harsh working conditions at the Ksabi detention site, the Vichy authorities tried to discourage any further protest: it turned GTD No. 6, a company of 150 internees, into a disciplinary company of workers (*companie de discipline des travailleurs*) and sent the men to Kersas. When there was a comprehensive inspection by the Vichy authorities of the North African camps in May and June 1941, GTD No. 6 was exempted because it was divided into two groups at that time: one was at the Kersas camp and the other at the Ksabi detention site.[2]

Kersas had a capacity of approximately 100 prisoners. The company included men whom Vichy deemed political suspects and those who served in the International Brigades (Interbrigades) of Spain, who later volunteered and fought for France. The internees were of varying nationalities, including some Belgians.[3] At Kersas, the forced laborers were assigned to the construction of two barracks.[4] The inmates at Kersas did not have tents. They dug holes in the sand to sleep in, which were just long enough for the men to stretch out. There was no shelter for the internees from the mid-day heat or the bitter cold of the desert night. After finishing work for the day, they were forbidden from talking to each other and from playing cards. Each evening they had to give their

sandals to the guards to prevent escape attempts. Anyone who passed through this company became a broken man.

The camp was staffed by adjutants, Corsican and German sergeants who viciously ruled Kersas. Goyou was the head of GTD No. 6. He was under the direction of Commandant Viciot, who served as commandant for all of the forced labor groups stationed in Southern Oran. There were both French and indigenous guards.[5] The Arab guards were called *goums*. The typical sentence was for three to six months. It was up to the discretion of Goyou whether to extend a forced laborer's confinement by an additional three months. The camp was adjacent to the Saoura River, and when it flooded the camp, the workers were transferred to the nearby Ksabi and Abadla camps.[6]

In November 1940 there was a transfer to the Kenadsa camp.[7] A notable prisoner at Kersas was Karl Stössler, who was from Vienna, Jewish, and a member of GTE No. 14. He was interned at Kersas on October 10, 1940, and remained there for a half-year before being transferred to Kenadsa.[8]

From May to November 1942 nine forced laborers died. Bienstock was tortured and died in the hospital. Moreno was strangled to death. Marshall became weak and died. Yaraba de Castillo, who had rickets and tuberculosis, died of his illnesses, in addition to suffering the ill effects of being overworked and hungry. Nazzariaz was tortured to death. Alvarez Ferrier and Kyzonois were beaten to death. Poras and an unnamed foreign worker were murdered.

Each meal consisted of soup and a slice of bread. There was no water with which to bathe, and the camp was full of parasites. The workers were punished constantly. The men who were punished by close confinement did not have the right to leave the prison and go outside to relieve themselves. Instead they were forced to use their eating bowl as a latrine. For a serious infraction, the workers were locked up for eight days in a cell. During this time they were beaten with heavy sticks and were fed two quarts of salted water and a slice of bread daily. The Vichy commandant handed over to the Italian Fascist authorities an Italian antifascist and French Army volunteer named Taba who was being held in Kersas.

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in

Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Kersas were progressively returned to civilian life.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention Kersas include Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Primary source material is available in ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiter-lager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA; and in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M).

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NOTES

1. Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371111 and 82371280.
2. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371244.
3. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371158.
4. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371159.
5. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371158.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371159.
8. Stössler report, Casablanca, March 8, 1943, CAHJP, USHMMA, RG-68.115M, folder 5, pp. 26–34.

KHENCHELA

Khenchela was a camp located in northeastern Algeria, 397 kilometers (247 miles) southeast of Algiers and 114 kilometers (71 miles) southeast of Constantine.[1] It was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Initially in Algeria nine groups of refugees were divided between the camps at Boghar (one group), Colomb-Béchar (six groups), and Khenchela (two groups), and there was a detachment at Quargla as well. Subsequently other camps at Djelfa and Berrouaghia were established to receive foreign internees. French nationals and Algerians were sent to Bossuet.

In Khenchela, the Vichy authorities set up a refugee center for the former members of the French Foreign Legion (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG) who could not return to their country of origin or to French territory. The workers enjoyed relative free-dom. Several of them were authorized to work in the town of Khenchela. Others were temporarily employed in the service of the garrison. As of April 1, 1941, there were 379 foreign workers at Khenchela.[2]

In correspondence from the governor general of Algeria to the military commandant of the Ain Sefra Territory in Colomb-Béchar on December 6, 1940, the two groups of foreign workers stationed at Khenchela were cited as Groups 2 and 7.[3] Another report sent by Colonel Lupy, the inspector general of the groups of workers in Algeria, to the governor general of Algeria, on December 8, 1941, indicated that the two groups stationed at Khenchela were Groups 7 and 8.[4]

In June 1941 Group 7, which was initially stationed at Khenchela, was transferred to Kenadsa without any protests from the internees.[5] Group 8, which had only just arrived at Khenchela by this point, was made up exclusively of Spanish deserters from the Soviet Red Army. They presented themselves in a way that

was an improvement over other prisoners: they were disciplined and relatively well dressed. The sleeping arrangements were normal, the food sufficient, and the camp was clean.[6] This group was subsequently transferred to Kenadsa.[7]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Khenchela were progressively returned to civilian life. However, as of December 15, 1943, there were still groups of foreign workers at Khenchela.[8]

SOURCES Secondary literature that mentions the Khenchela camp includes Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary source material is available in ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiter-lager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA; in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reels 6, 8, and 9; and in the AFSC Casablanca collection, available in hard copy at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371111.

2. Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, p. 5.

3. "Surveillance des étrangers, Corp," December 6, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.

4. "Le Colonel Lupy, inspector général des Groupements de Travailleurs de l'Algérie," December 8, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.

5. Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b., Doc. No. 82371245.

6. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371241.

7. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371153.

8. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371221.

KINDIA

Kindia (Kinda) is located in western Guinea, 106 kilometers (66 miles) northeast of Conakry, Guinea; 1,301 kilometers (over 808 miles) southwest of Tombouctou, Mali; and 716 kilometers (445 miles) southeast of Dakar, Senegal. A railway line connects Conakry to Kindia. Guinea was part of colonial French West Africa (*Afrique occidentale française*, AOF) until 1960. From February 12, 1940, to August 1942, the governor of French Guinea was Antoine Félix Giacobbi. The Vichy governor general, Pierre Boisson, directed all internment camps in the AOF established for Allied prisoners of war (POWs). Because Vichy was officially neutral, the prisoners were given internee status.

Before the war there was a French Army camp in Kindia. On November 28, 1940, a group of rebels attacked French officers at that military camp. The French officers and African soldiers quickly lost control, and there was a threat of an attack on the railway. The colonial authorities gradually retook control of the situation and imprisoned the rebels. It is not clear whether the military camp involved in this revolt is the same as the Vichy camp at Kindia that interned Allied POWs. In November 1940, there was another failed mutiny against the Vichy regime in the Kankan camp.

The poor conditions at the Kindia camp were similar to those found at the Conakry camp. There was just enough food to prevent starvation. The British and Commonwealth internees reported that their inadequate rations consisted of rice, beans, and macaroni. For breakfast they had a cup of coffee and a piece of bread. They were not given real dinner plates and instead ate from bowls. After a while they were each given a small napkin. They did not have shoes. Officers and sailors were kept in common quarters in contravention of the 1929 Geneva Convention. Armed with bayonets, the guards led the internees to the lavatory. Despite the poor treatment, the British did not hold their French guards responsible. Rather, they blamed the French high authorities' lack

of imagination and skill for the ill treatment. According to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Second Engineer Officer Lewis Elliot of the Canadian Merchant Navy is buried in the Kindia Christian Cemetery. An officer aboard the SS *Portadoc*, he died on May 25, 1941, presumably as an internee at Kindia.

In July 1941, some members of the crew of the Greek steamer, SS *Pandias*, were sent to the camp at Kindia, and some were dispatched to the Conakry camp. The master of the ship was Captain Petra Panapolous, and most of the crew was British.[1] They had spent 17 days at sea and were not doing well when they arrived in the camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Kindia internment camp include Catherine Akpo-Vaché, *L'AOF et la Seconde Guerre mondiale, septembre 1939–octobre 1945* (Paris: Karthala Éditions, 1996); and an unpublished but detailed account of the camp, Bernard de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots: The Story of the SS CRITON" (unpub. MSS, 2004). This account is based in part on documentation about Bernard de Neumann's father's internment. Information on Second Engineer Officer Elliot can be found at www.cwgc.org.

Primary source material on the mutiny at Kindia can be found in CAOM, Aff. pol., 638, dos. 6, "troubles et incidents divers; mutinies à Kindia," November 28, 1940; and TNA, ADM199.

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NOTE

1. Report of Captain Lewis, n.d., ADM199/2137 Enc 114, as cited in de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 148.

KOULIKORO

Koulikoro (Koulikorro) was a military internment camp in southwestern Mali, 655 kilometers (407 miles) southwest of Tombouctou and 53 kilometers (33 miles) northeast of Bamako. Mali was part of colonial French West Africa (*Afrique occidentale française*, AOF) and was named French Sudan before it gained independence. At the time of Nazi Germany's defeat of France in 1940, there was a local French African railroad line that ran from Dakar to Koulikoro. Following Marshal Henri-Philippe Petain's decree to build the Mediterranean-Niger (*Mer-Niger*) Railroad to connect North and West Africa, Koulikoro was designated as a terminus for the new railroad. The camp was 5 kilometers (3 miles) from the Koulikoro rail station.

The Vichy government was in charge of the AOF from June 1940 to January 1943, and the Vichy governor general, Pierre Boisson, directed all internment camps in the AOF; these camps were established to hold Allied prisoners of war (POWs). Because Vichy was officially neutral, the prisoners were given internee status. Koulikoro was one of the AOF camps that interned the crews of British, Dutch, Danish, and Greek ships in poor living conditions. However, the conditions at Tombouctou were reported to be worse than those at Koulikoro.[1] There was a sergeant in charge of the Koulikoro camp, and he served as a liaison between the internees and the Vichy authorities.[2] The French guards socialized with the internees, sharing news from outside the camp.

George Whalley and Peter Le Quesne Johnson (both of whom later served aboard the SS *Criton*) first served on the MV (Motor Vessel) *Memnon*, which was torpedoed on March 11, 1941. The crew was taken to the Dakar hospital and transferred to the Koulikoro camp at the end of April 1941. This group of 60 men joined about a dozen Royal Navy (RN) and Fleet Air Arm (FAA) personnel already interned at the camp. The internees were housed in newly constructed brick buildings with thatched roofs, and they

were issued comfortable new beds. Water was supplied directly from the Niger River, which was a 20-to 30-minute walk from the camp. Given the oppressive heat, the internees requested help to carry the water, and a party of indigenous sharpshooters (*tirailleurs*) was assigned to the task. Many of the internees suffered from diarrhea due to drinking impure water. The camp doctor visited every morning and supplied them with quinine, but the internees (including the ship's doctor) did not think highly of his expertise.[3]

Initially the sanitary conditions were poor, but later improved. The internees bathed in the river, with half the camp bathing each day at 4:30 P.M. They were escorted to the river and forbidden from wearing hats, because hats would have been essential to an escape. The internees were allowed to write weekly letters, which were collected each Monday to be censored. They prepared their own food, in small quantities: the cost of food could not exceed 14.25 francs per day. Bread and a half-bottle of wine were supplied daily, and they also ate macaroni, vegetables, rice, and meat. They only had forks and spoons, but no knives. The internees had to eat their meals on the ground or at their beds. Although the camp was plagued by deadly snakes, anti-venom serum was not available. They were fortunate to have mosquito netting over their beds, because the camp harbored many mosquitoes, insects, termites, ants, and flies. The group left Koulikoro at the end of May 1941, by which point the rainy season had started. The camp compound, which had started out as hard clay, became a swamp.[4]

Notable internees included Humphrey H. Jackson of the FAA, Fred S. Milthorp of the *Sally Maersk,* Mac-Ritchie of the steamer *Tweed*, a British Indian named Numahamed of the *Jhelum*, Sub-Lieutenant Stretten of the *Criton*, Canadian fighter pi lot Allan Robert McFadden, and Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) officer Dusty Rhodes. Six United States Army Air Forces (USAAF) personnel made a forced landing at Conakry on May 7, 1942, and were then interned at Koulikoro.[5] It is likely that the Royal Air Force (RAF) officers interned at Koulikoro sent the *Criton* crew at Tombouctou a parcel of books, playing cards, and cigarettes.[6]

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issued a decree in September 1942 with the aim of improving camp organization and management, living conditions, and the pay (in francs) given to prisoners by rank. Upon entering the Koulikoro camp, each prisoner was issued a set of European clothes (undershorts, shirts, shorts, handkerchiefs, socks, shoes, and helmet), and a towel, bowl, tableware, plate, sheet, blanket, and mosquito net. Interned British Africans were worse off. They received only a mat and a blanket or two. The internees were allowed to take walks outside the camp. Despite Barrau's measures, the camp conditions remained harsh.

The Italian-born hotelier Joseph de Nicolay, who resided in St. Louis, Senegal, was held at Koulikoro well after the Operation Torch landings in November 1942. His case demonstrated that war time camps were used to intern political suspects with Axis ties long after the cessation of immediate hostilities. Given that Nicolay was an Italian national, he was a suspect.[7] Nicolay's case also indicated that the administration of the Vichy camps was handed to Gaullist forces after Operation Torch.[8] As of January 28, 1944, Nicolay was still in Koulikoro while his wife was in Casablanca lobbying for his release.[9]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Koulikoro internment camp include Catherine Akpo-Vaché, *L'AOF et la Seconde Guerre mondiale, septembre 1939–octobre 1945* (Paris: Karthala Éditions, 1996); Vincent Joly, *Le Soudan français de 1939 à 1945: Une colonie dans la guerre* (Paris: Karthala Éditions, 2006); and Wayne Ralph, *Aces, Warriors & Wingmen: Firsthand Accounts of Canada's Fighter Pi lots in the Second World War* (Missisauga, Ontario: John Wiley & Sons, Canada, 2005). An unpublished but detailed account of the Koulikoro camp is Bernard de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots: The Story of the SS CRITON" (unpub. MSS, 2004). The author's account is based in part on documentation about his father's internment.

Primary sources on the Koulikoro internment camp can be found in AN, Pierre Boisson collection; NARA, RG-84, Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the U.S. Department of State, Senegal, Dakar Consulate General, General Records 1940–49;

IWM, "The Private Papers of P Le Q Johnson" Cat. No. Docs. 101, 1988; and AFSC Refugee Assistance Case files, available in hard copy at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296.

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NOTES

1. Extract from a letter from J. M. Gray, President, Gambia Branch, BRCS, July 21, 1942, to Colonial Secretary, Viscount Cranbourne, reproduced in de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 157.
2. George Whalley report, reproduced in ibid., p. 133.
3. Ibid., pp. 131–133.
4. Ibid., p. 133.
5. USAAF internees in French West Africa, September 12, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 711, "War. Peace. Friendship Alliance," p. 1.
6. Noel Clear report, reproduced in de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," pp. 124, 127.
7. Copie: "Koulikoro, le 15 juillet 1943, J. de Nicolay, Hotelier a St. Louis (Sénégal) interné à Koulikoro," USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296 (AFSC), Casablanca Series, box 5 (M–Q), folder AFSC "N," pp. 1–2.
8. Monsieur le Lt-Colonel Kerdavid, November 11, 1943, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296, Casablanca Series, box 5 (M–Q), folder "N," pp. 1–2.
9. "Division of Public Welfare and Relief Refugee Section," January 28, 1944, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296, Casablanca Series, box 5 (M–Q), folder "N," n.p.

KSABI

The Vichy authorities established a disciplinary camp in Ksabi (El Ksabi), Algeria, which is 985 kilometers (612 miles) southwest of Algiers, 170 kilometers (106 miles) southeast of Kersas, and 384 kilometers (244 miles) southeast of Abadla. The prisoners originated from the Kersas camp and constituted the group of demobilized foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Démobilisés*, GTD), GTD No. 6. Commanding GTD No. 6 was a French officer named Goyou, who in turn answered to the commander of forced labor groups in Southern Oran, Commandant Viciot. The first group of Kersas prisoners was transferred to Ksabi after the flooding of the Saoura River, so not all the transfers were for disciplinary reasons.

A Belgian report in the International Tracing Service (ITS) archives noted that among the Ksabi group were internees representing various nationalities. The prisoners' terms of confinement in the disciplinary camps lasted from three to six months, but could be extended at the discretion of the commandant of GTD No. 6, Guyon.[1] They lived in *marabout* (large) tents and were transferred to the Abadla disciplinary camp after they completed their sentences.[2] According to a related report, the prisoners at Ksabi built barracks.

Colonel de Brion, the inspector general of demobilized foreign workers in the vicinity of Colomb-Béchar, did not inspect GTD No. 6 during his tour of the camps in June 1941. His reasons for not doing so were that the group was divided between the Kersas and Ksabi sites, and his tour took place as the Kersas prisoners were being transferred to Abadla.[3] In a separate report, Colonel Lupy, another inspector general of demobilized foreign workers, claimed that members of GTD No. 6 mutinied at Ksabi and therefore had to be closely guarded at Abadla.[4]

In 1941, the German delegation to the Franco-German Armistice Commission demanded that the French authorities

account for why an alleged deserter of the German Army who was confined at Ksabi was killed during an escape. The prisoner in question, named Niersmann, made the attempt with two confederates.[5]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Ksabi camp can be found in ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. Ksabi is briefly mentioned in Pierre Caron and Pierre Cézard, eds., *La Délégation aupres de la Commission allemande d'armistice: Recuiel de document publiées par le gouvernement français*, 5 vols. (Paris: Costes, 1947–1959).

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NOTES

1. "Kersah," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371158-82371159.

2. "Historique du Camp Ksabi," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371160.

3. Annexe 32, "Rapport du Colonel de Brion, Inspecteur Générale sur les Groupes de démobilisés étrangers du Groupement de Colomb-Béchar," June 1941, Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371241.

4. Annexe No. 31, Gouvernement Générale de l'Algérie, "Rapport du Colonel Lupy C.R. Inspecteur des TED sur le GTED No. 6 à Abadla," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371236-82371237.

5. Caron and Cézard, eds., *La Délégation*, 5: 217.

LAGHOUAT

Also known as the Nili camp, the Laghouat camp was established in the military barracks of the French sharpshooters (*tirailleurs*), located 329 kilometers (204 miles) south of Algiers. The camp was a prison for French colonial dissidents before World War II and served as an internment camp for British and Commonwealth servicemen between April 1941 and November 1942. The camp also held Canadian and South African prisoners, although the Vichy authorities called it the "camp for British internees Laghouat" (*Camp des internés britanniques Laghouat*).[1] Because Vichy was officially neutral, the prisoners were given internee status. The camp was set up initially to hold some internees from the Djelfa camp, who were French "undesirables" (*indisérables*), more than 102 kilometers (over 63 miles) northeast of Laghouat.

The Laghouat camp consisted of two buildings, one of which had an isolation cell for punishment. A triple barbed-wire fence surrounded the compound, and the guard towers were equipped with machine guns and searchlights.

Its guard force consisted of a battalion of Arab tirailleurs and a cavalry unit, the Premier Spahis, under the command of Commandant Jeunechamp and French officers. According to former internee James Arthur "Buster" Brown, the internees got along well with the spahis, who occasionally performed horse back riding tricks just outside the barbed-wire fence for the internees' benefit. In contrast, he remembered, the prisoners preferred to bait the tirailleurs, making faces at them and hurling insults.[2]

In the summer of 1942, more than 550 servicemen were interned at Laghouat. Among the detained sailors were entire or partial crews from the HMS *Havock*, HMS *Duncan*, HMS *Legion*, and HMS *Manchester*, the last crew arriving in late August 1942. For a time, Commander Richard Jessel of the HMS *Legion* served as the Senior British Officer (SBO). In August

1942, Dr. Wyss-Dunant, a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), visited the camp. He found that the internees suffered from boredom and were not allowed to leave the camp, except for Sunday Mass at the local Catholic church.[3] Laghouat was also overcrowded, which left the internees susceptible to disease and led to shortages of food and water. According to Charles Lamb, who was interned at Laghouat from December 1941 until its closure, the only ship's physician held in the camp succumbed to poliomyelitis.[4]

Because of their status as internees, not prisoners of war (POWs), the prisoners were entitled to send and receive letters and telegrams. Lamb, a Royal Navy pi lot, used this privilege to communicate clandestinely with MI 9, the section of British intelligence tasked with escape and evasion. To do so, he employed a letter code that air crew members were trained to use in case of capture. His rescue plan for the camp, using a nearby field adequate for landing aircraft, came to the attention of the MI 9 director, Norman Crockatt, according to historians M. R. D. Foot and J. M. Langley. The plan was never implemented, Lamb recalled, because camp morale deteriorated.[5]

On the night of June 6, 1942, 29 internees tunneled out of the camp. The internees had been digging the 62-meter (68-yard) tunnel for seven months, ventilating it with disused Klim cans formed into a pipe. (A popular brand of canned milk during World War II, Klim was milk spelled backward.) The work began with the discovery of an unused cellar beneath the interned officers' quarters. Given the harsh desert conditions and the strong guard force, all of the escapees were recaptured within three days. Another escape took place on October 19, 1942, when seven prisoners managed to flee before being recaptured. Flight Officer James Douglas Hudson participated in both escapes. Oral histories collected by the Imperial War Museum (IWM) mention the killing of one escapee, but there is conflicting information on the circumstances and date of the incident and the victim is not named.[6]

Following the Allied landings in Morocco and Algeria during Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, the French authorities transported the internees by truck to Algiers for repatriation. After the assassination of Admiral Jean François Darlan, then the highest

ranking Vichy officer in French North Africa, on December 24, 1942, Laghouat was used to intern many Algerian Jews on the orders of his successor, Générale d'Armée Henri Giraud. Among those arrested were members of the Jewish resistance in Algiers, including José Aboulker, an important figure in the clandestine negotiations leading to Operation Torch.[7] The U.S. authorities ordered the closure of the Laghouat camp in February 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Laghouat camp are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Édition du Lys, 2005); Jonathan F. Vance, *Objects of Concern: Canadian Prisoners of War through the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1994); and M. R. D. Foot and J. M. Langley, *MI 9: Escape and Evasion, 1939–1945* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980).

Primary sources on the Laghouat camp can be found in IWM, including the private papers of W. E. Terry (Document 3619); the interview of James Arthur "Buster" Brown, December 15, 1988 (Cat. No. 10504, available at www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80010282); the interview of John Laraway, January 28, 2001 (Cat. No. 22361, available at www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80021093); and the interview of Alfred John Surridge, August 9, 1990 (Cat. No. 11455). Published testimonies by Laghouat internees include Charles Lamb, *War in a Stringbag*, foreword by Sir Charles Evans (1977; London: Cassell, 2001); and James Douglas Hudson, *There and Back Again: A Navigator's Story* (Heighington, UK: Tucann Design & Print, 2004). Shortly after repatriation, internee Richard Goulden Brickell published an account of the June 1942 Laghouat escape, "Laghouat Escape Tunnel," *The Engineer* (April 1943): 445–446. Ray "Taff" Davies posted an account of his internment at the War time Memories Project, www.wartimememories.co.uk. An interview with Jose Aboulker about his resistance activities and a mention of his internment at Laghouat can be found in Georges-Marc Benamou, *C'était un temps déraisonnable: Les premiers résistants racontent* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1999), pp. 205–224.

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NOTES

1. Lamb, *War in a Stringbag*, p. 258.

2. IWM, interview with James Arthur "Buster" Brown, December 15, 1988 (Cat. No. 10504), available at www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80010282.

3. Ibid.

4. Lamb, *War in a Stringbag*, p. 281.

5. Ibid., p. 276.

6. IWM, interview of John Laraway, January 28, 2001, Cat. No. 22361, available at www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80021093; and IWM, Brown interview.

7. Interview with José Aboulker, April 25, 1998, and August 10, 1999, reproduced in Benamou, *C'était un temps déraisonnable*, pp. 223–224.

LA MARNE

La Marne was located in northwestern Morocco on a large farm next to the town of Sidi Hadjej (Sidi Hadjadj, Sidi Hajaj), approximately 15 kilometers (more than 9 miles) east of Casablanca and nearly 76 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Rabat. La Marne was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. It held the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE) GTE No. 5.

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942. When the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) representative Camille Vautier visited the camp on April 24, 1943, the total number of detainees was 296: 291 Italians and 5 former members of the French Foreign Legion. At the time the commandant was Capitaine Ménager. During May 1943, Heinz Steinberg was one of the detainees at La Marne, following his detention at Oued Akreuch and Ait Amar.[1] After 1943, the detainees at La Marne were progressively returned to civilian life.

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning La Marne is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the La Marne camp can be found in the AFSC Refugee Assistance Case files, available in hard copy at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296.

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NOTE

1. Commandant Kiesele, Direction de la Production Industrielle et du Travail, Rabat, August 5, 1943, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296 (AFSC), Casablanca Series, box 6 (R–S), folder

“Sm–Sz,” n.p.

LE KREIDER

Le Kreider (today: El Kheither) is an oasis approximately 77 kilometers (42 miles) south of Saïda, Algeria. As a forced labor camp in World War II, it was also known as Saïda, probably because of its proximity to the city.[1] The camp was located at the railway juncture connecting Mecheria to Perrégaux via Saïda, not far from Le Kreider village. It housed the group of demo-bilized foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Démobilisés*, GTED), GTED No. 1, most of whom worked in agriculture. The majority of prisoners were Italians, who had been detained in Algiers before being transferred to Le Kreider.

On January 11, 1941, there were 341 forced laborers at Le Kreider. This number decreased to 101 by July 20, 1942. The prisoners were forced to dig canals. There were no buildings in the camp, and so the prisoners slept in the open on mats. Many died of malaria as a result. There was a shortage of drinking water, although the neighboring village of Le Kreider had an abundance of water. Food was scarce, and access to an infirmary was limited.

The camp was mentioned during a French Army investigation convened in Algiers in late 1943.[2]

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Le Kreider camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the Le Kreider camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); the France North African Colonies collection (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.062M); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

NOTES

1. “Notice sur Saïda,” December 27, 1951, Rapport définitif No. 52, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371155.

2. “Le Colonel Lupy à Monsieur le Capitaine Juge d’Instruction au TM d’Armée—Alger,” December 27, 1951, Annexe 24, Rapport définitif No. 52, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371221.

MAGENTA

Magenta is located in central Algeria, 412 kilometers (256 miles) southwest of Algiers, 111 kilometers (69 miles) south of Oran, and nearly 136 kilometers (more than 84 miles) north of Mecheria. The Bossuet camp was located on the road leading to Magenta. Magenta was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. Noted for being like a concentration camp, the camp at Magenta was known as "the trap of Magenta" (*piège de Magenta*).

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Magenta were progressively returned to civilian life; however, the camp was still in use well into 1943. It was not until late January 1943 that Algerian Jews interned in the Vichy labor camps were permitted to volunteer for active duty.

The Jewish volunteers were told they would have to serve as Algerians rather than as French citizens. Despite this, Algerian Jews naively volunteered for active duty en masse, thinking they were fighting for a good cause. But rather than fight as combatants, they were used as "Pioneers" to construct airfields, among other assignments, and many were killed by aerial bombing.

Lt. Klotz went to the Bedeau camp to recruit volunteers for the armored units. The entire 205th Company left Bedeau singing the Republican anthem (*Chant du Depart*) to infuriate the camp officials. Those who remained at Bedeau were sent to join "Pioneer" units in the Magenta camp. Once these hundreds of volunteers arrived, they realized that the living conditions at Magenta were far worse than those at Bedeau. The food, hygiene, and political climate at Magenta were deplorable. As Jews, the volunteers did not have any rights, and they soon understood that their liberation was not on the agenda: they were literally trapped. The volunteers agreed that Magenta was nothing but a con (*attrape-nigaud*).

Jacques Soustelle, who represented Free France in Algeria in 1943 and 1944, commented, "More serious is the problem of the camps. They are found in two forms. The ones, Bedeau, Magenta, Oued Djer, are theoretically military camps, in fact actual concentration camps where the mobilized Jews are subjected to excavation work … and treated like convicts."[1]

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Magenta camp are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975); Norbert Belange, *Quand Vichy internait ses soldats juifs d'Algérie: Bedeau, sud oranais 1941–1943* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006); and Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950).

A primary source that documents the Magenta camp is the memoir of Jacques Soustelle, *Envers et contre tout*, 2: *D'Alger à Paris souvenirs et documents sur la France libre, 1942–1944; Souvenirs ets documents sur la France Libre, 1942–1944*, 2 vols. (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1950).

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NOTE

1. Soustelle, *Envers et contre tout*, 2: 214.

MARRAKECH

Marrakech is in west-central Morocco, 286 kilometers (178 miles) southwest of Rabat and 138 kilometers (almost 86 miles) southeast of Safi. One of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940 was located in Marrakech. It has also been described as the local disciplinary camp of the 2nd Regiment of Moroccan Sharpshooters (*Regiment de tirailleurs marocains*, 2nd RTM). It is unclear from the little documentation available whether the labor camp and the disciplinary camp were one and the same. Moroccan soldiers probably guarded the disciplinary camp at Marrakech.

After the Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, the camp at Marrakech remained in use. In 1943, when the Algerian camp at Bedeau closed, 750 young Algerian Jews were transferred from it to the Marrakech labor camp. As of May 26, 1943, German nationals, antifascists and political suspects Willy Hark and Richard Orthman were incarcerated in the disciplinary camp of the 2nd RTM before being transferred to and interned with the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 7, at the Tamanar (Tanoundja) camp.[1]

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Marrakech camp include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and David Bensoussan, *Il était une fois le Maroc: Témoignages du Passé JudéoMarocain* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2012).

Primary source material can be found in the AFSC Refugee Assistance Case files, available in hard copy at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296.

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NOTE

1. USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296 (AFSC), Casablanca Series, box 5 (M–Q), "Division de Marrakech Décision," folder AFSC Casablanca H, subfolder "Orthman, Richard," May 26, 1943, and subfolder "Hark, Willy," May 26, 1943.

MECHERIA

Located in the province of Naâma along the border with Morocco, Mecheria (or Méchéria) housed a *zouave* (light infantry) regiment of the French Colonial Army in Algeria in the early 1900s and was an important military station for the French Army at the Moroccan border. Mecheria is more than 467 kilometers (290 miles) southwest of Algiers and 241 kilometers (150 miles) south of Oran. The Mecheria camp was set up near the eponymous village on the road to Colomb-Béchar in the southern part of the military zone of Ain Sefra at the foot of the Ountal Mountain. It was designed to hold former members of the Foreign Legion (*Légion étrangère*, LE).

The camp consisted of brick buildings surrounded by a high wall and a deep canal with four guard posts. Although it was in a military zone, both civilians and military men, led by the head of the Algerian *tirailleurs* (sharpshooters), administered Mecheria. The camp received many European internees between 1940 and 1943. Most were Norwegian, Danish, Belgian, and British sailors. The 19 Belgian sailors were members of the crew of the merchant marine vessel, SS *Carlier*,[1] who were transferred from the Oued Zem camp in Morocco on September 10, 1942.[2] French and North African civilians were also held at Mecheria, but were classified as prisoners as part of the camp's confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS). Mohamed Aouad, Abdelkader Kadari, and Dahmane were important Algerian nationalists held in the camp. Kadari died in the camp of typhus.

The presence of many European internees at Mecheria prompted a number of governments to send representatives, religious leaders, and delegates from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to visit the camp prior to Operation Torch, November 8, 1942. In May 1942, as noted by historian Jacob Oliel, the Chief Chaplain of Protestant Refugees and Camp Internees in France (*Aumônier des protestants étrangers*

refugiés et internés en France), Pierre Charles Toureille, received permission to visit the Mecheria camp. On August 22, 1942, ICRC representative Dr. Wyss-Dunant visited.[3] On October 15, 1942, a Danish delegation asked the French authorities in Algeria to release its nationals held at Mecheria.

The camp population increased dramatically between April 1, 1941, and November 22, 1942. On April 1, 1941, there were 28 French and 57 indigenous prisoners; the population increased to 133 French and 359 indigenous prisoners, and 61 foreign internees (all Polish nationals) by January 7, 1942. On May 1, 1942, there were 117 French and 225 indigenous prisoners and 103 foreign internees.

A section of the French Saharan Army stationed at Ain Sefra ensured camp security, augmented by members of the Algerian tirailleurs. The detainees who sought work within the camp were paid for their labor. The sailors were allowed freedom of movement between the camp and the village, were not forced to work, and were not subjected to harsh treatment as were the French and indigenous prisoners.[4] The sailors stayed at the Mecheria camp between September 10 and November 22, 1942, before being transferred to Casablanca.

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Mecheria camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Mecheria camp can be found in AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. Annexe 10, "Liste des Belges, internés au Centre de Séjour Surveillé de Mecheria," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder

19b, Doc. No. 82371193.

2. “Mecheria,” Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d’Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371128.

3. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), box 1, folder 15.

4. “Mecheria,” Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d’Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371130.

MEDIOUNA

Mediouna is 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) southeast of Casablanca on the road to Marrakech. Mediouna was a large French Army camp, in which one section (*nouala*) was converted into an internment camp surrounded by barbed wire to accommodate up to 250 internees in October 1940.[1] Under French military administration the camp had six internees, three from Belgium and three from Britain. The Belgians were held after attempting to escape by boat at Fedala (near Casablanca) and to return to Allied territory. Kept under armed guard, the internees were not permitted to leave the camp or to work. They slept on straw mats and were given two blankets apiece. On January 3, 1941, they were transferred to the Agdz camp. Later the camp was used for laborers of GTE 14 due to its proximity to Casablanca. According to a report based on a camp visit by a Red Cross representative in June 1943, there were 65 internees, all Italians, in the camp.

Former internee Paul Vekemans submitted a detailed account of the Mediouna camp to the Belgian authorities, which formed the basis of a report on the camp to the International Tracing Service.[2]

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Mediouna camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Mediouna camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. Annexe 33, Liste No. 2, “Liste des Belges passes par Mediuna,” Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d’Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371250.

2. “Mediuna,” Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d’Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. Nos. 82371118–82371119.

MEDIOUNA/GTE-14539

Mediouna/GTE-14539 was a Vichy transit camp for forced foreign laborers in Morocco. "GTE" stood for group of laborers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*). The camp was located on the route to Mediouna, a town located 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) southeast of Casablanca. Its capacity was 140 men. However, on April 22, 1943, when Camille Vautier of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp, it held 246 laborers: 128 Italians, 88 Spaniards, 16 Legionnaires, and 14 volunteers engaged in the Foreign Legion for the duration of the war (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG).[1]

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the GTE-14539 camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

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NOTE

1. As summarized in Oliel, *Camps de Vichy*, p. 115.

MENABBA

The Menabba (or Menabha) forced labor camp was 718 kilometers (446 miles) southwest of Algiers. The group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 3, was held at Menabba, under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Industrial Production (*Direction de la Production Industrielle*) in Rabat. On August 1, 1942, Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp and recorded that it held 78 men, with 4 detached to Tanzaza and 38 to the Mengoub camp. The population of the Menabba and Mengoub camps together included 115 Spaniards, 1 Czech, 1 Croat, 2 Poles, and 1 Belgian. The capacity of Menabba was 100 men.[1]

The camp initially consisted only of *marabout* (large) tents. After March 1942, the construction of cement barracks began. The barracks were two stories with chimneys and were divided into rooms that each held up to three people. The wooden beds had springs and mattresses. The prisoners were issued sleeping bags and a quilt. Prisoners were fed 600 grams (1.3 pounds) of bread daily, a half-liter (more than a pint) of wine a day, and meat five days a week. The camp had a well-managed canteen that sold various small articles.

Prisoners were provided a cloth work suit and shoes for the winter, a cape for the rainy season, and two shirts, shorts, and sandals for the summer. Showers were under construction during Wyss-Dunant's visit. Water was available at the Menabba oasis. There was no record of any serious illness. A doctor visited the camp once a week, and emergency cases were transferred to Bou Arfa.

The prisoners were paid according to their jobs: masons received 26.25 francs and laborers 11.26 francs a day in addition to room and board. They were allowed to go to Bou Arfa on Saturdays or to Colomb-Béchar to attend religious services. In

terms of entertainment they had access to a guitar, a ball, and card games. Mail was delivered every two days. Overall Wyss-Dunant observed that the morale of the forced laborers was excellent and that there were no reports of disciplinary action against the internees. The sole complaint was made by nonspecialist laborers who worked inside the camp, who felt that their daily payment of 5.25 francs was unfairly low.

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Menabba camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Menabba camp can be found in AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa).

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NOTE

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), August 1, 1942, box 1, folder 15.

MENGOUB

Mengoub is located in Morocco near the Algerian border, 512 kilometers (318 miles) southeast of Casablanca, 460 kilometers (286 miles) southeast of Rabat, and 48 kilometers (30 miles) southwest of Bou Arfa. Mengoub is in a mountainous area at an altitude of 1,010 meters (3,313 feet). The camp was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

On March 22, 1941, Marshal Henri-Philippe Petain authorized the construction of the Trans-Saharan railroad, also known as the Mediterranean Niger Company (*Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*, MN or *Mer-Niger*). The railroad was intended to connect ports in Morocco and Algeria with the port at Dakar, Senegal. The Germans wanted to transport Senegalese troops through Vichy-controlled territory rather than by hazardous sea routes. The detainees at Mengoub were some of the many prisoners in North African camps who were forced to sign contracts to work on the railroad. Mengoub was located on the railroad line at Kilometric Point (*Point Kilomé-trique*, PK) 384.

The camp was under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Industrial Production (*Direction de la Production Industrielle*) of Rabat. The group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 3, was held at Mengoub. The camp had a capacity of 190 men and was full in the spring of 1942, when the majority of internees were transferred to the nearby Menabba camp. By the time that Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp on August 1, 1942, only 38 men, all Spaniards, were interned there. Among those who were left seven were detached to the station and three to the soup kitchen.[1]

Wyss-Dunant surveyed Mengoub's accommodations and living conditions. Each barrack had an attic, a fireplace for heating in winter, and small rooms for two or three men. The beds were

wooden frames with wire springs. Each detainee was given a mattress, one blanket with a comforter, and a sleeping bag. Each man received 600 grams (1.3 pounds) of bread per day, meat five days a week, and a half-liter (more than a pint) of wine per day. During the winter the detainees were issued a cloth work suit and shoes, whereas during the summer they each had two shirts, shorts, and sandals. Each inmate was given a rain cape for inclement weather. There was an abundant supply of water at Mengoub, which was unusual for camps in this area. The forced laborers were able to bathe and do laundry as desired.[2]

Detainees who fell acutely ill were taken to the infirmary at Bou Arfa. The MN company doctor came to Mengoub once a week. At other times, a refugee doctor and a male nurse looked after the ill, and medicine was provided by the MN Company. When Wyss-Dunant visited, there were no sick people in the camp. The forced laborers' salary varied. Those who worked as masons earned 12 francs per day. Unskilled forced laborers made 7.25 francs. Doing extra work could earn the laborers 3 or 4 additional francs. The working hours were set to accommodate the oppressive heat common in the middle of the day. The first work shift was from 6 A.M. to noon, and the second lasted from 4 P.M. to 7 P.M.[3]

The detainees at Mengoub had more freedom than those in other camps. They were allowed to play sports and enjoy football. On Sundays five people were permitted to take a day's excursion to Bou Arfa or Colomb-Béchar. They were also allowed to read and had access to several Spanish books and newspapers. Every two days they received mail. Wyss-Dunant could not find any disciplinary measures to mention, but did record that general morale of the camp population was excellent.[4]

The Allies landed on the Moroccan and Algerian coasts in Operation Torch, November 8, 1942, after which the forced laborers were progressively returned to civilian life. In a statement titled "The Problem of Concentration Camps in Morocco," Leslie C. Heath, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) delegate to North Africa, proposed a specific plan for Spanish refugees. On November 24, 1942, he wrote, "Arrangements should be made as soon as possible for most of the Spanish to emigrate to Mexico."[5]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the camp at Mengoub include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975); Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950); Joëlle Allouche-Benayoun and Doris Bensimon, *Les Juifs d'Algérie: Mémoires et identités plurielles* (Paris: Éditions Stavit, 1998); Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); Christine Levisse-Touzé, *L'Afrique du Nord dans la guerre, 1939–1945* (Paris: A. Michel, 1998); and André Labry, *Les Chemins de fer du maroc: Histoire et évolution* (Rabat: Office National des Chemins de Fer, 1998).

Primary sources documenting the camp at Mengoub can be found in USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); USHMMA RG-43.070M (selected records from collection LIV, Morocco and Tunisia 1918–1947); and RG-43.144M (Afrique du Nord: Congrès Juife Mondial —Maroc pays étrangers, reel 1). Also consider USHMMA RG-43.062 M (selected records from France's North African colonies 1848–1962, reels 6, 7, 8, and 10).

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), August 1, 1942, box 1, folder 15.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. USHMMA, RG-67.008M, box 1 of 14, folder 33 of 36.

MÉRIDJA

A former outpost of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE), the Méridja camp was located 69 kilometers (43 miles) west of the Algerian settlement of Colomb-Béchar and 799 kilometers (497 miles) southwest of Algiers. Méridja (or ElMéridj) is close to the Moroccan border, west of the Abadla camp. As a penal camp, the prisoners were subjected to cruel and humiliating treatment. Capitaine Fabre and Sergent Burgher stood out as particularly harsh members of the camp staff.

In January 1941, some young Jewish forced laborers from the group of demobilized foreign workers (*Groupe des Travail-leurs Étrangers Démobilisés*, GTED) refused to participate in forced labor along the Méditerranean-Niger (*Mer-Niger*) railroad line around Colomb-Béchar. As a result, they were transferred to the Méridja camp. Also at the camp were 47 Spanish prisoners who revolted in June 1941 against harsh treatment by the guards. The guards shot at them, injuring two internees. When six internees attempted to escape the Méridja camp, the guards collectively punished the prisoners by depriving them of water for days despite the summer heat. After some months, the French authorities decided to relocate the internees to the subcamp of Bou Arfa in Morocco at Aïn el-Ourak. Some 18 internees died of malaria and malnourishment before the group reached Aïn el-Ourak.

The harsh treatment wielded by the guards at Méridja was well known to prisoners and was also known to members of the French community in Algeria.[1]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Méridja camp are Jacob Oliel, *Les Juifs de Colomb-Béchar et des Villages de la Saoura 1903–1962* (Orléans: self-published, 2003); Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in*

Arab Lands (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Méridja camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, CAHJP, available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M; and CAOM, available at USHMMA as RG-43.062M. A memoir that mentions the Méridja camp is Renée Pierre-Gosset, *Le coup d'Alger* (Montreal: Le Revue Moderne, 1944).

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NOTE

1. Pierre-Gosset, *Le coup d'Alger*, pp. 45–46.

MISSOUR

Missour (also, Misur) was established between 1940 and November 1942 as a surveillance and detention camp not far from the settlement of Missour on a plain overlooking the Moulouya River. Missour is 144 kilometers (90 miles) southeast of Fes in Morocco. The camp consisted of six buildings encircled by a wall. Approximately 200 detainees were imprisoned in the camp. In its harsh living conditions, Missour was similar to the Algerian camps of Djelfa and Djenien Bou Rezg. The Vichy authorities classified Missour as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS), CSS No. 3.[1]

Between 1940 and 1942, the majority of the internees were communists, largely Spanish Republicans. In 1942, a typhus epidemic struck the camp, killing some internees and afflicting many others. Édouard Conod, a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), visited the camp on April 1, 1943, and reported that there were more than 70 prisoners of different nationalities. He noted that the prisoners slept on floor mats. The prisoners were free to leave the camp at night and on Sundays. They spent most of their days in enforced idleness, because they were not engaged in forced labor and did not have access to books or entertainment.

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning the camp at Mis-sour is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the Missour camp can be found in ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTE

1. “Missour,” Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d’Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371123.

MONOD

Located in an arid area 28 kilometers (more than 17 miles) east of Rabat, Morocco, the Monod camp was situated in a woodland. Also called Oued Monod (today: Sidi Allal el Bahraoui), it was named in honor of Lieutenant Maurice Monod, who was killed in the area between Mahdiya and Rabat on May 24, 1911. The camp for foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 10, consisted of tents and barracks. It was commanded by a French officer, and the Rabat colonial police was responsible for security. In addition to its original prisoners, approximately 300 men were transferred to Monod from the Oued Akreuch camp when it closed on May 27, 1941. These prisoners were of various nationalities, including four Belgians.[1] The Oued Akreuch guards were also in charge of Monod. According to historian Jacob Oliel, Monod held 75 prisoners on December 12, 1941. The prisoners worked on roads and felled trees, and were allowed to leave the camp for health and administrative reasons. According to former prisoner Gaston Vanderstocken, Monod was "similar but less comfortable" than the Oued Akreuch camp.[2]

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning the camp of Monod is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Monod camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. Annexe 33, Liste 12, “Liste des Belges passes par Monod,” Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d’Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371264; “Notice sur Monod,” Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d’Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371152.

2. “Monod,” Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d’Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371144.

OUED AKREUCH

The camp at Oued Akreuch (today: Akrach or Oued Akrach) was 9.8 kilometers (6 miles) southeast of Rabat on the bank of the Akreuch River. Oued Akreuch served as an internment camp for a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 10, and was under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Industrial Production (*Direction de la Production Industrielle*) in Rabat. Its capacity was between 200 and 300. The prisoners were foreigners of various nationalities, including four Belgians.[1] On July 22, 1942, Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp and found that there were approximately 100 prisoners in the camp, in addition to 120 internees assigned to external projects.[2]

The camp consisted of 15 barracks made of stone and cement. Prisoners slept on the floor on branches and straw under two blankets. Each inmate received 650 grams (1.4 pounds) of bread per day. For breakfast, the prisoners were given coffee, bread, and eggs; for lunch, soup, steak, fried potatoes, and dessert; and for dinner, soup, meat salad, beans, bread, and a half-liter (more than a pint) of wine. The prisoners were issued a shirt, pants, jacket, and a pair of shoes. Although makeshift showers had been installed, the prisoners bathed in the river. Lavatories were in the open. There was one functioning washing machine in the camp.

Three refugee doctors and a refugee male nurse provided medical care, although there was a lack of medical instruments and medication. Serious cases of illness were referred to Rabat. There was no library in the camp, but the prisoners had access to newspapers and magazines. Mail was delivered daily. The workers were allowed to move around the camp freely.

The detainees worked on roads from 5 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. In the afternoon, they worked within the camp. They were paid 1.25 francs per day in addition to a possible bonus of 4 to 5 francs. Unskilled or unfit forced laborers were paid 1.25 francs a day.

Despite prisoner complaints about the lack of medicine, fleas, poor bedding, and inadequate clothing, no one was sent to a disciplinary camp.

The Oued Akreuch camp was closed on May 27, 1941, when the prisoners were transferred to the Monod camp.[3]

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Oued Akreuch camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Oued Akreuch camp can be found in ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA; and AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa).

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NOTES

1. "Oued-Akreuch," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371140.

2. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC collection), box 1, folder 15.

3. "Liste des Belges passes par Oued-Akreuch," Liste No. 11, Annexe No. 33, Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371264.

OUED-DJERCH

Oued-Djerch (Oued-Djer, le Pont de l'Oued Djer) is located in the Algiers Département in northern Algeria about 68 kilometers (42 miles) southwest of Algiers, 31 kilometers (19 miles) northwest of Médéa, and 34 kilometers (21 miles) southeast of Cherchel. The Oued-Djerch disciplinary camp was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Oued-Djerch held Jewish forced laborers who faced the same inhumane conditions that internees faced at the notorious Magenta camp. Punishment by "*tombeau*" (the tomb) was common at Oued-Djerch. The internees were forced to lie in a ditch for an extended period and not move while being tormented by armed guards. According to Jacques Soustelle, governor general of Algeria from 1955 to 1956, Oued-Djerch was theoretically a military camp, but actually was a concentration camp where Jews were forced to work on excavations and fortifications. At Oued-Djerch they were leased to public works contractors and treated like convicts.[1]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942. After 1942 the detainees at Oued-Djerch were progressively returned to civilian life.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Oued-Djerch camp include Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Henri Msellat, *Les Juifs d'Algérie sous le régime de Vichy* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999); and Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950).

Primary source material is available in Jacques Soustelle, *Envers et contre tout*, 2: *D'Alger à Paris souvenirs et*

documents sur la France libre, 1942–1944; Souvenirs et documents sur la France Libre, 1942–1944, 2 vols. (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1950).

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NOTE

1. Soustelle, *Envers et contre tout*, 2: 214.

OUED ZEM AND MOULAY BOUAZZA

There were two camps near Oued Zem, which is located roughly 118 kilometers (73 miles) southeast of Casablanca. The first, known as the Oued Zem camp, was under the authority of the Directorate of Political Affairs (*Direction des Affaires Politiques*). The second, called Moulay Bouazza, was under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Industrial Production and Labor (*Direction de la Production Industrielle et du Travail*) in Rabat and was associated with the Administration of Forests and Waterways (*Administration des Forêts et Voies navigables*). Dr. Wyss-Dunant from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited both camps between July and August 1942. Neither camp ever held Jews (North African or foreign) or North African nationalists. Both camps closed after the Allied landing, Operation Torch, on November 8, 1942.

The Oued Zem camp was originally designed as a military camp in 1940 before its transformation into an internment camp in October 1940 when European sailors were transferred there from the Sidi El Ayachi camp. The camp went from housing 40 political detainees to more than 200 political and civilian prisoners. They included Norwegian sailors (110); Belgian sailors (22); British (22); prisoners from Malta, Gibraltar, and Tangiers (51); and other nationalities (32). During his visit to the camp, Dr. Wyss-Dunant reported that there were 215 men in the camp and 188 in the hospital.

Built in a dry and hot zone, the Oued Zem camp was located almost 122 kilometers (76 miles) southeast of Casablanca. Dr. Wyss-Dunant noted that it was "composed of six semi-barracks of a military type, with tin roofing, without insulation. The floor is concrete. Each barrack houses 30 to 40 men, who sleep on iron beds with straw mattresses and one blanket. The cots are not too close to one another. The officers are housed elsewhere. There is no heating. In summer the heat is very great because of the tin roofing."[1] Wyss-Dunant provided a detailed description of the

menu between June 16 and 22, 1942. In the mornings, the prisoners were given dates, tomato salad, cabbage goulache, potatoes with sauce, prunes, beetroot salad, carrot salad, two hard-boiled eggs, jam, and pork roast. In the afternoons, they were served noodle soup, English boiled potatoes, dates, vegetable soup, split-pea puree, prunes, chickpeas with sauce, green beans, figs, and puree of dried beans. Although water was scarce, the detainees were allowed to shower once a week. Mail and books were allowed into the camp. Prisoners with serious health conditions were sent to the hospital in Casablanca. An infirmary was in the camp, but it provided minimal health care. Clothes and shoes were scarce, especially in the harsh and cold winter. Wyss-Dunant noted how Norwegians complained of the heat, shortage of water, and the lack of books and games.

The nearby Aït Ammar iron mines made this site a good location for a foreign workers camp, in which forced laborers were deployed by the Mediterranean Niger Company (*Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*, MN), which was in charge of maintaining the railway link between Morocco, Algeria, and the coal mines in West Africa. The French Army was in charge of the camp. The prisoners were paid a small and inadequate salary for their labor. For instance, according to Wyss-Dunant, Belgian officers were paid 1,350 francs per month, Norwegian officers got 1,200 francs, and Greek workers received a lump sum of 2,400 francs. Reasons were not given for this difference in pay. Wyss-Dunant noted that the pay was increased.[2] Despite these conditions, Norwegian workers refused to go back to their home country when given the opportunity to be released on condition that they leave for Norway.

Moulay Bouazza was located at a hot place in a hilly area about 60 kilometers (37 miles) northwest of Oued Zem itself and 142 kilometers (88 miles) southeast of Casablanca. The only way to get to the camp was through a difficult trail. The camp housed 56 prisoners: 10 of these were in the hospital, 15 were sick in the camp, and 1 died. There were Poles (15); Italians (4); Russians (5); French (2); Belgians (8); Spaniards (5); Czechs (3); Germans (4); Swiss (2); British (2; one was released); Yugoslavs (3); and one Dutch, one Slav, and one Luxembourger.

The camp accommodations consisted of tents on muddy and wet

ground. The prisoners slept on straw mats and were provided two blankets and acetylene lamps. There was a canteen in a tent, and prisoners had access to beer and cigarettes. As in Oued Zem, the foreign workers lacked shoes and clothes. During his visit to the camp Dr. Wyss-Dunant reported seeing five men barefoot and unable to walk to the coal mines about 7 kilometers (4.3 miles) from the camp. Unlike Oued Zem, workers had a hard time getting access to mail. Their pay was also lower. Dr. Wyss-Dunant noted that camp prisoners were given a fixed amount of 1.25 francs per day in addition to a reward for the assigned work. Hard work doubled the payment, but few succeeded in obtaining this pay because the assigned tasks were usually unbearable.[3]

Despite the poor hygiene and inadequate supply of drugs and supplies, the administrators of the camp were able to maintain discipline among the prisoners without difficulty: the foreign workers seemed to accept their situation, as expressed in letters they exchanged with the humanitarian activist, Hélène Cazès-Benathar, over a long period of their internment.[4] In interviews with some prisoners, however, Wyss-Dunant described their morale as "very low due to the isolation, the heat and in the case for those who asked for repatriation, lack of responses to their letters. All are weakened by dysentery."[5]

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Oued Zem camp are Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War,* trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); and Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Oued Zem camp can be found in CDJC, collection CGQJ (414–50), regarding labor camps and transit camps; the private collection of Hélène Cazès-Benathar held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); and AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M). Two contemporaneous reports on the Aït Ammar mines are p. M., "Les chemins de fer du maroc," *Ag* 41: 231 (1932): 327–328; and Jean

Célérier, “L’activité minière au maroc in 1937,” *Ag* 47: 269 (1938): 540–541.

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), August 14, 1942, box 1, file 15, pp.4–5.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. USHMMA, RG-68.115M (CAHJP).
5. USHMMA, RG-67.008M, August 14, 1942, box 1, file 15, pp. 4–5.

OUED-ZENATI-BONE

The camp of Oued-Zenati-Bone (Oued Zeni, Oued-Zenati) is more than 49 kilometers (nearly 31 miles) east of Constantine in northeastern Algeria, located near the town of Oued-Zenati. Oued-Zenati-Bone was one of the Vichy labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Archival documents demonstrate that there were five sites where demobilized forced laborers (*travailleurs démobilisés*) were stationed in the Constantine Département, including Constantine, Oued-Zenati-Bone, and Sétif-Satne-Saint-Arnaud.[1] At one point Oued-Zenati-Bone held 250 internees.[2]

The group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 22, was stationed at the camp. As of August 31, 1942, Oued-Zenati-Bone had 220 indigenous forced laborers and 4 French forced laborers. The camp staff consisted of a commander, an assistant, and two heads of staff—one French and one indigenous. The camp also had one French and one indigenous auxiliary official. The French Army employed GTE No. 22.[3]

The Allies landed on the Moroccan and Algerian coasts in Operation Torch, November 8, 1942. Afterward the labor camps were slowly liberated, and the internees returned to civilian life.

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Oued-Zenati-Bone camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the detention sites at Constantine, including Oued-Zenati-Bone, can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA as RG-43.062M, reels 6 and 8.

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NOTES

1. “Lieux de stationnement du Groupement et des différente Groupes composant le Groupement,” October 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 8, n.p.; and “Encadrement,” October 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.

2. “Tableau Annexe I Organisation-Stationnement et Éffectifs des Unités de Travailleurs Démobilisés,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, p. 4.

3. “Lieux de stationnement du Groupement et des different Groupes compesant le Groupement,” August 31, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, pp. 1–2.

OULMÈS/EL KARIT

El Karit is a tin mine just south of Oulmès in north-central Morocco. Oulmès is more than 147 kilometers (91 miles) southeast of Casablanca and almost 274 kilometers (170 miles) northeast of Marrakech. The camp at El Karit (El Karib, El Kartit, El Karrit) can also be found listed as El Karit par Oulmès. El Karit was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

In June 1940, the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) was disbanded, and its "volunteers engaged for the duration of the war" (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG) were dispatched to camps in North Africa such as El Karit. The group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 6, was stationed at El Karit to do forced labor.[1] A census in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection counted a total of five detainees: three Jews (two German and one Austrian) and two Protestants (one German and one Austrian).[2]

One Jewish internee was a 48-year-old farmer, Maurice (Moritz) Feiner from Austria, who held the status of an EVDG.[3] He also worked as a driver.[4] He was interned at El Karit as late as March 1943.[5] Two other engaged volunteers at El Karit in 1943 were 42-year-old Protestant mechanic Karl Zakratsek from Austria and 48-year-old Jewish accountant Alfred Kohn (or Kuhn) from Germany.[6] Kohn was transferred from El Karit to GTE No. 14 that was stationed at Bou Azzer (Bou Azer) in March 1943.[7]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch, on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at El Karit were progressively returned to civilian life; however, the camp was still in use well into 1943, as the cases described earlier demonstrate.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the El Karit camp

include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary source material documenting the camp at El Karit is available in the AFSC Refugee Assistance Case files, available in hard copy at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296; and the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform and digital form at USHMMA as RG-68.115M).

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NOTES

1. Emplacement des Groupes de Travailleurs de la Production Industrielle et du Travail, n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M (CAHJP), n.p.
2. Degroupement des Internés par Nationalité et Confession, n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, pp. 254–255.
3. "Agriculteurs," n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, p. 305.
4. "Chauffeurs," n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, p. 307.
5. "Feiner, Maurice," March 20, 1944. USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296 (AFSC), Casablanca Series, box 2, folder AFSC Casablanca Interview forms F.
6. "Mécaniciens," n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, p. 318; and "Secrétaire et Secrétaires Comptables," n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, p. 320.
7. "Monsieur Leslie O. Heath," March 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.115M, n.p.

QUARGLA

Quargla (Ouargla, Wargla) was in the Sahara in central Algeria, 690 kilometers (429 miles) southeast of Oran, 574 kilometers (357 miles) southeast of Algiers, and 325 kilometers (202 miles) southwest of Biskra. It was located in the Oasis Territory of Quargla. The Quargla camp existed before the Franco-German Armistice as a station for soldiers of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion étrangère*, LE) and a military post for the French infantry. German Jewish Legionnaire Paul Hollander and German Jewish infantryman Herman Rothschild, the latter serving with the French Army, were posted to Quargla.

Before the Armistice, Hollander, who was later an internee at the Kenadsa camp, was sent to the Quargla camp with a group of members of the LE from its North African headquarters at Sidi-bel-Abbès after four months of basic training. Hollander described Quargla as "according to many people: one of the worst places on earth." The contaminated water gave the Legionnaires "Quargla stomach." The sanitary conditions were very primitive, and as such there were lice and flies everywhere. The prisoners had to sleep in a ditch, which was equipped with some railway sleeper beds.[1] There was a military hospital in Quargla.

A "loony" colonel was in charge of the camp, and he "played tough." He was continuously fighting with the medical officer. The Legionnaires had to wake up at 5 A.M. and work or train until 11 A.M. when they marched back to camp to eat. They would work again from 4 P.M. until 6 or 8 P.M. The doctor did not start treating patients until 8 A.M., so the sick Legionnaires, who still had to wake up at 5 A.M., were given light labor to do until 8 A.M. The colonel was replaced toward the end of Hollander's time at Quargla. By the time the Legionnaires returned to Sidi-bel-Abbès, France had already fallen to Germany.[2]

Herman Rothschild had a different impression of Quargla and described his 18 months stationed there before the Armistice as "quite nice."[3] Alfred Larsen, a Dane who enlisted in the Foreign

Legion in 1939, was also interned at Quargla in the spring of 1940. The town of Quargla was also a center of forced residence for local arrested suspects, such as Albert Amselek and Joseph Bergel, who were involved in the Douieb Affair, the roundup of 14 Jewish businessmen from Algeria on June 27, 1941.

After the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940, Quargla became one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa. An autonomous group of demobilized foreign workers (*Groupe Autonome des Travailleurs Etrangers Démobilisés*, GTEA) was sent to Quargla,[4] which was classified as a camp of supervised stay (*camp de séjour*). As of April 1, 1941, the Quargla camp had 59 workers.[5] The deputy chief was Commandant Maillard.[6] At one point the forced laborers of the one company stationed at Ben-Chicao might have been transferred to Quargla.[7]

In 1941 the workers at Quargla were employed by three military services: the Artillery Engineering and Electric Company, the Artillery Engineering Subsistence Service, and the Artillery Engineering Radio Service. The majority of camp supervisors were French. The workers themselves were mostly foreign, and there were a small number of Jews.[8] By 1943 the Jews' employment was listed as simply being in the service of the Artillery Engineering Corps (*Génie Artillerie*).[9]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942. Commandant Mail-lard communicated to the head of the Vichy French army squadrons and military commander of the Quargla Territory, Fouchet, that the Spaniards interned at Quargla were the cause of disorder and unrest following the Allied landing. This resulted in heavy surveillance by the French authorities. Most of these Spaniards requested relocation to Mexico.[10]

After 1942 the detainees at Quargla were returned to civilian life, but the camp was still in use well into 1943.[11] Quargla is listed as a North African detention site by the German Federal Finance Ministry (*Bundesfinanzministerium*) for its survivors' pension program. The Conference for Jewish Material Claims against Germany attained recognition for Quargla to become an approved camp on the list.[12]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing Quargla include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); and Jacques Cantier and Eric Jennings, *Empire colonial sous Vichy* (Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob, 2004).

Primary source material for Quargla can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reels 6 and 8; and the AFSC Refugee Assistance Case files, available in hard copy at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296. The personal papers of Paul Hollander, 1939–1944, are held at WL (Doc. collection 963; Acc. No. 52278). VHA holds interviews on the camp by Paul Hollander (#20060; October 3, 1996) and Herman Rothschild (#44110; April 23, 1998).

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA # 20060, Paul Hollander testimony, October 3, 1996.
2. Ibid.
3. VHA # 44110, Herman Rothschild testimony, April 23, 1998.
4. Gouvernement Général de l'Algerie, GTED, August 31, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.
5. Groupements des travailleurs étrangers, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, p. 5.
6. Gt. Gnl. de l'Algérie, GTEA, Quargla, Éxécution des prescripts de la N. de S. No. 7566, November 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.
7. "Note de Service," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.
8. Gt. Gnl. de l'Algérie, GTEA, Quargla, Éxécution des prescripts de la N. de S. No. 7566, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.; Gt. Gnl. de l'Algerie, GTEA surveillance suspects (travailleurs), June 11, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8,

n.p.; and Gt. Gnl. de l'Algerie, GTEA Prescriptions de la N. de S. No. 7566, November 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.

9. Gt. Gnl. de l'Algerie, GTEA Quargla, March 31, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.; and Gt. Gnl. de l'Algerie, GTED, April 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.

10. Le Chef d'Escadrons Fouchet Commandant Militaire du Territoire des Oasis, April 2, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.

11. Ibid.

12. See http://www.bundesfinanzministerium.de/Content/DE/Standardartikel/Themen/Oeffentliche_Finanzen/Vermoegensrecht_und_Entschaedigungen/Kriegsfolgen_Wiedergutmachung/Haftstaetten_Liste_engl.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=3.

RAM RAM

Ram Ram (today: Camp du Ramram) is located just over 10 kilometers (more than 6 miles) northwest of Marrakech and 206 kilometers (128 miles) southwest of Casablanca. The scant documentation for the existence of a confinement center at Ram Ram in Vichy Morocco is a brief notice submitted by the Belgians to the International Tracing Service.

The Vichy military police arrested Belgian citizen Auguste Brasseur on June 10, 1940, in Marrakech. Brasseur was immediately dispatched to Ram Ram, which was located in the middle of the desert. The Belgian report classified this site as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS), given that the prisoners remained under strict surveillance and were only permitted to leave the camp once per month with authorization.[1]

Better documented is the repurposing of Ram Ram as a prisoner of war (POW) camp for Axis prisoners after the liberation of Morocco. German sources report that the site held 3,500 German POWs. It seems likely that the Free French Army built out the CSS, the remnants of which are still visible on satellite maps, to create a larger camp.

SOURCES Although there is no scholarly study on the Vichy camp at Ram Ram, some information on the subsequent POW camp can be found in Kurt W. Böhme, ed., *Die Deutschen Kriegsgefangen in französischer Hand*, vol. 13 of Erich W. Ma schke, ed., *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, 15 vols. (Bielefeld: Ernst und Werner Gieseking, 1962–1982).

A primary source documenting the Ram Ram camp under the Vichy authorities can be found in ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, which is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. “Notice sur Ram Ram,” Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d’Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 8237112.

RELIZANE

Relizane (Rezaline) is located in northwest Algeria, 251 kilometers (156 miles) southwest of Algiers, 109 kilometers (67 miles) due east of Oran, and 256 kilometers (159 miles) north-northeast of Mecheria. Established in April 1941, Relizane was one of the Vichy forced labor camps in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. At one point the group of demobilized foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Démobilisés*, GTED) at Relizane and Nemours had 543 laborers.[1]

Antoine Colombani served in World War II as a noncommissioned officer (NCO) and aviation mechanic based at the Meknès air base. After the Vichy regime took over, he was transferred to the Relizane camp because of his antifascist behavior. Colombani wrote,

> The commandant sent unskilled officers to Relizane and their responsibility was to comply with the dogmas of the Vichy regime. Under the brutal sun in the valley of the Chilef River, and in the hot barracks, we were charged with the instruction of thousands of engaged volunteers …. The officers also had to remember the commands of the camp doctor, who did not know anything about illness or injuries, even when all these young men (were panicked when) their feet were bleeding after twenty-eight kilometer [17.4 mile] marches.[2]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Relizane were progressively returned to civilian life; however, the camp was still in use well into 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Relizane camp include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff,

Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); Henri Msellati, *Les Juifs d'Algerie sous le regime de Vichy* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999); Norbert Belange, *Quand Vichy internait ses soldats juifs d'Algérie: Bedeau, sud oranais, 1941–1943* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006); Robert Attal, *Regards sur les Juifs d'Algérie* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996); Andrée Bachoud and Bernard Sicot, *Sables d'exil* (Perpignan: Mare Nostrum: 2009); and Michel Abitbol, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord sous Vichy* (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1983)

Primary source material documenting the camp at Relizane can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reel 6. A published testimony is Antoine Colombani, *Viêtnam 1948–1950: La solution oubliée* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997).

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NOTES

1. "Tableau Annexe I Organisation-Stationnement et Éffectifs des Unités de Travailleurs Démobilisés," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, p. 4.

2. Colombani, *Viêtnam 1948–1950*, pp. 19–20.

SEBIKOTANE

Sebikotane (or Sebikoutane) is located 34 kilometers (just over 20 miles) east of Dakar. From July 30 to December 12, 1941, it was the site of a small French-run internment camp for Belgian and British merchant sailors. The internees were held in a building on the grounds of the William Ponty School for well-to-do Senegalese. The camp consisted of four classrooms converted into dormitories for the officers, cadets, and sailors.[1]

Originating from the Belgian Congo, the Belgian freighter SS *Carlier* docked at the port of Dakar to take on coal on June 10, 1940. It was forced to stay in port after the signing of the Franco-German Armistice on June 22. On August 4, 1940, the captain attempted to escape to an Allied port, but after being bombed and badly damaged, the *Carlier* was unable to flee enemy waters. The French authorities proposed to the sailors that they either steer the ship to a German-occupied port or work for the French. On July 30, 1941, the commander of the Dakar maritime police, assisted by 30 armed sailors, boarded the vessel, arrested the captain and the officers, and interned them at Sebikotane.

The French police controlled the camp, which held 24 sailors. A French lieutenant and sergeant ensured discipline. All the prisoners were from Belgium, except for two, who were British. The sailors were considered civilian internees and were guarded by up to 35 Senegalese soldiers in the French Army. The internees were not allowed to leave the camp to visit Dakar. When the camp closed in December 1941, they were relocated to the Sidi El Ayachi camp in Morocco. A Belgian report submitted to the International Tracing Service in 1951 listed the names of the 22 Belgian sailors held at Sebikotane and dispatched to Sidi El Ayachi.[2]

SOURCES Primary sources on the Sebikotane camp can be found in ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und

Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Aomar Boum

NOTES

1. "Camp de SEBIKOUTANE," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. Nos. 82371114–82371117.

2. "Liste des Belges passes par Sebikotane," Annexe No. 33, Liste No. 1, Rapport définitif No. 52, December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. Nos. 82371248–82371249.

SETTAT

Located 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the city of Settat, the camp of Settat (also known as Fqih ben Salh) was built on a woody slope. The camp was almost 66 kilometers (approximately 41 miles) south of Casablanca and housed the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 12. The camp consisted of four stone barracks covered with foliage and adobe, each of which housed 30 men. The beds were made out of branches, and the prisoners were given two blankets per person. The camp was cool in the summer, but during the winter rainy season, the leaking roofs made it hard for the forced laborers to sleep. In 1942, the Settat camp was under the direction of J. de Charant.

Settat was a very crowded camp. Its capacity was 120 men, but it actually held 255 men at its peak. According to a report by Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), who visited the camp on July 16, 1942, the camp included prisoners from many countries: Austrians (6), Belgians (39), Czechs (7), Dutch (7), French (5), Germans (28), Greek (1), Italians (34), Poles (42), Russians (14), Swiss (6), and Yugoslavs (10), as well as others.[1] Ten prisoners were Jews.

Initially, the camp housed 200 political prisoners who worked in the forest industry. At the end of 1942, Settat had approximately 100 workers, 31 of whom were volunteers engaged in the Foreign Legion for the duration of the war (*Engagés Volontaires pour la Durée de la Guerre*, EVDG).

A canteen provided beer and necessary goods. Prisoners were given clothes, shoes, and hats during the summer and winter, but not socks or raincoats. Once a week, the internees were forced to shower at the local infirmary in Settat. On Sundays, they were also allowed to go to the swimming pool in Settat. Drinking water was accessible from a nearby well. In general, the prisoners were allowed to go to town from 6:00 P.M. to bedtime without any

restrictions.

There was no infirmary in the camp. The prisoners had little access to medications or surgical dressings. Many were sickened with malaria and were unable to continue working. The prisoners also suffered from flea infections.

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Settat camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the Settat camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); and AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa).

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NOTE

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), July 16, 1942, box 1, folder 15, pp. 20–21.

SIDI EL AYACHI

Sidi El Ayachi is located near Azemmour about 76 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Casablanca, on the right bank of the mouth of Oum Rabia River between Casablanca and El Jadida (Mazagan). Also known as Kaid El Ayachi or Azemmour, the camp was first used as a reception center for members of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion étrangère*, LE) living in Morocco before 1940. On October 22, 1941, it was repurposed as an internment camp, first for sailors from allied and other nations, then in mid-1942 for individuals and families, including women and children. The good weather conditions and ocean breeze made life inside this camp better than in other camps in North Africa.

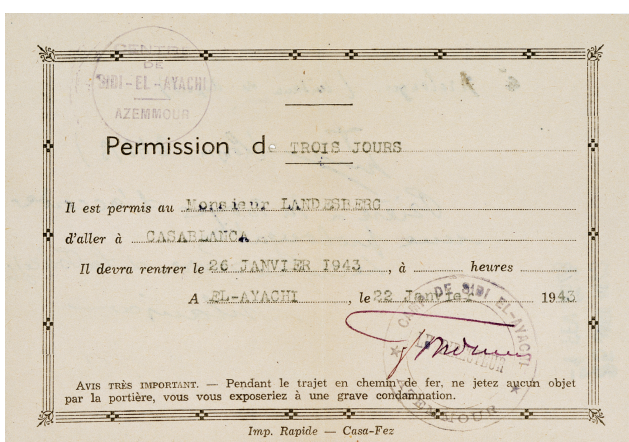
The camp consisted of about 20 masonry buildings with wired windows and concrete floors; the masonry was covered with sheet metal.[1] Each building was divided into rooms that housed no more than 20 internees each. A tall wall encircled the camp. The main gate was guarded by Moroccan soldiers, and the camp administrators were members of the local police force of Casablanca. Capitaine Conte de Menorval, a French officer, was in charge of discipline inside the camp.

The internees were allowed to move freely and were grouped by families. They had access to individual beds with linens and blankets. On August 17, 1942, Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp and reported that there were 236 adults and 5 infants interned in Sidi El Ayachi.[2] In addition, 29 of the internees were on leave, 9 were in the local hospital, and 9 were transients. The total population was thus 288, 86 of whom were Spanish. Of the 288 internees, 138 were male, 99 were female, and there were 51 children. Wyss-Dunant described the living conditions in the camps as “comfortable.” Jewish inmates had the opportunity to attend the synagogue at Azemmour. The majority of foreign refugees had been living in Casablanca.

On July 23, 1942, General Charles Noguès, the French resident-

general in Morocco, visited the camp and expressed his satisfaction with its management. Later the French authorities claimed that the British and Americans tried to remove some internees from the camp. This claim triggered the transfer of Norwegian and Belgian sailors to the Oued Zem camp. On April 6, 1943, Édouard Conod, a representative of the ICRC, reported that the camp held 217 internees. However, there were only 122 present at the time, a group that included 69 people from Spain. He returned on April 13, 1943, and confirmed the number.[3] On July 3, 1943, another ICRC representative, Camille Vautier, visited the camp and reported that there were 53 men, 42 women, and 7 children in the camp.[4]

The conditions were relatively good in the camp. About 625 grams (1.4 pounds) of bread and 65 grams (2.3 ounces) of meat were served per internee per day. Various articles were available for sale, and clothes and sandals were distributed. The sanitary conditions were excellent, and the camp had one male nurse and three doctors who were also prisoners. The internees did their own laundry and had access to eight showers with drains and a sewer system. They were allowed to go outside the camp and visit the neighboring community of Azemmour. Many Jewish internees were in close contact with Azemmour's Moroccan Jewish community, which helped feed many of the internees. Overall, Sidi El Ayachi was one of the few camps where the conditions of life were relatively comfortable.


SIDI-EL-AYACHI
AZEMMOUR
Permission de TROIS JOURS
Il est permis au Nommé LANDESBERG
d'aller à CASABLANCA
Il devra rentrer le 26 JANVIER 1943, à heures
A EL-AYACHI, le 22 JANVIER 1943
AVIS TRÈS IMPORTANT. — Pendant le trajet en chemin de fer, ne jetez aucun objet par la portière, vous vous exposeriez à une grave condamnation.
Imp. Rapide — Casa-Fez

Permit issued to Hans Landesberg in the Sidi El Ayachi concentration camp, allowing him to go to Casablanca for three days, January 26, 1943. USHMM WS #65538, COURTESY OF HANS LANDESBERG.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the camp at the Sidi El Ayachi are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Christine Levisse-Touzé, "Les camps d'internement en Afrique du Nord pendant la seconde guerre mondiale," in 'Abd-al-Ǧalīl at-Tamīmī and Charles-Robert Ageron, eds., *Mélanges Charles-Robert Ageron*, *2* (Zaghouan, Tunisia: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1996), 2: 601–608; and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Primary sources on the Sidi El Ayachi camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Aomar Boum

NOTES

1. "Enquêtes sur les prisons et les camps d'internement," Rapport définitif No. 52, Annexe No. 14, December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371199.
2. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), August 17, 1942, box 1, folder 15.
3. Ibid.

4. “Enquêtes sur les prisons et les camps d’internement,” Rapport définitif No. 52, Annexe No. 14, December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371199.

SKRIRAT

Skrirat (Skhirat or Skhrirat) is located in present-day Morocco, strategically situated 61 kilometers (almost 38 miles) northeast of Casablanca and more than 26 kilometers (over 16 miles) southwest of Rabat. Skrirat was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. It was classified as a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE) camp.

The camp was located in an ancient citadel (*kasbah*) very close to the Atlantic Ocean. The barracks were simple and covered with sheet metal. Each one housed 100 detainees, who were each assigned a single bed, a mattress, and two blankets. The conditions in the camp were poor. There was a shortage of fresh drinking water, and many internees suffered from stomach ulcers, typhus, malaria, asthma, and/or tuberculosis. Sick detainees were not quarantined, and therefore disease spread throughout the camp. Many detainees were taken to neighboring hospitals in Rabat and Casablanca. Others did not survive the bad hygienic conditions.

The Allies landed on the Moroccan and Algerian coasts in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees progressively returned to civilian life; however, some remained in the camp. During this period a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Camille Vautier, visited the camp on several occasions.[1] In April 1943, he counted 238 internees (236 Italians and 2 Germans). On June 29, 1943, the number decreased to 148 detainees (146 Italians, 1 German, 1 French Foreign Legionnaire); and on September 3, 1943, the camp had 97 inmates (95 Italians, 1 German, and 1 French).

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Skrirat camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the Skrirat camp can be found in

RICR 25 (1943): 784–785; and www.claimscon.co.il/new/files/wordocs/N_Africa.pdf.

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NOTE

1. *RICR* 25 (1943): 784–785.

TALZAZA MENABBA

In 1941, the Vichy authorities established a forced labor sub-camp of Colomb-Béchar at Talzaza Menabba (Menabha), Algeria, for the purpose of quarrying stone for the construction of the railway for the Mediterranean Niger Company (*Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*, Mer-Niger).[1] Located very close to the Moroccan border, Talzaza is 35 kilometers (22 miles) north of Béchar and 727 kilometers (452 miles) southwest of Algiers. The camp consisted of the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 3, and had the capacity to hold 100 men. However, according to historian Jacob Oliel, when Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp in August 1942, there were 120 prisoners, including in Menabba and Mengoup. At the time of Wyss-Dunant's visit, all but five of the prisoners were Spanish. Initially consisting of a group of tents, Talzaza became a barracks camp in 1942. The majority of forced laborers worked at Menabba. As a subcamp of Colomb-Béchar, Talzaza reported to Colonel Liebray, the military commandant of the Ain Sefra Territory, and was under the overall command of Commandant Viciot of Colomb-Béchar.[2]

According to documentation submitted by the kingdom of Belgium to the International Tracing Service (ITS), a Belgian citizen was confined in Talzaza Menabba. Albert Rosenberg, who passed through a number of Vichy-run camps in Morocco and Algeria, was held at Talzaza from October to December 1941. Before October 1941, he was held at Bou Arfa. On December 15, 1941, he was dispatched to the Colomb-Béchar camp.[3]

SOURCES A secondary source that describes the Talzaza Menabba camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the Talzaza Menabba camp can

be found in ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. "Notice sur Talzaza Menaba," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371156.
2. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), August 1, 1942, box 1, folder 15.
3. Annexe 33, Liste 15, "Liste des Belges passés par Talzaza Menaba," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371269.

TAMANAR (TANOUNDJA)

Tamanar (Temanar, Tamana) is located in southwestern Morocco, 344 kilometers (214 miles) southwest of Casablanca and 553 kilometers (almost 344 miles) southwest of Fes. The camp was situated more than 1,000 meters (3,281 feet) above sea level and was approximately 25 kilometers (16 miles) from the town of Tamanar, halfway between Agadir and Mogador (today: Essaouira). In the sources, it was also called Tanoundja Tamanar, Tamanar par Mogador, or Tamanar (Mogador). Tamanar was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. It housed the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 7.[1]

The camp consisted of small barracks that each held 8 to 10 men. Every internee was allocated a rudimentary bed with a single mattress and two blankets. As of April 30, 1943, when Camille Vautier of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the Tamanar camp, it had 219 internees, of whom 211 were Italians, 7 were former Legionnaires, and one was of an unknown origin.

A notable person at Tamanar was the German refugee, Alfred Haase, who served as GTE's medical officer from January to June 1943.[2] GTE No. 7 internees Willy Hark and Richard Orthman requested transfer to the British Pioneer Corps in the summer of 1943; that is, more than six months after Operation Torch and the Allied landings in Morocco and Algeria. Hark and Orthmann were originally from Germany and were veterans of the International Brigade (Interbrigade) in Spain.[3] They were known antifascists when they arrived in Casablanca in 1940,[4] and the French authorities wanted to keep them under surveillance.[5] Italian national Jean La Rocca was also interned with GTE No. 7 at Tamanar starting in February 1943. La Rocca suffered from malaria and incurred a skull fracture.[6]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in

Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Tamanar were progressively returned to civilian life. As evidenced by the cases of Haase, Hark, Orthmann, and La Rocca, however, the camp was still in use well into 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Tamanar camp include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary source material documenting the Tamanar camp can be found in the AFSC Refugee Assistance Case files, available in hard copy at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296 and the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M).

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NOTES

1. Emplacement des Groupes de Travailleurs de la Production Industrielle et du Travail, n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, n.p.
2. "Haase, Alfred," n.d., USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296 (AFSC), Casablanca Series, box 3 (G–K), folder AFSC Casablanca Subject File H, subfolder "Haag, Paul."
3. HQABS Civil Affairs APO 759, June 9, 1943, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296, Casablanca Series, box 3 (G–K), folder AFSC Casablanca H, subfolder "Hark, Willy."
4. Base Headquarters Civil Affairs Office Delegation, October 15, 1943, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296, Casablanca Series, box 3 (G–K), folder AFSC Casablanca H, subfolder "Hark, Willy."
5. Confidential, CIC Section Fifth (United States) Army, APO No. 464, May 23, 1943, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296, Casablanca Series, box 5 (M–Q), folder AFSC Casablanca H, subfolder "Hark, Willy."

6. Bureau des Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers, June 17, 1943, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296, Casablanca Series, box 3 (G–K), folder L.

TELERGMA

Telergma (Telerghma) is located in the Mila province in northeastern Algeria, 36 kilometers (more than 22 miles) southwest of Constantine and approximately 152 kilometers (over 94 miles) northeast of Biskra. Telergma was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. The Telergma camp, which was created in 1941, was initially located in barracks from the nearby town of Constantine. It housed a group of Jewish workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Israélites*, GTI) that was supervised by French Army officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs). This contingent was also described as a group of civil workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Civils*, GTC), GTC No. 22.[1]

As of October 31, 1941, GTI No. 22 had one indigenous and two French supervisors. In addition, there was one French superintendent and one indigenous superintendent. The 242 indigenous and three French forced laborers were deployed by the French Army.[2] As of February 1, 1942, 6 Vichy officers and NCOs supervised 261 GTI laborers. After March 1942 the work became particular brutal: the internees were required to chop wood and haul big bags of stones on their backs under the blistering sun. George Barkatz was detained in the Telergma camp for two years for being an "indigenous Jew."

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Telergma were progressively returned to civilian life.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Telergma camp include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and *L'Arche*, 461–464 (1996).

A primary source documenting the camp at Telergma can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reel

NOTES

1. Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, Groupement de Travailleurs Demobilises du Departement de Constantine, December 2, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 8, pp. 1–2.

2. Ibid.

TENDRARA

Tendrara (Tendarra, Tandara) is a town located in eastern Morocco, almost 522 kilometers (324 miles) east of Casablanca and 161 kilometers (almost 100 miles) north of Béchar, Algeria. The Tendrara camp, one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940, was located nearly 10 kilometers (6 miles) east of the town.

On March 22, 1941, Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain authorized the construction of the Trans-Saharan Railroad, also known as the Mediterranean-Nigerian (*Mer-Niger*) railway project. The railroad was intended to connect ports in Morocco and Algeria with the port at Dakar, Senegal. Tendrara was along the stretch of the railway line from Oran, Algeria, south along the Moroccan-Algerian border, in which forced laborers built the railroad under extreme and inhumane conditions. According to author Robert Satloff, the prisoners included Polish, German, Austrian, and Romanian Jews, Spaniards, and others. Overseeing the camp were French soldiers, local Arab guards, and the paramilitary staff of the Railroads of Eastern Morocco (*Chemin de Fer du Maroc Oriental*, CMO) and of the Mer-Niger Company.

The internees lived in tents. All of the camp buildings, except for one intended for the camp administration and the railway officials, faced the west side of the railway. The station house was at the center, and behind it were several buildings divided into small cubicles that were most likely used as kitchens. At the back of the camp were basic stone structures that were also divided into cubicles. A large house was located 183 meters (600 feet) south of the station. The buildings were well laid out for use by soldiers or railway representatives. The more sophisticated quarters closer to the tracks were most likely for the Europeans, whereas the simpler buildings located toward the back of the camp were meant for the Arab guards.

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Tendrara were progressively returned to civilian life.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing Tendrara include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); David Bensoussan, *Il était une fois le Maroc: Témoignages du Passé Judéo-Marocain* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2012); and Martin Gilbert, *The Macmillan Atlas of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1982). For footage of what remains of the site, see www.jewishmorocco.org/en?page_id=435.

Cristina Bejan

TOMBOUCTOU

Between October 1941 and at least August 1942, the French Army operated an internment camp for captured seamen of the Royal Merchant Navy at Tombouctou (Timbuktu or Timbuctoo). Today a major city in Mali, Tombouctou was part of the French Sudan (*Sudan Français*) in French West Africa (*Afrique occidentale française*, AOF) during World War II. It is located 706 kilometers (439 miles) northeast of Bamako and 1,562 kilometers (971 miles) northeast of Dakar, Senegal. The Tombouctou camp held more than 50 internees in a two-building, walled compound, guarded by French noncommissioned officers (NCOs) and indigenous troops. The commandant, originally from the French Ca rib bean, was named Moreau.[1]

Armed French sloops patrolling the waters off West Africa intercepted several British merchant vessels and captured their crews, among them the SS *Criton* and the SS *Allende*. After an initial internment at Conakry (1,412 kilometers [874 miles] southwest of Tombouctou), the crews were dispatched on an arduous journey by rail, bus, and barge along the Niger River to Tombouctou. The lengthy trip adversely affected the health of many of the prisoners. A few additional merchant seamen were dispatched to Tombouctou from the Dakar hospital and the Sebikotane camp, just east of Dakar. Another internee, too sick for repatriation, from the already exchanged crew of the SS *Jhelum* was also sent there.[2] Before their transfer to the prisoner of war (POW) camp at Koulikoro (655 kilometers or 407 miles southwest of Tombouctou), the camp also held an officer from the Royal Naval Reserves (RNR) and a pi lot officer from the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF). The RNR officer was attached to the SS *Criton*, whereas the RCAF officer crashed over AOF territory while ferrying a Hawker Hurricane fighter plane from Freetown, Sierra Leone, to Cairo, Egypt.[3] Captain G. T. Dobeson of the *Criton* was the senior internee. After the arrival of the *Allende's* crew in April 1942, he and Captain Williamson of the *Allende*

jointly represented the internees before Moreau.

The conditions at Tombouctou were horrible. The internees subsisted on a diet of couscous, thin gravy, rice, and peanuts, with few vegetables and little meat. Although the camp had a physician, medicine was nonexistent. Basic amenities, such as toothpaste, toothbrushes, and razors, were lacking. The internees wore their merchant marine uniforms until they were threadbare. As recalled by Bernard Peter de Neumann, "Our uniforms wore out, so we took sheets off our beds and made rough skirts."[4]

As Protecting Power, the U.S. consulate in Dakar relayed aid parcels from the British Red Cross Society (BRCS) to the camp. The internees did not receive any of those parcels, however, until they were subsequently transferred to the Kankan internment camp. U.S. Consul General Fayette J. Flexer served as a conduit between the governor general of French West Africa, Pierre Boisson, and the British West African Governors' Conference, through the offices of the U.S. consulate in Lagos, Nigeria. Although Flexer never inspected Tombouctou, he took an interest in the fate of the internees and transmitted proposals that secured the eventual exchange, in July and December 1942, of the crews of the *Allende* and *Criton*, respectively. The *Allende* crew reached British West African territory in July 1942. The *Criton* crew was transferred in August 1942 to the Kankan internment camp (984 kilometers or 611 miles southwest of Tombouctou in Guinea) before their release in December 1942.[5]

As civilians, interned merchant seamen were not entitled to POW status under the Geneva Convention of 1929, and the conditions at this camp were substantially worse than at other internment camps in the AOF and French North Africa, even those holding Britons. Witnesses recalled that the French NCOs enjoyed substantial meals in their view and that the commandant fashioned an elaborate but fictitious menu for the benefit of the Protecting Power and London that bore little relation to the rations actually distributed. The internees attributed the poor conditions to the commandant's anglophobia.

Two internees, both from the crew of the SS *Allende*, died in the Tombouctou camp and were buried (presumably) in a nearby cemetery. Able Seaman John Turnbull Graham, aged 23, died of

heatstroke on May 2, 1942. Chief Engineer William Soutter, aged 60, was unable to digest solid food, even rice, and died of starvation on May 28, 1942. Other internees suffered from serious physical ailments, including chronic dysentery.[6]

It is not clear if the transfer of the *Criton's* crew in August 1942 resulted in the Tombouctou internment camp's closure. As late as November 23, 1942—that is, two weeks after Operation Torch— the U.S. consulate in Dakar reported, probably based on dated intelligence, that two Britons and two Poles were held in "administrative internment" in the camp.[7]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Tombouctou internment camp are David Miller, *Mercy Ships* (London: Continuum, 2008); and Wayne Ralph, *Aces, Warriors & Wingmen: Firsthand Accounts of Canada's Fighter Pi lots in the Second World War* (Missisauga, Ontario: John Wiley & Sons, Canada, 2005). An unpublished but detailed account of the camp is Bernard de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots: The Story of the SS CRITON" (unpub. MSS, 2004). The account is based in part on documentation about his father's internment. Information on the two burials at the Tombouctou camp can be found at the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, "Timbuktu (Tombouctou) Cemetery," www.cwgc.org.

Primary sources documenting the Tombouctou internment camp can be found in TNA, collections ADM 116, ADM 199, FO 317/31938, FO 371/32035 and 32036, and FO 916; NARA, RG-84 (Textual records from the Department of State U.S. Consulate, Dakar, Senegal, 1869–1960); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiter-lager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. Contemporaneous newspaper accounts are in *DE*(L) and *AP&J*. Testimonies by internees can be found at IWM: 14823, sound recording of an oral history interview with D. M. R. Maxwell, n.d.; and Doc. 11851, the private papers of W. Williams, 2002. A published testimony can be found at www.bbc.co.uk/history.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Report of Captain Williamson, SS *Allende*, July 1942, TNA, ADM 199/2140 Enc 54, excerpted in de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 155.

2. For the internees dispatched from Dakar, "On U-Boat and at Timbuctoo Camp," *AP&J*, January 2, 1943; and Annexe No. 2, Procès-Verbal d'Interrogatoire, Charles Staes, July 7, 1950, Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371177; on the *Jhelum* crew member, Flexer to U.S. Department of State and American Embassy, London, July 23, 1942, re: British Interests, with attached medical report on internee H. F. L., NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 704.

3. Testimony of Allen Robert McFadden, June 3, 1974, available at www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/stories/90/a8043590.shtml.

4. As quoted in "The Man from Timbuctoo," *DE*(L), February 10, 1943.

5. Flexer, Telegram No. 291 to U.S. Secretary of State, July 30, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1 (1940–1948), folder 711.4 (Air Corps, USA); on the *Allende* and *Criton* exchanges, U.S. Consulate, Dakar, Memorandum, ca. April 11, 1942, with a name list of *Criton* internees; Memorandum, May 28, 1942; and Memorandum for files, stamped July 7, 1942, available in NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 704 (British).

6. Flexer to U.S. Department of State and American Embassy, London, July 23, 1942, re: British Interests, with attached medical report on internee H. F. L., NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 704.

7. U.S. Consulate, Dakar, to U.S. State Department, Telegram No. 481, November 23, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1 (1940–1948), folder 700 (Relations of States General, 1942–1943).

Portrait of a Jewish couple on a war-damaged street in Budapest. In the words of Soviet photographer Yevgeny Khaldei, "I saw them walking down the street. I was in a black leather coat, and at first they were afraid—they thought I was from the SS. I walked over and tore off their stars, first the woman's and then the man's. She got even more frightened. She said, 'No, no, you can't do that, we have to wear them!' I told them that the Russians were here, I told them, 'Shalom.' Then she cried." January 1945. USHMM WS #27208, COURTESY OF MAGYAR NEMZETI MUZEUM TORTENETI FENYKEPTAR. [SOURCE: NAKHIMOVSKY, ALEXANDER AND ALICE (ED.). *WITNESS TO HISTORY: THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF YEVGENY KHALDEI*. NEW YORK, APERTURE, 1997, P. 10].

HUNGARY

As a successor to the defeated Central Powers, Hungary lost approximately 66 percent of its pre-World War I territory. Under the Treaty of Trianon, signed in June 1920, the Allied Powers awarded Hungarian-ruled territories to Austria, Italy, and Romania and to the newly created states of Czechoslovakia and the Serb,

Croat, and Slovene State (Yugoslavia). Based partly on the Wilsonian principle of national self-determination, along with secret treaties that encouraged Italy and Romania to enter World War I, the territorial changes included the awarding of Northern Transylvania and the eastern Banat to Romania, Slovakia and Carpatho-Ruthenia (Transcarpathia) to Czechoslovakia, Croatia-Slavonia and Vojvodina to what became Yugoslavia, Fiume to Italy, and Burgenland to Austria. Most of these territories had substantial Hungarian minorities. In addition, the Allied Powers limited Hungary's army to 35,000 troops and forbade it to have an air force. As a now landlocked country, Hungary was not permitted a navy. Domestically and internationally, the Treaty of Trianon placed Hungary firmly in the revisionist camp during the interwar period.

The deposal of the short-lived Bolshevik regime of Béla Kun (March–August 1919) drove Hungarian politics to the right, under the regency of Miklós Horthy (1920–1944). Horthy's ultra-rightist Christian-nationalist regime circumscribed what democratic freedoms the nation had gained in the fall of 1918, and Hungary became the first country after World War I to impose a *numerus clausus*, restricting the number of Jews permitted to matriculate in higher education to just 20 percent.

With the assistance of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, Horthy's regime regained lost territories in the First and Second Vienna Awards. The First Vienna Award (1938) granted southern Slovakia to Hungary. During the territorial dismemberment of rump Czechoslovakia in March 1939, Hungary occupied Carpatho-Ruthenia, giving the country a common border with Poland. The Second Vienna Award (1940) granted Northern Transylvania to Hungary. In November 1940, Hungary joined the Axis and subsequently participated in the invasion of Yugoslavia (April 1941). During the invasion, it occupied Bačka (part of the Banat, including Vojvodina) and Baranya.

Although the Horthy regime was not fascist per se and permitted some open political opposition, fascist parties and radical nationalists continued to press for more extreme antisemitic measures. The First Anti-Jewish Law (1938) limited the number of Jews in the professions and as employees to just 20 percent of a given occupation. The Second Anti-Jewish Law (1939) defined

Jews in "racial" terms and reduced the number permitted to participate in such white-collar jobs to just 6 percent.

Hungarian Regent, Admiral Miklós Horthy, November 1938.
USHMM WS #77627, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM PHOTO ARCHIVES.

INTERNMENT CAMPS

After World War I the Bolshevik regime established the first network of internment camps in Hungary. The counterrevolutionary regime of Horthy expanded the network. Motivated largely by ultra-rightist Christian-nationalist ideals, the Horthy regime pursued a revisionist and fiercely anticommunist policy. To protect the regime, the counterrevolutionaries arrested and incarcerated a large number of individuals identified as actual or potential subversives. Most of the internees were communists suspected to have been associated with the Bolshevik dictatorship. Many among the internees were Jews or of Jewish origin.

Later, the internment camp system was expanded to include other "subversives" deemed dangerous to the conservative-aristocratic regime, including some socialists and even rightist extremists. During the interwar period, the regime also interned a large number of asocial elements, including vagrants, prostitutes, and embezzlers. After the adoption of the First Anti-Jewish Law in May 1938, the Hungarian authorities interned a relatively large number of Jews who were accused of price gouging and black marketeering.

The internment camp system was expanded after Hungary entered the war against the Soviet Union on June 27, 1941. This expansion was coupled with the drive against so-called alien Jews. During the summer of 1941, the Hungarian authorities rounded up approximately 18,000 Jews, among them many native born, who could not instantly prove their Hungarian citizenship. Together with an additional 5,000 Jews, they were deported to German-occupied Ukraine in the vicinity of Kamenets-Podolsk, where almost all of them were murdered in late August. Before being deported, many of these Jews were first concentrated in Hungary's major internment camps, including Kistarcsa, Topolya, and Sárvár. In addition to the "alien" Jews, these camps, like those of Garany, Nagykanizsa, Ricse, and Csörgő, included a large number of "subversive elements"—detainees convicted of political crimes. Among them were a considerable number of Jews who had been involved in underground procommunist activities. In the context of the Nazi era, these "subversives" identified the Soviet Union as an enemy of the Third Reich and, by definition, a protector of Jews.

Almost immediately after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, the internment camps were filled with both rich and prominent Jews who had been held as hostages and other Jews who had been arrested in so-called individual operations (*Einzelaktionen*) by both the German and the Hungarian authorities. To accommodate the large number of hostages and victims of individual operations, the Nazis set up a number of makeshift internment camps in various parts of Budapest. One of these temporary internment camps was set up within the facilities of the National Rabbinical Institute (*Országos Rabbiképző Intézet*) at Rökk-Szilárd Street. The relief and welfare organizations of Hungarian Jewry, including the Welfare Bureau

of Hungarian Jews (*Magyar Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája*, MIPI), did their best to provide legal and material assistance for the internees. Most of the Jewish internees from the temporary camps were soon transferred to the larger, already existing camps, including those at Kistarcsa, Sárvár, and Topolya. They were among the first to be deported to Auschwitz in late April 1944. The others were eventually included in the ghettoization-deportation program that was carried out in the summer.

THE LABOR SERVICE SYSTEM

In its structure, organization, and administration, the labor service system (*munkaszolgálat*) that operated in Hungary during World War II was unique. In contrast to the other countries in German-dominated Europe in which various forms of forced and slave labor systems were usually organized under the jurisdiction of their Interior Ministry or subordinated local governmental units, the Hungarian labor service system was exclusively military related. Although the laws relating to the scope and character of the system were issued by the Council of Ministers, the decrees and administrative measures relating to the system's implementation emanated from the Defense Ministry. It was this ministry that exercised jurisdiction over the system from its establishment on July 1, 1939, through the surrender of Hungary—Nazi Germany's last satellite—on May 7, 1945.

The forced labor service system was established under the provisions of Law No. II: 1939, which regulated all facets of Hungary's national defense system.[1] The legal basis for the forced labor service system was provided by Article 230. According to the first paragraph, all Hungarian men of military age who were classified as permanently unsuitable for military service could be compelled to engage in "public labor service" (*közérdekű munkaszolgálat*) in special labor camps for a period not exceeding three months at a time.[2] The original intent and scope of the labor service system were left unspecified. The details for the implementation of Article 230 were left to be worked out by the Defense Ministry, which was staffed by a large number of Germanophile officers. In pursuing this task, the ministry was guided by the provisions of the Second Anti-Jewish Law (Law No.

IV: 1939), which provided, among other things, a detailed and complicated definition of who was Jewish on explicitly "racial" grounds. In this context, the Jews were by definition identified as "unsuitable" to bear arms.

The general principles under lying the objectives of the labor service system and the provisions relating to its organization, structure, and administration were spelled out in Decree No. 5070/1939.M.E. issued by the Council of Ministers on May 12, 1939. Under the decree, the Defense Minister was given not only the power (which he exercised through the army corps commanders) to determine the number, character, and internal organization of the labor camps but also jurisdiction over matters of command, discipline, and training. The minister exercised supreme command over the labor service camps through the National Superintendent of the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*A Közérdekű Munkaszolgálat Országos Felügyelője*, KMOF), a general appointed on his recommendation by the head of state.

The labor service system, originally designed for Jewish males of military age, went into effect on July 1, 1939. Its administrative and organizational structure was similar to that in effect in the armed forces. On being called up, prospective labor servicemen (*munkaszolgalatosok*) first had to report to their local recruitment centers. After undergoing the usual physical exam and classification, they were then ordered to report to specific labor service battalions (*közérdekű munkaszolgálatos zászlóaljak*) that operated under the jurisdiction of the army corps commands (*hadtest parancsnokságok*) into which the country was divided after 1941.

At their battalion headquarters, the labor servicemen were grouped into companies (*századok)*, which usually consisted of 200 to 250 men. Each company was under the command of an officer, usually at the rank of lieutenant (*Hadnagy*) or first lieutenant (*Főhadnagy*), and was guarded by 8 to 10 lower ranked noncommissioned officers (NCOs). The welfare of the labor servicemen largely depended on the attitude of their officers and guards.

Army Corps No. and	**Labor Service Battalion No.**

Headquarters	and Headquarters
I. Budapest	
I. Kőszegszerdahely	
I. Pápa (later Kőszeg)	
I. Mohács	
I. Hódmezővásárhely	
I. Hajdúböszörmény (later Püspökladány)	
I. Miskolc	
I. Kassa	
I. Kolozsvár	
I. Nagybánya	
I. Rimaszombat	
I. Tasnád	

Although during its first phase the labor service system was relatively benign, it was always clearly discriminatory. The Jews of military age, already deprived of many of their civil and economic rights by the several major anti-Jewish laws, were now stigmatized as unreliable. Instead of rifles, the Jews were given shovels and pickaxes as their "standard weapon." Before Hungary's entry into World War II, the Jewish recruits were usually deployed as forced laborers on projects designed by, and of special interest to, the military. By November 1940, 52,000 Jewish males were serving in 260 labor service companies deployed in various parts of Hungary.

The labor service system underwent a major change for the worse in 1941. This change was spearheaded by the Germanophile officers in the Defense Ministry, especially the General Staff. On April 16, the Council of Ministers adopted Decree No. 2870/1941.M.E. As implemented by the Defense Ministry (Order No. 27 300.eln.8.-1941 of August 19, 1941), the decree radically revamped the labor service system.[3] It stipulated the establishment of a new "auxiliary service system" (*kisegitő szolgálat*), in which Jewish males were, among other things, required to serve for at least two years. Shortly thereafter, the relatively few Jewish officers still on active duty were deprived of their rank, and their "officer's discharge certificates" (*emléklapok*) were replaced by new ones that not only omitted their rank but were also stamped,

in clear emulation of the Nazi practice, with the letters "Zs" (*Zsidó*; Jew). The same discriminatory practice was used in marking the identification documents issued to all Jewish labor servicemen.

During the course of the war, the Hungarian authorities also organized forced labor service companies for non-Jewish, "untrustworthy" groups and individuals. In addition to members of ethnic and national minorities, these companies also included an indeterminate number of communists, criminals, and other individuals deemed threats to national security. The first "mixed" labor service company, consisting of Serbs and unreliable Hungarians, was organized in Marcali in 1941. During World War II, Hungary had 26 such mixed labor service companies. Furthermore, in 1942, the Defense Ministry organized 73 labor service companies with recruits mobilized from among the country's "unreliable" ethnic and national minorities. Most of them consisted of Romanian recruits from Northern Transylvania. In 1944, the Hungarians also set up one Serbian, another mixed, and two Ruthenian labor service companies. A few labor service companies were composed of Jehovah's Witnesses, the members of which were the target of the established Christian churches.

The non-Jewish labor service companies were deployed almost exclusively within Hungary. These companies, especially those consisting of Serbs who were looked on as potential pro-Tito Partisans, were never deployed abroad, let alone along the frontlines.

The condition of the Jewish labor servicemen changed from bad to worse during the course of the war. This was evident not only in the more aggressive antisemitic attitude of many of the non-Jewish officers and guards commanding them but also in their increasingly blatant discriminatory treatment of the Jewish servicemen. Beginning in March 1942, the labor servicemen were gradually deprived of uniforms and compelled to wear discriminatory armbands (yellow for Jews, white for converts), which identified them as open targets for abuse by both Hungarian and German antisemites. By early 1942, practically all of the servicemen performed forced labor in their civilian clothes and footwear and wearing an insignia-free military cap. In many companies, the labor servicemen soon found themselves with

inadequate clothing not only because of the wear and tear associated with their heavy work but also because after the workday ended they were often made to crawl and do somersaults by amusement-seeking sadistic officers and guards. Frequently, these same people would deprive the labor servicemen of their officially allotted food rations, which were already low in relation to the hard labor exacted from them. This occurred especially often along the front-lines in the Ukraine and in and around the copper mines of Bor, Serbia.

The number of labor servicemen assigned to frontline duty in Ukraine increased dramatically following the deployment of the Second Hungarian Army on April 11, 1942. The army, consisting of around 250,000 men, was accompanied by approximately 50,000 Jewish labor servicemen grouped in field companies of various types. Most of these servicemen were issued emergency summonses and called to report for service on an individual basis, rather than by age group. By using this practice, the Hungarian authorities clearly aimed not only to satisfy the forced labor requirements of the military but also to contribute to the "solution" of the Jewish question. Acting in accord with a secret decree of the Defense Ministry (April 22, 1942), the recruitment centers saw to it that 10 to 15 percent of the field labor service companies were composed of Jews "well known for their wealth and reputation" even if they were older than age 42—the limit specified by law for frontline service. The recruitment centers called up the Jews using lists received from the Defense Ministry, which had often prepared them on the basis of "complaints" (denunciations) received from various "patriotic" individuals and groups. Among the Jews called up on this basis were those who had played a prominent role in the Jewish community and in Hungarian society, including the wealthy, well-known professionals, leading industrialists and businessmen, and recognized community leaders. Many of these Jews had been denounced by greedy and morally bankrupt non-Jews eager to take over their businesses or professional practices.

In Ukraine, the Jewish forced labor servicemen were used as slave laborers, usually under the most horrible conditions, on a variety of projects specified by the Hungarian and German military authorities. Among their tasks were the construction, clearance, and maintenance of roads and railroads; the loading and unloading

of munitions, provisions, and other materials; the building of bunkers and gun emplacements; and the digging of trenches and tank traps. These activities were especially demanding in winter, when the soil was frozen and the shovels and pickaxes wielded by the emaciated and inadequately dressed forced laborers could hardly penetrate it. When working in the battlefield areas, most labor servicemen were subjected to the most humiliating treatment by their viciously antisemitic company commanders and guards. Some battalion commanders reportedly instructed these company commanders and guards not to bring the Jews back home alive, because they were enemies of the state. Acting in this spirit, many of the company commanders and guards often abused the labor servicemen. They viciously maltreated them, subjected them to unspeakable cruelties, withheld or stole their already low rations, and often and for long periods of time made them live outdoors. The emaciated and disease-ridden Jews were also frequently subjected to corporal abuse by members of the German and Hungarian units for or under which they worked.

The lot of the labor servicemen in Ukraine became even worse after Soviet forces crushed the Hungarian Army at Voronezh in January 1943. During the retreat that followed, many of the Hungarian company commanders deserted their posts in panic; they left the Jewish labor servicemen either under the control of a handful of subordinates or to their own fate. The straggling labor servicemen, bundled in their lice-infested rags and blankets, were subjected to unbelievable humiliation and abuse during the long and tortuous retreat. Many of them were shot at random by the withdrawing German and Hungarian soldiers. Emaciated—with logistics in disarray, they were deprived even of their meager food rations—and numbed by the bitter cold, many of the ill-dressed and lice-ridden forced laborers lost their resistance and succumbed to typhus and other debilitating diseases. In the absence of any medical care many of them died by the wayside. Particularly cruel was the fate that befell many hundreds of typhus-infected labor servicemen who were crowded together in a makeshift quarantine "hospital" at Doroshich, a kolkhoz (state collective farm) village located between Zhitomir and Korosten. A large number of them succumbed to the disease shortly after their admission. On April 30, 1943, one of the barns in that village, which housed around 800 Jews, was set afire. The living torches who jumped out of the

flaming barn were machine-gunned by waiting guards.

The death rate among the Jewish labor servicemen was staggering. Of the approximately 50,000 deployed in Ukraine, only 6,000 to 7,000 returned to Hungary. Thousands of them were killed by the Hungarians and the Germans; many other thousands succumbed to famine, disease, and exhaustion; and thousands ended up in Soviet prisoner of war (POW) camps, where their treatment generally was not very different from that endured by the German and Hungarian POWs.

The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, sealed the fate of Hungarian Jewry. Having survived the first four and a half years of the war, the Jews of Hungary, constituting the last generally intact community in Nazi-dominated Europe, were subjected to the Nazis' most brutal and concentrated liquidation program. Within less than four months all of Hungary, except Budapest, was "cleansed of Jews" (*juden-rein*). Ironically, the labor service system, which remained under Hungarian Army jurisdiction, emerged as a refuge, albeit only temporarily. Motivated primarily by reasons of national interest, the Hungarian Defense Ministry retained control over the Jews inducted into labor service. Although the labor servicemen, especially those deployed in Ukraine and Serbia, continued to suffer the mistreatment of their superiors, they were saved from the threat of ghettoization and deportation. A number of decent Hungarian officers, in fact, saved several thousand Jewish men from certain death by recruiting them into the service. However, there were also officers who, committed to the general application of the "Final Solution," went out of their way to deport as many labor servicemen as they could. (This was the case, for example, in Hatvan in June 1944, when a train carrying approximately 600 labor servicemen was attached to a deportation train going to Auschwitz. A similar fate befell about 30 labor servicemen who were rounded up in Kecskemét on June 20.) The situation of the surviving Jews of Budapest, like that of the labor servicemen stationed within the country, improved considerably after Horthy stopped the deportations in early July 1944.

The respite enjoyed by the labor servicemen stationed within the country and by the surviving Jews of Budapest was all too brief. On October 15, when Horthy decided to extricate Hungary from

the Axis Alliance, the followers of the Arrow Cross Party (*Nyilaskeresztes Párt*), the ultra-rightist and viciously antisemitic political group headed by Ferenc Szálasi, staged a successful coup with the aid of the Germans. The anti-Jewish drive was resumed with great vehemence and speed. Less than a week after the seizure of power, Altábornagy (Lieutenant General) Károly Beregfy, the new defense minister, ordered the call-up "for national defense service" of all Jewish men between the ages of 16 and 60 and Jewish women between the ages of 16 and 40. On October 26, he authorized the transfer of a large number of labor service companies to the Germans, ostensibly to work on the construction of fortifications along the borders of the Reich and Hungary.[4] The transfer of the companies to German control began on November 2. An estimated 50,000 Jewish labor servicemen were handed over to the Germans.

The new premier of Hungary, Arrow Cross party leader Ferenc Szálasi (right), greets his troop commander in front of the Ministry of Defense in Budapest, October 16, 1944. USHMM WS #09020, COURTESY OF EVA HEVESI EHRLICH.

Thousands of labor servicemen were made to march, along with many other thousands of men and women rounded up by the Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) in Budapest, along what came to be called a "highway of death" leading to the borders of the Reich. With the advance of the Soviet forces toward Budapest, the Arrow Cross decided to transfer most of the remaining labor service companies

still under its control to Western Hungary. The lot of these servicemen was not very different from that of the Jews in the most notorious concentration camps. Poorly housed and poorly fed, they were required to work for long hours during the winter months of 1944. Those who became exhausted and could no longer work were simply shot and buried in mass graves. As the Soviet forces approached the Arrow Cross and the SS went on a rampage, killing thousands of labor servicemen in cold blood. The exhumations conducted after the liberation found, for example, the bodies of 790 labor servicemen in a mass grave in Hidegség, 400 bodies in Ilkamajor, 814 in Nagycenk, 350 in Sopron-Bánfalva, 300 in Mosonszentmiklós, and 220 in Hegyeshalom. At Kőszeg, the labor servicemen were even subjected to gassing. This took place during the evacuation of the city on March 22 and 23, 1945, when 95 ill and emaciated labor servicemen were locked in a sealed barrack especially equipped for this purpose and gassed by three German commandos. Large-scale atrocities against labor servicemen also took place at several other places in Western Hungary, including Kiskunhalas and Pusztavám.[5]

Most of the labor servicemen who survived these atrocities were herded toward the Reich, where they ended up in various concentration camps, including Mauthausen and its subcamp at Gunskirchen.

GHETTOS

The establishment of ghettos was among the top priorities of the government of Döme Sztójay, officially appointed by Horthy on March 22, 1944. Before the month had ended, the Sztójay government had adopted an avalanche of decrees, which were calculated to bring about the isolation, marking, expropriation, and ghettoization of the Jews as a prelude to their deportation.

The plans for the ghettoization and concentration of the Jews were worked out on April 4 at a meeting held in the Interior Ministry under the chairmanship of László Baky, a gendarmerie officer who had then served as undersecretary in the Interior Ministry. Among the participants were high-ranking members of the Wehrmacht and of the Hungarian Army; SS-Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann and members of his special

unit (*Einsatzsonderkommando Eichmann*); László Endre, the former deputy prefect of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County and State Secretary for Jewish Affairs in the Interior Ministry; Ezredes Győző Tölgyesy, the commander of Gendarmerie District VIII with its headquarters in Kassa—the first area destined to be cleared of Jews—and Alezredes László Ferenczy, representing the Royal Hungarian Gendarmerie. The participants discussed the general guidelines to be forwarded to the local organs of state power and entrusted Ferenczy, who had just a few days earlier been appointed Liaison Officer of the Royal Hungarian Gendarmerie to the German Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo), with the implementation of the ghettoization and concentration drive.

Acting under the overall guidance of Baky and Endre, Ferenczy lost no time in putting together his staff. His closest collaborators in the dejewification unit were Százados Leó Lulay, who served as his chief aide; Lajos Meggyesi; Péter Hain; László Koltay; and Márton Zöldi. Among his closest collaborators in the gendarmerie were some of the most antisemitic and rightist-oriented commanders of the country's gendarmerie districts, including Tölgyesy, in charge of operations in Carpatho-Ruthenia; Ezredes Tibor Paksy-Kiss, entrusted with the anti-Jewish campaign in Gendarmerie Districts IX and X covering Northern Transylvania; Ezredes László Orban, the commander of the operations in the southern areas of the country; and Ezredes Vilmos Sellyey, who was in charge of the operations in the country's other gendarmerie districts. In accordance with the April 4 instructions of Interior Minister Andor Jaross, Ferenczy kept a record of his operations against the Jews and submitted daily reports on the campaign to Section XX of the Interior Ministry.

The draft document relating to the roundup, ghettoization, concentration, and deportation of the Jews—the basis of the April 4 discussion—was prepared by Endre. It was issued secretly as Decree No. 6163/1944.res. on April 7 over the signature of Baky. This most fateful document, addressed to the representatives of the local organs of state power, spelled out the procedures to be followed in the campaign to bring about the "Final Solution" in Hungary.[6] Additional details about the measures to be taken against the Jews were spelled out in several highly confidential directives, emphasizing that the Jews destined for deportation were

to be rounded up without regard to sex, age, or illness.[7] The first concrete directives for the implementation of the decree were issued by the Interior Minister three days before the top-secret decree was actually sent out. In a secret order issued on April 4, the minister instructed all the subordinate mayoral, police, and gendarmerie organs to bring about the registration of the Jews by the appropriate local Jewish institutions.[8] These registration lists, containing the names of all family members, exact addresses, and the mother's name of all those listed, were to be prepared in four copies, with one copy to be handed over to the local police authorities, one to the appropriate gendarmerie command, and a third to be forwarded to the Interior Ministry.[9] To make sure that no Jews would escape the net, another registration order was issued by the Supply Minister, allegedly to regulate the allocation of food to the Jews.

Unaware of the sinister implications both of these lists and of the wearing of the yellow star—the two interrelated measures designed to facilitate the Jews' isolation and ghettoization—the Jewish masses complied with the measures implemented by their local Jewish communal leaders. In the smaller Jewish communities, especially in the villages, it was usually the community secretary or registrar who prepared the lists; in larger towns and cities, these lists were usually prepared by young men not yet mobilized for service in the military labor service system.

On April 7, Baky held another important meeting, with many of the same people who had attended the April 4 conference. The focus was the "imminent evacuation" of the Jews from the area of Gendarmerie District VIII (i.e., from Carpatho-Ruthenia and some parts of northeastern Hungary). The conferees decided on the operational techniques to be employed and the organizational structure to be set up to bring about that evacuation. The city of Munkács was selected as the headquarters for the command unit, which was to consist of both German and Hungarian experts on the anti-Jewish drive. Endre spelled out the final detailed instructions relating to the planned anti-Jewish operations, corresponding to the provisions of the fateful decree issued that same day. He identified the specific locations where the Jews were to be concentrated: empty ware houses, abandoned or nonoperational factories, brickyards, Jewish community

establishments, Jewish schools and offices, and synagogues.

Since the anti-Jewish measures could not be camouflaged and the mass evacuation of the Jews was bound to create dislocations in the economic life of the affected communities, officials in charge of the anti-Jewish drive felt compelled to provide a military rationale for the operations. They assumed, it turned out correctly, that the local population, including some of the Jews, would understand the necessity for the removal of the Jews from the approaching frontlines "in order to protect Axis interests from the machinations of Judeo-Bolsheviks." On April 12, the Council of Ministers—in an ex post facto act—declared Carpatho-Ruthenia and Northern Transylvania, the first two areas slated for dejewification, to have become military operational zones as of April 1.[10]

The master plan called for the ghettoization and concentration of the Jews to be implemented in several distinct phases:

- Jews in the rural communities and the smaller towns were to be rounded up and temporarily transferred to synagogues and/or community buildings.
- Following the first round of investigations in pursuit of valuables in these "local ghettos," the Jews rounded up in the rural communities and smaller towns were to be transferred to the ghettos of the larger cities in their vicinity, usually the county seat.
- In the larger towns and cities Jews were to be rounded up and transferred to a specially designated area that would serve as a ghetto—totally isolated from the other parts of the city. In some cities, the ghetto was to be established in the Jewish quarter; in others, in factories, ware houses, brickyards, or under the open sky.
- Jews were to be concentrated in centers with adequate rail facilities to make possible swift entrainment and deportation.

During each phase, the Jews were to be subjected to special investigations by teams composed of gendarmerie and police officials, assisted by local Arrow Cross and other accomplices, to compel them to surrender their valuables. The implementation plans for the ghettoization and deportation operations called for

the launching of six territorially defined "mopping-up operations." For this purpose, the country was divided into six operational zones, with each zone encompassing the territory of one or two gendarmerie districts. The operations were carried out according to the following territorial order of priority:

- Zone I: Gendarmerie District VIII (with headquarters in Kassa)—Carpatho-Ruthenia and northeastern Hungary;
- Zone II: Gendarmerie Districts IX (Kolozsvár) and X (Marosvásárhely)—Northern Transylvania;
- Zone III: Gendarmerie Districts II (Székesfehérvár) and VII (Miskolc)—the area of northern Hungary extending from Kassa to the borders of the Reich;
- Zone IV: Gendarmerie Districts V (Szeged) and VI (Debrecen)—the southern parts of Hungary east of the Danube;
- Zone V: Gendarmerie Districts III (Szombathely) and IV (Pécs)—the southwestern parts of the country west of the Danube;
- Zone VI: Gendarmerie District I (Budapest)—the capital and its immediate environs.

The order of priority was established on the basis of a series of military, political, and psychological factors. Time was of the essence because of the rapid approach of the Red Army. Politically it was more expedient to start in Carpatho-Ruthenia, northeastern Hungary, and Northern Transylvania, because the national and local Hungarian authorities and the local population had less regard for the "Galician," "Eastern," "alien," non-magyarized, and Yiddish-oriented masses than for the assimilated Jews. Their roundup for "labor" in Germany was accepted in many Hungarian rightist circles as doubly welcome: Hungary would get rid of its "alien" elements and would at the same time make a contribution to the joint war effort, thereby hastening the termination of the German occupation and the reestablishment of full sovereignty.

Like the decision identifying Carpatho-Ruthenia and Northern Transylvania as military operational zones, the decree stipulating the establishment of ghettos was adopted on an ex post facto basis. The government decree, issued on April 26, went into effect on

April 28, which was 12 days after the roundup of the Jews of Carpatho-Ruthenia had begun.[11] The rationale for and the alleged objectives of the ghettoization decree were outlined by Jaross at the Council of Ministers meeting of April 26. He claimed that in view of their better economic status the Jews living in the cities had proportionally much better housing than non-Jews, and therefore it would be possible to "create a healthier situation" by rearranging the whole housing situation. Jews were to be restricted to smaller apartments, and several families could be ordered to move in together. National security, he further argued, required that Jews be removed from the villages and the smaller towns and be transferred to larger cities, where the chief local officials—the mayors or the police chiefs—would set aside a special section or district for them.[12] The crucial provisions of the decree relating to the concentration of the Jews were included in Articles 8 and 9. The former provided that Jews could no longer live in communities with a population under 10,000, whereas the latter stipulated that the mayors of the larger towns and cities could determine the sections, streets, and buildings in which Jews were to be permitted to live. This legal euphemism in fact empowered the local authorities to establish ghettos. The location of and the conditions within the ghettos consequently depended on the attitudes of the mayors and their aides.

ZONE I: CARPATHO-RUTHENIA AND NORTHEASTERN HUNGARY

Although the decree relating to the establishment of ghettos went into effect only on April 28, 1944, the roundup and concentration of the Jews of Carpatho-Ruthenia and northeastern Hungary began on Sunday, April 16, 1944, the last day of Passover. The details of the anti-Jewish campaign in these areas were worked out at a conference held in Munkács on April 12 under the chairmanship of László Endre, State Secretary for Jewish Affairs at the Interior Ministry. This fateful meeting was attended by the top civilian, police, and gendarmerie officers from the cities, municipalities, and counties in the affected areas. The details of the operation in each county were worked out at local conferences held shortly after April 12, attended by the county's deputy prefects, mayors, police chiefs, and gendarmerie commanders. The local conferees

worked from the written instructions of László Baky and, more importantly, from the oral communications given by Endre at Munkács. It was the function of the local meetings not only to determine the location and administration of the local ghettos but also to establish the commissions or squads to round up the Jews and the special teams to identify and confiscate Jewish wealth.

The day the anti-Jewish operations began, Ferenczy and his dejewification squad arrived to take command in Munkács, the area headquarters for the ghettoization, concentration, and deportation drive. As was subsequently the case in every other part of Hungary, the operation began with the roundup of the Jews in the hamlets and villages. The Jews were awakened by the gendarmes at the crack of dawn. They were usually given only a few minutes to pack essential clothes and the food they happened to have in the house and then were taken to their local synagogues or community buildings. There they were robbed of their money, jewelry, and valuables. Although their homes were "sealed" and the contents subsequently inventoried, they were soon plundered; poultry and farm animals were also simply removed. A few days after having been assembled, the Jews were marched to the nearest concentration and entrainment centers, normally consisting of brickyards in the larger cities, including Beregszász, Huszt, Kassa, Munkács, Nagyszőllős, Nyíregyháza, Sátoraljaújhely, Técső, and Ungvár.

The conditions under which the Jews lived in these ghettos were fairly typical of those in all the ghettos of Hungary. Feeding and caring for the Jews were the responsibility of the local Jewish Councils. The main and frequently only meal consisted primarily of a little potato soup. Even with these meager rations, though, the feeding problem became acute after the first few days, when the supplies that the rural Jews had brought along with them were used up. The living conditions in the ghettos were extremely harsh and often brutally inhumane. The terrible overcrowding in the living quarters within the ghettos, with completely inadequate cooking, bathing, and sanitary facilities, created intolerable hardships as well as tensions among the ghetto dwellers. Inadequate nutrition, lack of sanitary facilities, and inclement weather led to serious health problems. The water supply for the many thousands of ghetto inhabitants usually consisted of a

limited number of faucets, several of which were often out of order for days on end. Ditches dug by the Jews themselves were used as latrines. Minor illnesses and ordinary colds, of course, were practically ubiquitous. Many people also succumbed to serious diseases including dysentery, typhoid, and pneumonia.

The poor health situation was compounded by the generally barbaric behavior of the gendarmes and police officers guarding the ghettos. In each larger ghetto the authorities set aside a separate building to serve as a "mint"—the place where sadistic gendarmes and detectives tortured Jews into confessing where they hid their valuables. Their technique was basically the same everywhere. Husbands were often tortured in full view of their wives and children; often wives were beaten in front of their husbands or children tortured in front of their parents. The devices used were cruel and unusually barbaric. The victims were beaten on the soles of their feet with canes or rubber truncheons; they were slapped in the face and kicked until they lost consciousness. Males were often beaten on the testicles; females, sometimes even young girls, were searched vaginally by collaborating female volunteers and midwives who cared little about cleanliness, often in full view of the male interrogators. Some particularly sadistic investigators used electrical devices to compel the victims into confession. They would put one end of such a device in the mouth and the other in the vagina or attached to the testicles of the victims. These tortures drove many of the victims to insanity or suicide.

ZONE II: NORTHERN TRANSYLVANIA

The ghettoization of the close to 160,000 Jews of Northern Transylvania, the area encompassing Gendarmerie Districts IX (Kolozsvár) and X (Marosvásárhely), began on May 3, 1944, at 5:00 A.M. The roundup of the Jews was carried out under the provisions of Decree No. 6163/1944 as amplified by the oral instructions given by Endre and his associates at the two conferences on ghettoization plans in the region.

The first conference was held in Szatmárnémeti on April 26 and was devoted to the dejewification operations in the counties of Gendarmerie District IX, namely Beszterce-Naszód, Bihar,

Kolozs, Szatmár, Szilágy, and Szolnok-Doboka. The second was held two days later in Marosvásárhely and was devoted to the concentration of the Jews in the so-called Szekely Land, the counties of Gendarmerie District X: Csík, Háromszék, Maros-Torda, and Udvarhely. Both conferences were chaired by Endre, and both were attended by the heads and representatives of the civil service, gendarmerie, and police of the concerned counties. Among them were the deputy prefects (in some cases the prefects themselves), the mayors of the cities and their top assistants, and the chief officers of the gendarmerie and police units. The size of the delegations from the various Northern Transylvanian counties and cities varied.

Endre reviewed the procedures to be followed in the concentration of the Jews as detailed in Decree No. 6163/1944, and Lajos Meggyesi provided additional refinements relating to the confiscation of their wealth. The latter was particularly anxious to secure the Jews' money, gold, silver, jewelry, typewriters, cameras, watches, rugs, furs, and paintings. Ferenczy revealed the preliminary steps already taken toward the ghettoization of the Jews, identifying the cities of Dés, Kolozsvár, Nagybánya, Nagyvárad, Szamosújvár, Szatmárnémeti, and Szilágysomlyó as the planned major concentration and entrainment centers in Gendarmerie District IX. In the course of the anti-Jewish operations, Beszterce was added as a center, while Szamosújvár was used only as a temporary assembly point, with those assembled there being transferred to the ghetto of Kolozsvár. In Gendarmerie District X, the cities of Marosvásárhely, Szászrégen, and Sepsiszentgyörgy were selected as the major concentration and entrainment centers.

The last major item on the conferees' agenda for this district meeting was the composition of the various ghettoization commissions (i.e., who would be the officers and officials in charge of the anti-Jewish operations) and the specification of the geographic areas from which the Jews would be transferred to the major ghetto centers. Because most of these ghettos were in the county seats, they were designated as the assembly and entrainment centers for the Jews in the various counties.

In accordance with the decree and the oral instructions communicated at the two conferences, the chief executive for all

the measures relating to the ghettoization of the Jews was to be the principal administrator of the locality or area. Under Hungarian law then in effect, this meant the mayor for cities, towns, and municipalities and the deputy prefect of the county for rural areas. The organs of the police and gendarmerie, as well as the auxiliary civil service organs of the cities, including the public notary and health units, were to be directly involved in the roundup and transfer of the Jews into ghettos.

Thus the mayors, acting in cooperation with the subordinated agency heads, were empowered not only to direct and supervise the ghettoization operations but also to determine the location of the ghettos and to screen the Jews applying for exemption. They were also responsible for seeing to the maintenance of essential services in the ghettos.

A few days before the scheduled May 3 start of the ghettoization drive in Northern Transylvania, the special commissions for the various cities and towns held meetings to determine the location of the ghettos and settle the logistics relating to the roundup of the Jews. The commissions were typically made up of the mayors, deputy prefects, and heads of the local gendarmerie and police units. Although nearly the same procedure was followed almost everywhere, the severity with which the ghettoization was carried out and the location of and the conditions within the ghetto depended on the attitude of the particular mayors and their subordinates. Thus in cities such as Nagyvárad and Szatmárnémeti, the ghettos were set up in the poorer, mostly Jewish-inhabited sections; in other cities, such as Beszterce, Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely, Szászrégen, and Szilágysomlyó, the ghettos were set up in brickyards. The ghetto of Dés was situated in the Bungur, a forest, where some of the Jews were put up in makeshift barracks and the others were left outdoors.

Late on May 2, on the eve of ghettoization, the mayors issued special instructions to the Jews and had them posted in all areas under their jurisdiction. The text followed the directives of Decree No. 6163/1944, though it varied in nuances from city to city.[13]

The roundup of the Jews, which began at the crack of dawn on May 3, was carried out by special units or squads consisting of

civil servants, usually including local primary and high school teachers, gendarmes, and policemen, as well as Arrow Cross volunteers. The units were organized by the mayoral commissions and operated under their jurisdiction.

The ghettoization drive was directed by a field dejewification unit headquartered in Kolozsvár. This unit was headed by László Ferenczy and operated under the guidance of several representatives of Sondereinsatzkommando Eichmann. Communication between the dejewification field offices in Northern Transylvania and the central organs in Budapest was provided by two special gendarmerie courier cars that traveled daily in opposite directions, meeting in Nagyvárad—the midpoint between the capital and Kolozsvár. Immediate operational command over the ghettoization process in Northern Transylvania was exercised by Gendarmerie Ezredes Tibor Paksy-Kiss, who delegated special powers in Nagyvárad to Alezredes Jenő Péterffy, his personal friend and ideological colleague.

The ghettoization of the Jews of Northern Transylvania was carried out smoothly, without known incidents of resistance. The Jewish masses, unaware of the realities of the "Final Solution," went to the ghettos resigned to a disagreeable but presumably nonlethal fate. Some of them rationalized their "isolation" as a logical step before their territory became a battle zone. Others believed the rumors spread by some Jewish leaders and antisemitic elements that they were merely being resettled at Kenyérmező in Transdanubia, where they would be doing agricultural work until the end of the war. Still others sustained the hope that the Red Army was not very far and that their time in the ghetto would be relatively short-lived.

The non-Jews, even those friendly to the Jews, were mostly passive. Many cooperated with the authorities on ideological grounds or in the expectation of quick material rewards in the form of properties confiscated from the Jews. The smoothness with which the anti-Jewish campaign was carried out in Northern Transylvania, as elsewhere, also can be attributed in part to the absence of a meaningful resistance movement, let alone general opposition to the persecution of the Jews. Neutrality and passivity were the characteristic attitudes of the heads of the Christian churches in Transylvania, as reflected in the behavior of János

Vásárhelyi, the Calvinist bishop, and Miklós Józan, the Unitarian bishop. The exemplary exception was Aron Márton, the Catholic bishop of Transylvania, whose official residence was in Alba-Iulia, in the Romanian part of Transylvania.[14]

The ghettoization drive in Northern Transylvania was generally completed within one week. During the first day of the campaign close to 8,000 Jews were rounded up. By noon on May 5, that number increased to 16,144, by May 6 to 72,382, and by May 10 to 98,000.[15] The procedures for rounding up, interrogating, and expropriating property of the Jews, as well as the organization and administration of the ghettos, were basically the same in every county in Northern Transylvania. The Jews were rounded up at great speed, given only a few minutes to pack, and driven into the ghettos on foot. The internal administration of each ghetto was entrusted to a Jewish Council, usually consisting of the traditional leaders of the local Jewish community.

ZONE III: NORTHERN HUNGARY

In launching the ghettoization and deportation campaign in Zones III through VI, the German and Hungarian dejewification experts took into consideration the experience they had gained from the implementation of the drives in Carpatho-Ruthenia, northeastern Hungary, and Northern Transylvania.

Just before beginning the campaign in Zone III, Ferenczy consequently issued detailed instructions:

- The rounding up and concentration of the Jews [are to] be effectuated by suitable gendarmerie and police forces covering smaller territorial units.
- The deportations begin immediately after the completion of the concentration of the Jews in entrainment centers.
- The internal command of the camps and the technical supervision of entrainment continue to be the responsibility of the German Security Police, while the external security and guarding of the camps become the task of the Hungarians.
- Meetings [are to] be held in the Ministry of the Interior with the concerned county prefects and gendarmerie commanders only a few days before the launching of an operation in a

particular territory, and meetings with local mayors and police officials [are to be held] only one day before the beginning of the operation.

- The ill, the aged, and their families [will] be deported in the first transports rather than in the last as had been the case earlier.[16]

In the master plan for the dejewification of Hungary, Zone III encompassed the area of northern Hungary extending from Kassa to the borders of the Reich north of Budapest. It covered the territories of Gendarmerie Districts II (Székesfehérvár) and VII (Miskolc), including the counties of Bars, Borsod, Fejér, Győr, Heves, Komárom, and Nógrád.

The operational details for the concentration and entrainment of the Jews in this zone were discussed at a conference in the Interior Ministry on May 25, 1944. Chaired by Baky, the conference was attended by the prefects and the gendarmerie and police chiefs of the concerned counties, the Nazi Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) commander, and the leaders of the Sondereinsatzkommando Eichmann. The conferees decided to begin the concentration of the originally estimated 65,000 Jews gathered in the ghettos in Zone III on June 5 and to carry out the deportations between June 11 and 16.[17] The launching of the anti-Jewish operations in this zone was envisioned to coincide with the completion of the deportations from Northern Transylvania. In accordance with the resolutions adopted on May 25, the details of the campaign in this zone were discussed on June 3 at a meeting held at the headquarters of the gendarmerie's investigative unit in Budapest. This meeting, chaired by Ferenczy, was attended by the mayors of the communities as well as by two top police officials and three transportation experts in the affected area.

The dejewification squads set up their headquarters in Hatvan, a small town northeast of Budapest. In accordance with Ferenczy's directives, the Jews, who already had been assembled for weeks in their local ghettos, were not concentrated in the entrainment centers until just a few days before their planned deportation.

The concentration of the Jews began on schedule at 5:00 A.M. on June 5; by June 10, 51,829 Jews had been transferred to 11 entrainment centers. Six of these centers, which held close to

24,000 Jews, were in Gendarmerie District II: Dunaszerdahely, Érsekújvár, Győr, Komárom, Léva, and Székesfehérvár; five, which held slightly over 28,000 Jews, were in Gendarmerie District VII: Balassagyarmat, Eger, Hatvan, Miskolc, and Salgótarján.

ZONE IV: SOUTHERN HUNGARY EAST OF THE DANUBE

The anti-Jewish operations in Zone IV affected the Jews living in Gendarmerie Districts V (Szeged) and VI (Debrecen). The zone included the southeastern parts of Trianon (inter-war) Hungary extending from the Danube and the formerly Yugoslav-held area of the Délvidék. The ghettoization, concentration, and deportation operations in this zone were directed from Kiskunfélegyháza, where the dejewification squads had their headquarters.

The concentration process began at 5:00 A.M. on June 16, 1944, the very day the deportations from Zone III were completed. It ended just four days later with the establishment of seven concentration-entrainment centers: four in Gendarmerie District V and three in Gendarmerie District VI. The plan originally called for these centers to be located in Békéscsaba, Berettyóujfalu, Debrecen, Kecskemét, Szabadka, Szeged, and Szolnok and for the deportations to begin on June 21, the day after the project to ghettoize all the Jews had been completed.[18] The plan was then revised, with the later version calling, among other things, for the replacement of Szabadka by Bácsalmás as one of the main entrainment centers and for delaying the deportation date by four days.

Among the major ghettos that were liquidated as a result of the concentration drive were those of Hódmezövásárhely, Kalocsa, Kecel, Kiskőrős, Makó, Nagykáta, Szarvas, and Szentes in Gendarmerie District V, as well as those of the so-called Hajdu towns—Hajdúböszörmény, Hajdúdorong, Hajdúhadház, Hajdúnánás, and Hajdúszoboszló—Karcag, and Téglás in Gendarmerie District VI.[19]

As a result of the drive, 40,505 Jews were concentrated in the seven entrainment centers of Zone IV. Of these, 21,489 were

concentrated in the four centers in Gendarmerie District V (Bácsalmás, Kecskemét, Szeged, and Szolnok) and 19,016 in the three centers in Gendarmerie District VI (Békéscsaba, Debrecen, and Nagyvárad).

THE SPECIAL CASE OF THE DÉLVIDÉK AND SOUTHWESTERN HUNGARY

Approximately 10,000 Jews living in this area of Hungary adjacent to the Independent State of Croatia and Occupied Serbia—in Gendarmerie Districts IV and V—were rounded up and deported concurrently with the drive against the Jews in Zones I and II. Of these, slightly over 2,700 Jews were from around the Croatian border in the Csáktornya, Nagykanizsa, and Perlak Districts of Zala County. As part of the anti-Jewish operations in the Délvidék, approximately 1,600 Jews from the southern border of Baranya County were concentrated in Barcs.

The concentration of the Jews from the various ghettos in the Délvidék was carried out on a territorial basis. Those in the communities along the western bank of the Tisza River in the eastern section of the Bácska were taken to Szeged. Those living in the central zone of the Bácska, including Újvidék, were concentrated in Szabadka. The Jews living in the communities situated along the Danube in the western parts of the Bácska and in the Baranya region along the Dráva River, including those of Zombor, were taken to Baja for entrainment. The major concentration centers from which the approximately 5,200 Jews of the Délvidék were deported were Baja, Szabadka, and Szeged.

A large number of Jews from the Délvidék area were concentrated in three camps in Baja. Two of these camps held the Újvidék Jews transferred from Szabadka; the third camp held the other Jews from the Délvidék who were not concentrated in Topolya, Szabadka, or Szeged.

ZONE V: WESTERN HUNGARY

This zone of anti-Jewish operations encompassed the area west of the Danube—Transdanubia—corresponding to Gendarmerie Districts III (Szombathely) and IV (Pécs). The plans for the

concentration and deportation of the Jews were completed at a conference on June 22, 1944, at Siófok. In addition to the leading members of the dejewification team, the conference was also attended by administrative, gendarmerie, and police officials of the two gendarmerie districts.

According to the plans worked out by Ferenczy, the Jews assembled in the various ghettos in Zone V were concentrated in eight centers having adequate entrainment facilities.[20] The transfer of the Jews from the ghettos began at 5:00 A.M. on June 30 and was completed on schedule at 8:00 P.M. on July 3.

Of the 29,405 Jews rounded up in Zone V, 17,201 were placed in the five entrainment centers in Gendarmerie District III: Pápa, Sárvár, Sopron, Szombathely, and Zalaegerszeg. The 12,204 Jews rounded up in Gendarmerie District IV were concentrated in Kaposvár, Paks, and Pécs.

ZONE VI: BUDAPEST AND ITS ENVIRONS

The drive for the concentration and deportation of the Jews in Gendarmerie District I, which included Budapest, was launched while the entrainment of the Jews was occurring in Zone V. The Jews of Budapest were spared because Horthy halted the deportations on July 7. However, the Jews in the cities ringing the capital, including Budafok, Csepel, Kispest, Pestszenterzsébet, Rákoscsaba, Rákospalota, Sashalom, Soroksár, Szentendre, and Újpest, were less fortunate: they suffered the same fate as the other provincial Jews.[21] With a few exceptions, the Jews in the cities surrounding Budapest had been placed into local ghettos or yellow-star-marked buildings between May 22 and June 30.[22] Defying the order of the regent, the Nazi SS and their Hungarian accomplices deported the Jews from these communities on July 7 and 8. The 24,128 Jews rounded up in these areas were first concentrated in the brickyards of Budakalász and Monor together with the local Jews. Those concentrated in Budakalász were entrained in nearby Békásmegyer.

The largest, the last, and the only ghetto to survive in Hungary was that of Budapest. At the time the Jews in the provinces were being ghettoized, the Hungarian authorities, for military and security reasons, decided against the establishment of a centralized

territorially contiguous ghetto in Budapest. Instead, they relocated the Jews into specially selected buildings throughout the city, which were identified as yellow-star houses (*sárga csillagos házak*). The decrees relating to the relocation and concentration of the Jews of Budapest were issued on June 16 under the signature of Mayor Ákos Doroghi Farkas.[23] The idea of establishing a contiguous ghetto surfaced only after the Arrow Cross acquired power on October 15, 1944. The newly established government of Ferenc Szálasi informed the Jewish Council of its decision to set up a ghetto on November 16. However, Decree No. 8935/1944.BM relating to its establishment, and issued under the signature of Interior Minister Gábor Vajna, was not made public until November 29.

The ghetto was established in District VII of Budapest, an area inhabited by a large number of Jews. The relocation of the Jews into the closed ghetto that encompassed an area of only one-tenth of a square mile started toward the end of November and was virtually completed by December 2. At its peak, the ghetto included approximately 80,000 Jews. Close to 3,000 of the ghetto inhabitants died during the ghetto's relatively brief existence from a variety of causes, including hunger, disease, and massacres. These people were buried in mass graves in the courtyard of the Dohány Street Synagogue. Soviet troops liberated the ghetto over two days, from January 17 to 18, 1945. The survivors still living in other parts of Hungary had to wait until April 4, when the combined Romanian-Soviet forces liberated the country from the yoke of the Nazis and their Arrow Cross hirelings.

Among the first of the Hungarian Jews to be liberated were the labor servicemen whose companies had been deployed along the eastern part of Hungary. In the wake of the advancing Soviet and Romanian armies, most of the surviving labor servicemen returned to their former hometowns and villages and began laying the foundation for the reestablishment of communal life. In expectation of the returning concentration camp survivors, they also established soup kitchens and communal living facilities. In most localities no traces of the ghettos were found, having been removed by the local authorities soon after the deportation of the Jews. The ghetto of Budapest was cleared soon after its liberation by the Red Army. In most communities, especially in the former

concentration and entrainment centers, the survivors exhumed the bodies of the Jews who were killed and buried there and reinterred them ritually in Jewish cemeteries. As life was gradually returning to "normal," a number of labor service and concentration camp survivors—motivated by the desire to preserve the historical record—began publishing their personal accounts.

After the establishment of the communist regime in late 1948, however, this endeavor came to an end. As a result of emigration and the relocation of the survivors into larger cities, most of the smaller Jewish communities were soon dissolved. To the great disappointment of virtually all survivors, the Jewish issue, including that of restitution and compensation, and the subject of the Holocaust were soon sunk into the Orwellian black hole of history. An exception was made for several trustworthy party members, who were allowed to publish several volumes of archival materials and historical accounts. The political slant of these works notwithstanding, they emerged as highly valuable source materials for researchers in both Hungary and abroad.

SOURCES Among the numerous secondary sources describing the Holocaust in Hungary, including camps, forced labor battalions, and ghettos, are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013); Zoltán Vági, László Csősz, and Gábor Kádár, *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press in association with USHMM, 2013); Gábor Kádár and Zoltán Vági, *A végső döntés: Berlin, Budapest, Birkenau 1944* (Budapest: Jiaffa Kiadó, 2013); Gábor Kádár and Zoltán Vági, "Ungarn," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009); Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania*

(Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983); Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977); and László Karsai, "The Last Phase of the Hungarian Holocaust: The Szálasi Regime and the Jews," in Randolph L. Braham and Scott Miller, eds., *The Nazis' Last Victims* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), pp. 103–116.

Primary sources documenting internment camps, forced labor battalions, and ghettos in Hungary can be found in numerous archives, of which USHMMA holds many microform and digital copies. The archives and libraries include MOL (several collections at USHMMA available under RG-39); MZSL (DEGOB collection; USHMMA, RG-39.013M); OGYK (USHMMA, RG-39.013M); and the Randolph Braham collection (USHMMA, RG-52.001-014). In several collections, the ITS contains valuable documentation on the paths of persecution of Jews during the Hungarian Holocaust. VHA holds nearly 13,000 survivor testimonies relating to the Holocaust in Hungary.

Randolph L. Braham

NOTES

1. See "1939. évi II.törvénycikk a honvédelemröl," *1939 évi Országos Törvénytár* (Budapest, 1939). For some details on this law, see Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: 297.

2. Also relevant were Articles 87–94, which stipulated that all persons between the ages of 14 and 70 were liable to work for the defense of the nation to the limit of their physical and mental capacities.

3. See the decree in *BK*, April 19, 1941. The text of the order (and of its amendments) can be found in "*Fegyvertelen álltak az aknamezőkön…*," edited by Elek Karsai (Budapest: Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete, 1962), 1: 300–326.

4. For a listing of these companies, see Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 1368–1370.

5. For details, see ibid., 1: 357–360.

6. Ibid., 1: 573–375. For the original version, see Ilona Benoschofsky and Elek Karsai, eds., *Vádirat a nácizmus ellen* (Budapest: A Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képvislete, 1958), 1: 124–127.

7. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide,* 1: 575–578.

8. Order No. 6136/1944.VII.res., April 4, 1944, reproduced in ibid., 1: 578–579.

9. For a sample of a mayoral order addressed to a local Jewish community (Nyiregyháza), see ibid., 1: 579.

10. Decree No. 1.440/1944.M.E.; ibid., 1: 581–582.

11. "A m. kir. minisztérium 1610/1944.M.E. sz. rendelete a zsidók lakásával és lakóhelyének kijelölésével kapcsolatos egyes kérdések szabályozása tárgyában," *BK*, April 28, 1944.

12. For the minutes of the Council of Ministers meeting on this issue, see Benoschofsky and Karsai, *Vádirat a nácizmus ellen*, 1: 241–244.

13. For a sample, see the text of the announcement issued by László Gyapay in Nagyvárad, in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide,* 1: 629.

14. For details on the resistance movements and on the attitudes and reactions of the Christian church leaders, see Braham, *The Politics of Genocide,* 1: ch. 10.

15. Ibid., 1: 651.

16. Ferenczy report of May 29, 1944. Used in the Eichmann Trial as Doc. 1319 of Bureau 06 of the Israel Police.

17. Ibid.

18. Ferenczy report of June 12, 1944.

19. For some details on these ghettos and on the rural Jewish communities concentrated within them, see Braham, *The*

Politics of Genocide, 2: 714–716.

20. Ibid., 2: 755–764.

21. Ibid., 2: 776–777.

22. For details on the relocation schemes instituted in Budapest and its environs**,** see ibid., 1: ch. 8.

23. "Budapest székesfőváros polgármestere 147.501/1944.-IX. számu rendelete zsidók által lakható épületek kijelőlése a székesfőváros I. közigazgatási területében," *BK*, June 17, 1944. Similar decrees were issued for each of the other 13 districts of the capital as well. For further details, see Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 850–860.

BÁCSALMÁS

Bácsalmás, an entrainment center and ghetto located in southern Hungary in the region of Bácska (Bács-Kiskun County), was close to the border with the Vojvodina region of Serbia. The town is approximately 155 kilometers (almost 96 miles) south of Budapest and nearly 105 kilometers (65 miles) northeast of Novi Sad, Serbia. According to the 1941 Hungarian census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 186 Jews in Bácsalmás.

The Bácsalmás authorities converted the local flour mill into a ghetto in April 1944. By the middle of May the Nazi SS had replaced the Hungarian gendarmes in overseeing the ghetto. The Jewish population from Bácsalmás, surrounding villages, the Topolya internment camp, and the Bácsalmás, Baja, Jánoshalma, Topolya, and Szabadka Districts were sent to the Bácsalmás ghetto. Approximately 3,000 inmates inhabited the ghetto on June 26, 1944. There was no food in the ghetto. The Jewish Council had a kitchen for the sick and the elderly without families.[1]

Between June 25 and 28, 1944 the Bácsalmás ghetto was emptied. Most of the Jews from Bácsalmás were sent to Auschwitz, with a smaller group sent to the Strasshof camp, near Vienna, as part of Rudolf (Rezső) Kasztner's negotiations with Adolf Eichmann. Other victims, initially sent to Auschwitz, were then transferred to Bergen-Belsen, Theresienstadt, Gross-Rosen, and the Gross-Rosen subcamp at Langenbielau.

SOURCES Secondary source material about the Bácsalmás ghetto in Hungary can be found in "Bácsalmás," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 30–32; and "Bácsalmás," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey

Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 68.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Bácsalmás Jews can be found at USHMMA. A private handwritten memoir is available: "Sheindel (Bella) Trebits diary," Acc. No. 2006.210. VHA holds 45 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Bácsalmás ghetto. The testimony featured here is Ferenc Kurcz, June 19, 2000 (#51010). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution of individuals from the Bácsalmás ghetto. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTE

1. VHA #51010, Ferenc Kurcz testimony, June 19, 2000.

BALASSAGYARMAT

Balassagyarmat, a town in northern Hungary (Nógrad County) located almost 67 kilometers (approximately 42 miles) northeast of Budapest and 54 kilometers (almost 34 miles) southeast of Levice, Slovakia, had two ghettos. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the Jewish population of Balassagyarmat was 1,712, or just over 13 percent of the town's population.

Hungarian Gendarmes oversee the deportation of Jews from Balassagyarmat, 1944. USHMM WS #77642, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM PHOTO ARCHIVES.

Under the direction of Mayor Béla Vannay, the local Hungarian authorities established one large and later one small ghetto in Balassagyarmat between May 4 and 10, 1944. The large ghetto was bound by the streets of Kossuth Lajos, Thököly, Hunyady, and Rákóczi, and the small ghetto was in the vicinity of Óvarós Square along the southern bank of the Ipoly (Slovak: Ipel') River. The ghettos were sealed on May 13, interning the Jews of Balassagyarmat and the Jewish women from neighboring villages.

The men in the rural areas had already been conscripted for forced labor. There was little food in the ghettos, and many internees were beaten by the authorities in their search for valuables. A good number were beaten to death.[1] There was a Jewish ghetto police force that monitored the ghetto residents.[2]

At the end of May 1944, 2,100 Jews were sent to the temporary detention site at Nyírjespuszta in preparation for deportation as part of Deportation Zone III. The inmates of the small ghetto were dispatched to the tobacco-drying buildings at Illéspuszta. The Jews in these sites were deported on transports on June 12 and 14 to Auschwitz II-Birkenau after marching to Balassagyarmat for entrainment. According to Central Name Index (CNI) queries from the International Tracing Service (ITS), some Jews were transferred to Bergen-Belsen, Ravens-brück, Buchenwald, and Theresienstadt, among other detention sites.[3] The death toll of the Balassagyarmat Jewish community was between 80 and 90 percent.

SOURCES Secondary source material about the Balassagyarmat ghetto in Hungary can be found in "Balassagyarmat," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 681–685; and "Balassagyarmat," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 80.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Balassagyarmat Jews can be found at USHMMA, RG-39.013M, Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956, including protocols originally recorded by DEGOB. VHA holds 13 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Balassagyarmat ghetto. The testimonies featured in this entry are Yolan Schubert, August 7, 1998 (#44738) and Piroska Vrabel, May 25, 2000 (#50965). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Balassagyarmat ghetto; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

NOTES

1. VHA #44738, Yolan Schubert testimony, August 7, 1998.
2. VHA #50965, Piroska Vrabel testimony, May 25, 2000.
3. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Eva Kallos, née Löwy, Doc. No. 50595203.

BARCS

The town of Barcs is located in the Barcs District (Somogy County), approximately 210 kilometers (130 miles) southwest of Budapest and 160 kilometers (99 miles) east-northeast of Zagreb. According to a communal survey, in 1944 Barcs was home to a Jewish population of 284. In the spring and summer of 1944, Hungarian and German authorities opened a large ghetto in the shut-down Unió Mill in town. Some documentation refers to the site as an assembly camp or collection camp.[1] According to some estimates, more than 2,500 Jews from Barcs and the wider border region were briefly detained there and then deported.

In 1944, gendarmerie Ezredes László Hajnácskőy commanded Gendarmerie District IV, which included Somogy County. After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, the area became part of Deportation Zone V. On April 19, 1944, Hungarian officials of the Interior Ministry in conjunction with Hajnácskőy and others decided to round up the Jews in the districts immediately bordering Croatia. During this operation, more than 1,500 Jews were transferred to Barcs, where the abandoned mill served as a detention center or ghetto. Subsequently, the Jews of the Barcs and Csurgó Districts and of the town of Szigetvár were also detained at the site.

The ghetto at the Barcs mill opened on May 3, 1944. It had its own railway connection, with tracks running right into the facility. According to survivor testimony, the Nazi SS held the command inside the camp while Hungarian gendarmes acted as guards. The inmates suffered brutal searches for valuables and other abuses at the hands of the guards.[2] Detainees were crowded into three stories of the building, which lacked basic amenities or furniture. They slept on straw-covered floors. There were few blankets. Without access to sufficient provisions, the inmates had to operate their own camp kitchen. According to one survivor, the camp authorities forced some inmates to borrow money from non-Jewish friends and acquaintances to pay for their food. Many of the elder

inmates were weak and ill, succumbing to starvation and ailments at Barcs. Several rabbis were among the inmates, and the camp authorities permitted occasional funeral services and some religious observances.[3]

Many inmates at Barcs were women and the elderly. Most of the remaining able-bodied men had already been drafted into the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) during roundups or were transferred there after brief stays at the ghetto. Among other tasks, they were employed to dig trenches in the Carpathian Mountains. Many thereby avoided immediate deportation.[4]

Jews who remained in the Barcs ghetto were deported in April and May 1944. Some of them learned of the impending deportations from fake newspapers circulated by camp authorities. According to one survivor, these news articles were intended to assuage panic among the inmates by explaining the deportations as imminent resettlement for work deployment.[5] The inmates were then forced to clean the mill thoroughly, and men and women were separated before boarding freight train cars to Auschwitz.[6] Many of the Jewish women who boarded these trains to Auschwitz were then transferred to a number of German and Austrian forced labor camps for Jews (*Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden*, ZALfJ), including the women's camp at Mährisch Weisswasser.[7]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Barcs ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 816–817.

Primary sources include RG-39.013M (OGYK), including reel 6 (box D 8/1) and reel 68 (box L 4/2). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several dozen inmates likely incarcerated at Barcs. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. Other primary documentation includes VHA testimony of Rosalia Benau, November 21, 1997 (#35569); Susan King, July 13, 1995

(#3938); Henry Kraus, January 17, 1995 (#674); and Georg Kundler, October 28, 1996 (#20786).

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. CNI card for Smuel Berger, Doc. No. 53204718; also CNI card for Jolantha Mautner, Doc. No. 51287332.
2. VHA #674, Henry Kraus testimony, January 17, 1995.
3. VHA #20786, Georg Kundler testimony, October 28, 1996.
4. CNI card for Mordechai Klein, Doc. No. 52910690.
5. VHA #674.
6. VHA #3938, Susan King testimony, July 13, 1995.
7. CNI card for Elisabeth Kreisler, Doc. No. 50603852.

BÁRDFALVA

Bárdfalva was located 11 kilometers (7 miles) south of Máramarossziget in the Aknasugatag District in Máramaros County. After the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the area was formally ceded to the Kingdom of Romania. Under Romanian administration, Bárdfalva was known as Berbeşti, and Máramarossziget was known as Sighet. After the Second Vienna Award in 1940, the area came under Hungarian administration. Hungarian authorities operated a ghetto in Bárdfalva between April 16 and May 17, 1944. More than 3,000 Jews from the town and neighboring communities were interned there.

On April 16, 1944, Hungarian gendarmes rounded up the members of the small Orthodox Jewish community of Bárdfalva. Several people fled, and the gendarmes temporarily released the remaining internees, forcing them to retrieve the runaways. The next day, Bárdfalva's Jews were once again concentrated in the synagogue, school, and Jewish residences in the center of town, which now served as a satellite ghetto of Máramarossziget.

The Hungarian authorities also rounded up several thousand Jewish inhabitants of 19 neighboring communities and brought them to Bárdfalva. According to the testimony of a survivor, Sam Ganz, the ghetto was not closed or fenced in. However, the gendarmes intimidated the inhabitants with threats and violence.[1] Inmates could leave their houses only between the hours of 8 and 10 A.M. They were punished harshly for any transgressions. Although some survivors mention German authorities overseeing the site, most survivor testimony emphasizes the brutality of the Hungarian gendarmes.[2] For instance, survivor Shirley Fried recalled that a Hungarian gendarme viciously beat a woman who had missed curfew by a few minutes; she was beaten with a leather strap until she bled.[3] There are several accounts of gendarmes raping young women at Bárdfalva. For example, a gendarme assaulted Fried's 16-year-old sister Etta during her first night at the ghetto.[4] Survivor Sarah Friedman recalled that inmates tried to

keep girls and young women hidden from view to protect them from these attacks.[5]

The ghetto at Bárdfalva was liquidated on May 17, 1944. The inmates were force-marched to Máramarossziget, where they spent one night in the overcrowded synagogue. They were then transported to Auschwitz on May 18, 1944.[6]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources for the ghetto in Bárdfalva include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 816–817. See also Zoltán Vági, László Csősz, and Gábor Kádár, *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press in association with USHMM, 2013); it contains relevant primary documents, including the testimony of survivor Ignác Berkovits, pp. 297–298.

Primary sources include RG-39.005M (MOL Z 936), reel 1, available at USHMMA. VHA has 27 testimonies indexed for the ghetto at Bárdfalva, including testimony by Shirley Fried, July 30, 1997 (#31532); Sarah Friedman, October 2, 1996 (#20427); Sam Ganz, June 24, 1996 (#16437); and Rose Herskovitz, August 16, 1996, (#18630). The ITS CNI contains inquiries about several inmates of the Bárdfalva ghetto as well as about natives of the town. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #16437, Sam Ganz testimony, June 24, 1996.
2. VHA #20427, Sarah Friedman testimony, October 2, 1996.
3. VHA #31532, Shirley Fried testimony, July 30, 1997.
4. Ibid.

5. VHA #20427.

6. Ibid.

BÉKÉSCSABA

Békéscsaba (Békés County) was a ghetto and entrainment center in southeast Hungary, located in the eponymous city approximately 178 kilometers (more than 110 miles) southeast of Budapest and 58 kilometers (36 miles) north of Arad, Romania. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 2,433 Jews living in Békéscsaba.

The Germans arrived in the city in March 1944 and institutionalized the persecution of the Jews and the expropriation of their property. The ghettoization of Békéscsaba's Jews and Jews from neighboring villages began on May 7, 1944. In the Békéscsaba ghetto there were only two toilets available for hundreds of people, and the stench was intolerable. Midwives searched the body cavities of women for valuables as they screamed and cried in protest. Both women and men committed suicide.[1]

The entrainment of the Békéscsaba ghetto's Jews took place on June 25 and 26, during which most were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Others were bound for the Strasshof camp outside Vienna and then were dispatched for forced labor.[2]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Békéscsaba ghetto include "Békéscsaba," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geograph i cal Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 135–138; and "Békéscsaba," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 99.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Békéscsaba Jews can be found at USHMMA, RG-39.013M, Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956. VHA holds 25

testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Békéscsaba ghetto. The testimony featured here is Istvan Benedek, February 23, 1999 (#49300). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Békéscsaba ghetto; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA #49300, Istvan Benedek testimony, February 23, 1999.
2. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Ester Abrahamo-wits, Doc. No. 53628490.

BEREGSZÁSZ

Beregszász (Slovak: Berehovo; Ukrainian: Berehove; Russian: Beregovo), a village in Bereg County, was the third largest town in Transcarpathia, now part of Ukraine. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the city's population was 19,373, of whom 5,856, or 30 percent, were Jewish.

In 1920, Transcarpathia became part of the newly formed state of Czechoslovakia. In November 1938, as part of the First Vienna Award, Beregszász once again became part of Hungary and, as such, was subject to anti-Jewish legislation. Many Jewish shops and businesses lost their business licenses. The discriminatory acts were so extensive that the Hungarian mayor of the town felt compelled to return some of the licenses to the Jewish business owners because they had eliminated the commercial life in some trades, such as leather works, and caused unemployment.

In the late 1930s, the region of Transcarpathia experienced waves of Jewish refugees from German-occupied countries surrounding Hungary—in particular, from the antisemitic regimes of Jozef Tiso from Slovakia and Octavian Goga from Romania—where Jews were being persecuted, killed, and deported. Many of these Jews took refuge in the Jewish communities of Transcarpathia, and for the first time, the Jews of Hungary heard firsthand accounts of the atrocities taking place in nearby countries.

In March 19, 1944, the German Army occupied Hungary, and Adolf Eichmann was sent to Budapest to personally take charge of the "Final Solution." Soon afterward, Jews in Hungary were ordered to wear the yellow Star of David, and Jewish Councils were ordered to be formed in each community.

At the end of March, the Gestapo and the German Army reached Beregszász. One of their first acts was to take more than 120 hostages and demand a ransom of one million pengős from the

Jewish community (the rough equivalent of just over $410,000 in 1940 U.S. dollars). Among the hostages were the rabbi, the head of the Jewish Council, and many other community leaders, their families, and children. When the ransom was paid, the hostages were freed, but other acts of extortion continued.

The ghettoization of the Jews of Beregszász began on April 16, 1944, by order of the Interior Ministry. The unsuspecting Jewish families were ordered to pack and be ready to depart at dawn under the watchful eye of the Hungarian gendarmes. Jewish families were collected from Beregszász, as well as from neighboring villages in Bereg County—Beregvégardó, Beregkövesd, Beregsurány, Bilke, Dolha, Harangláb, Makkosjánosi, Tarpa, and Vásárosnamény—and taken to the ghettos in the Vály and Kont brickworks and the buildings of the Weisz farmstead. At every site, the conditions were unlivable. The ghettos were overcrowded, with 10,000 Jews sleeping on concrete floors. In the brickworks, there was roofing, but the brick buildings were open on the sides, leaving every one exposed to the elements.

Madeline Deutsch vividly remembered the day when the Jews were all herded into the ghetto: it was her 14th birthday.[1] The Gestapo, police, and gendarmes brought various barrels and buckets and then announced that all the Jews were to deposit all their money, jewelry, and anything else of value into the receptacles. Every one was to be searched afterward, and if anything of value were found, that person would be shot. Madeline remembered that a few individuals simply overlooked or forgot about their own wedding rings or other small treasured items and, because of this oversight, were separated from the crowd. Madeline was practically in tears when they searched her father and found a dollar in the pocket of his vest. He was likewise separated from the rest. In the end, those separated were not shot, but were later released. Madeline suspected their separation was a scare tactic to frighten those inside the ghetto into following directions precisely and without delay.

At the brickworks, a soup kitchen was set up by the Jewish Council, which was also responsible for organizing a steady supply of food to the ghetto. Each week, two men from the ghetto, escorted by the police, were allowed to return to empty Jewish homes and collect foodstuffs to be shared at the soup kitchen.

A month after the Jews arrived in the Beregszász ghetto, they were told they were being sent to Kecskemét in the interior of Hungary where they would work in agriculture. Nothing could have been further from the truth. Between May 16 and 29, 1944, all 10,000 Jews were taken from the ghetto in Beregszász and shipped to Auschwitz in four transports as part of Deportation Zone I. Only a few survived and were able to return to Beregszász after the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Beregszász ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 165–169; Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Csilla Fedinec and Mikola Vehesh, eds., *Kárpátalja: 1919–2009: Történelem, politika, kultura* (Budapest: Argumentum, 2010); and Viktoria Bányai, Csilla Fedinec, and Szonja Ráhel Komoróczy, eds., *Zsidók Kárpátalján: Történelem és Örökség: A Dualizmus Korától Napjainkig* (Budapest: Aposztrof, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the Beregszász ghetto can be found at USHMMA, including five testimonies by Jewish survivors: Tibor Eliahu Beerman, "My experiences and survival in Nazi death camps," n.d., Acc. No. 1997.A.0303; Samuel Gottesman collection, Acc. No. 2013.175.1; Madeline Deutsch interview, May 14, 1990, RG-50.030*0060; Jolana Hollander interview, November 7, 1992, RG-50.477*1207 and *1399; and Michael Weiss interview, August 9, 1995, RG-50.155*0029. VHA holds 293 testimonies by Beregszász survivors. The CNI of the ITS holds hundreds of queries about Jews originating from, performing forced labor near, or held in Beregszász during the Holocaust. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTE

1. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0060, Madeline Deutsch interview, May 14, 1990.

BESZTERCE

Located in Transylvania, Beszterce (Romanian: Bistriţa; German: Bistritz) was part of Hungary until 1918 and between 1940 and 1944. It is located 325 kilometers (202 miles) northwest of Bucharest and nearly 414 kilometers (257 miles) east of Budapest. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the Jewish population of Beszterce was 2,370, representing 14.5 percent of the total population of 16,313. During the interwar period, when the city was under Romanian rule, the Jews, most of whom were Hungarian speaking, were subjected to many discriminatory regulations, especially after the establishment of the Goga-Cuza government in December 1937. Under the terms of the Second Vienna Award of August 30, 1940, the town, then located in Northern Transylvania, came under Hungarian rule. The Jews were immediately subjected to the anti-Jewish measures already in effect in Hungary. Their economic activities were severely restricted, and young men of military age were conscripted into labor service.

The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, marked the beginning of the end of the community. An avalanche of anti-Jewish measures brought about their isolation, expropriation, and ghettoization—all in preparation for their deportation. The details of the anti-Jewish drive in Beszterce-Naszód County (Beszterce was its seat) were worked out at a conference that was held in Szatmárnémeti for Gendarmerie District IX on April 26 with the participation of the national and local officials in charge of the "Final Solution."[1]

The roundup of the Jews of Beszterce, who had been compelled to wear the yellow star since April 5, began on the early morning of May 3. The Jews were concentrated in a ghetto that was established at the Stamboli farm, located about three to five kilometers (two to three miles) from the city. At its peak, the ghetto held close to 6,000 Jews, including the approximately 2,500 Jews from the city of Beszterce. The others had been brought in

from the neighboring communities in the following districts of Beszterce-Naszód County: Lower Beszterce, Upper Beszterce, Naszód, and Óradna. The ghettoization drive in the city was carried out under the command of Mayor Nor-bert Kuales and police chief Miklós Debreczeni. In the rural communities of the county, the Jews were rounded up by gendarmerie units under the command of László Smolenszki, the deputy prefect, and Gendarmerie Alezredes (Lieutenant Colonel) Ernö Pászthói. The ghetto, consisting of a number of barracks and pigsties, was inadequate from every point of view and made worse by the antisemitic beliefs of Heinrich Smolka, a local official who was in charge. Among those who cooperated with Smolka in the anti-Jewish drive were Kálmán Borbély, the county prefect, and Gusztáv Órendi, a local Gestapo agent. The ghetto was guarded by the local police and 25 gendarmes brought in from Nagydemeter. It was liquidated with the deportation of the Jews in two transports that left for Auschwitz-II Birkenau on June 2 and 6, 1944.

Among the first survivors to return to the city were the relatively few Jewish labor servicemen who were liberated by the Soviet and Romanian forces that occupied the area of Northern Transylvania in October 1944. The returnees reorganized the community and, under the leadership of Rabbi Mozes Spitz, established several social and health-related institutions in expectation of the return of the surviving deportees.

In absentia, the Cluj (Hungarian: Koloszvar) People's Tribunal on May 31, 1946, condemned Pászthói to death, Debreczeni to lifelong hard labor, and Kuales to life in prison.[2]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto in Beszterce are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013),

1: 194–196, 196–201.

Primary sources on the Beszterce ghetto can be found in microform at USHMMA, RG-25.004M, Selected records from collections of Bristiţa-Năsăud branch, ANR; and RG-52.003, Records relating to the Jewish Communities of Hungary and Romania, the "Final Solution" and the 1946 War Crimes Trial in Cluj, Romania, 1940–1946. Under Bristiţa, VHA holds 47 testimonies for the Beszterce ghetto. Two published testimonies are Emil Herczeg, *Egy év az életemből* (Tel Aviv: self-published, 1996); and Arie N. Gafni, *Bistritz* (B'nei B'rak: Lipe Friedmann, n.d.).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTES

1. Szatmárnémeti conference summarized in Nagybanya mayor's office to Interior Ministry, Doc. 30/44, cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: 652 n. 4.

2. Sentence in Minierul Afacerilor Interne, Dosar No. 40029, Ancheta Abraham Josif şi alţii, reproduced in Braham, *Genocide and Retribution*, pp. 216–217, 220.

BOR

Bor Copper Mine and Metallurgy (*Bor Kupferbergwerke und Hütten AG*) was located in the town of Bor, Serbia, approximately 153 kilometers (95 miles) southeast of Belgrade. The Siemens Construction Union (*Siemens Bauunion*, SBU) and Organisation Todt (OT), the Nazi construction organization, operated the mining complex. In response to war damage, partisan attacks, and infrastructural needs such as improving and maintaining the railways, the German authorities deployed thousands of forced laborers to more than 20 camps at the site. In 1943 and 1944, more than 6,200 Hungarian forced laborers—Jews, half-Jews, Jewish converts to Christianity, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Seventh-Day Adventists—were sent to Bor. The Royal Hungarian Army (*Honvéd*) and the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője,* KMOF) oversaw the Hungarian deployment.

On February 20, 1943, OT vice president Gerhard Fränk contacted the German Foreign Office, asking for 13,000 additional workers for Bor, including 10,000 from Hungary.[1] After protracted negotiations, the German and Hungarian authorities stipulated the following: 3,000 forced laborers, organized into military companies, were to be turned over to OT, with the first 1,000 to arrive by July 15, 1943; the labor service companies were to remain under Honvéd control; the Reich was to deliver 100 tons of copper to Hungary monthly; a joint commission would handle forced labor deployment, feeding, and housing matters; and the Hungarian Defense Ministry would supply additional forced laborers in return for additional copper shipments.[2]

The Bor camp consisted of subcamps along the route from the town to Žagubica, 21 kilometers (13 miles) to the northeast. Forced laborers were housed in camps chiefly bearing German place names, including "Berlin," "Bregenz," "Brünn," "Dresden," "Heidenau," "Innsbruck," "Laznica," "München," "Rhon,"

"Vorarlberg," and "Westfalen." Some sites, such as Brünn, were penal camps (*Straflager*).[3] At various times, Berlin, München, and Dresden served as reception camps. The largest subcamp, Berlin, also served as the headquarters for OT and Honvéd personnel.

For Hungarian prisoners, torture and filth were part of everyday life. These circumstances applied still more to the Straflager, where shifts began at 5:00 A.M. instead of the normal 6:00 A.M. start time and inmates received daily rations of only 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread instead of the normal 500–700 grams (1 to 1.5 pounds) of moldy bread mixed with straw and cornmeal. Some prisoners managed to obtain additional sustenance through the black market, but the principal beneficiaries of these transactions were often the guards. On their work clothes, white armbands distinguished Christian converts from Jews, who wore a yellow dot sewn on the front and back. In the barracks, prisoners slept on three-tiered wooden bunks.

Escape was hardly an option for several reasons. Few Hungarian inmates spoke Serbo-Croatian. The surrounding populace was frequently suspicious of laborers and interested chiefly in black market activities. The area was well policed by Honvéd, German, and quisling Serb units. A few successful escapes still occurred, as when 16 members of the Vorarlberg camp managed to make their way to a Romanian-speaking district near Golubac (73 kilometers [more than 45 miles] northwest of Bor) on the banks of the Danube.[4] Others were less fortunate, as when Alezredes Ede Marányi insisted on death sentences for two of nine escapees recaptured in July 1944.[5]

The 5th Hungarian Labor Battalion departed Szeged for Bor in July 1943. (Szeged is more than 286 kilometers [178 miles] northwest of Bor.) The battalion included the 801st Special Company of Jászberény, which consisted of Jehovah's Witnesses.[6] At the München subcamp, the battalion was divided into four groups: the first, consisting of weaker conscripts, cleaned barracks and gathered firewood; the second helped Serb builders unload cargo and erect structures; and the remaining two groups worked on the railway that would cross a mountain summit near the Bregenz subcamp.

From August 2 to December 19, 1943, Alezredes András Balogh commanded Honvéd forces; later, the sadistic and antisemitic Maránya replaced him. In the Berlin subcamp, one building was turned over to about 200 Jehovah's Witnesses, whereas other barracks housed some 500 other forced laborers.[7] Vorarlberg was located near a railway track under construction. Its prisoners were at first deployed to fortify the perimeter against partisans, but later excavated railway tunnels. Although OT supervisors treated prisoners fairly, the Honvéd command staff was vicious. The camp commanders, Főhadnagy Szilard Brucker (until April 1944) and then Főhadnagy Pál Juhasz administered sadistic punishments, such as tying prisoners' arms behind their backs and suspending them from a pole so their toes did not touch the ground. Among noncommissioned officers (NCOs), Zászlós Őrmester András Tálas was notorious for being abusive.[8]

The second convoy of Hungarian labor servicemen, which numbered about 2,600 men, arrived at Bor in the summer of 1944. Ironically, OT's renewed call for additional labor temporarily spared the lives of some 3,250 Jews, at a time when Hungarian Jewry faced annihilation. Because of partisan sabotage and Allied bombings, the convoy took a circuitous route via Niš (approximately 87 kilometers [about 54 miles] southwest of Bor) near the Bulgarian border. En route they had little food or water.[9]

On arrival at the Dresden intake camp, the second convoy was divided into five camps, each consisting of 650 inmates. At Westfalen, prisoners worked alongside Italian Military Internees (*Italienische Militärinternierte*, IMIs) from a neighboring camp in digging a railway line. On Sundays, Honvéd personnel under Főhadnagy Laszlo Scheffer harassed prisoners so cruelly that many volunteered for extra OT work. Commanded by Főhadnagy Nagy, Laznica was an isolated site where workers excavated earth and stones for the railway. Its prisoners were treated relatively decently. Located some 40 kilometers (almost 25 miles) west of Bor, the Rhon subcamp had an antisemitic commander, Zászlós Frigyes Torma. Prisoners labored on the railway. On Sundays, they felled trees and built fortifications against partisan attack. "Hanging-up" punishments were frequent. The subcamp Heidenau was immortalized in the poem, "Seventh Eclogue" (*Hetedik Ecloga*), found on the body of prisoner Miklós Radnóti. It held

some 400 Hungarian forced laborers, including many Jewish converts to Christianity.[10] Under the command of Hadnagy Antal Szall, the conditions were relatively decent. The Bregenz subcamp was known for its sadistic Hungarian commanders, such as Törzsőrmester Csaszar, and unusually hostile OT managers. Prisoners felled trees and prepared the ground for the railway. Christian converts were housed separately from Jews, which exacerbated conflict among prisoners. Located near the town of Bor, the subcamp Innsbruck was commanded by Zászlós Nagy. Inmates worked on railway construction and were severely undernourished.[11]

The German and Hungarian authorities evacuated Bor in September 1944, although about 200 weakened Hungarian inmates remained under Százados Bela Nagy and Törzsőrmester Csaszar. Transferred from Berlin to Brünn on September 30, 1944, these inmates narrowly escaped two days later when the guards set the buildings on fire. Local Serbs rescued the prisoners, and the partisans arrested a number of Hungarian soldiers.[12]

Escorted by approximately 100 Honvéd troops under Főhadnagy Sándor Pataki and Hadnagy Pál Juhász, the first convoy of some 3,200 Hungarian forced laborers left the Berlin subcamp on September 17, 1944. The convoy faced a murderous ordeal during which Honvéd, ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*), and Waffen-SS units perpetrated a series of massacres costing the lives of approximately 1,200 Jews. Those who managed to reach the Austro-Hungarian border in November 1944 ended up in Nazi concentration camps, such as Flossenbürg.[13]

The second convoy, consisting of labor companies that arrived in the summer of 1944, was more fortunate. Led by Honvéd personnel under the command of Hadnagy László Schäffer, who was known for his fair treatment of the prisoners, the group of around 2,600 set off on September 29. On the third day of the march, partisans ambushed the convoy, and Schäffer's troops surrendered.

Many Honvéd officers who served at Bor were later tried in Yugoslav trials. Although Marányi dis appeared, Tálas and Csaszar were executed.[14]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Hungarian forced labor battalions at Bor include the following: Sabine Rutar, "Arbeit und Überleben in Serbien: Das Kupfererzbergwerk Bor im Zweiten Weltkrieg," *GuG* 31: 1 (2005): 101–134; Ruth B. Birn, "Austrian Higher SS and Police Leaders and their Participation in the Holocaust in the Balkans," *HGS* 6: 4 (1992): 351–372; Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Tamás Csapody, *Bori munkaszolgálatosok: fejezetek a bori munkaszolgálat történetéből* (Budapest: Vince, 2011); Zvi Erez, "Jews for Copper: Jewish-Hungarian Labor Service Companies in Bor," trans. Naftali Greenwood, *YVS* 28 (2000): 243–286; Walter Manoschek, *"Serbien ist Judenfrei": Militärische Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941/42* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1995); Tomislav Pajić, *Prinudni rad i otpor u logorima Borskog rudnika 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1989); Klaus Schmider, *Partisanenkrieg in Jugoslawien 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Mittler, 2002); and Jozo Tomasevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941–1945: Occupation and Collaboration* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Hungarian forced labor battalions at Bor can be found in AS, collection DK; BAB; ITS (collection 1.1.07, Verschiedene Lager und Haftstätten in Jugoslavien, available in digital form at USHMMA); and USHMMA, Acc. No. 1995.A.0442, Susan Toth collection, "Documents relating to the incarceration and labor at Bor." Published archival sources on Bor can be found in Randolph L. Braham, *The Destruction of Hungarian Jewry*, 2 vols. (New York: Pro Arte for the World Federation of Hungarian Jews, 1963); and Elek Karsai, ed., *Fegyvertelen álltak az aknamezökön: Dokumentumok a mundaszolgá lat történetéhez Magyarországon* (Budapest: Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete, 1962). Bor survivor testimonies can be found in VHA. Other survivor testimonies are at YVA: Aharon Strauss, 03/805; Moshe Glück, 03/1061; Yehoshua Amsel, 03/5360; Leopold Klein, 03/5585; Shmuel Herskovic, 03/5687; and Dr. Zoltán Straus, 03/6799. Erez cites personal testimonies by

Kariel Gardos and by György Nagy, the latter titled "A 108/84—es bori munkaszolgálatos század története" (unpublished MS, Sutobica, n.d.). Published survivor testimonies include Yehuda Deutsch, *Bor: Slave Trade during the Second World War*, trans. Berthold Gottlieb Rose (Natanya: self-published, 2000); and Nathan Eck, "The March of Death from Serbia to Hungary (September 1944) and the Slaughter of Cservenka," *YVS* 2 (1958): 255–294, which reproduces "The Memoirs of Zalman Teichman: The Story of the Bitter Journey from Bor to Cservenka-Temesuar." "The Seventh Eclogue" by Miklós Radnóti is available in English in *Clouded Sky*, trans. Steven Polgar, Stephen Berg, and S. J. Mark (Riverdale-on-Hudson, NY: Sheep Meadow Press, 2003). Collections of published testimonies on Bor include Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The War time Experience of Labor Service in Hungary: Varieties of Experiences* (New York: Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies Graduate Center/City University of New York and Social Science Monographs, 1995); and Istvan Kadar, Erhard Roy Wiehn, and Klara Strompf, eds., *Zwangsarbeit, Todesmarsch, Massenmord: Erinnerungen überlebender ungarischer Zwangsarbeiter des Kupferbergwerks Bor in Jugoslawien 1943–1944*, trans. Lidia Gál und Viktória Pelcz (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2007).

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NOTES

1. Fränk, note, February 20, 1943, AA Inland III, reproduced in Braham, *Destruction of Hungarian Jewry*, 1: 104, Doc. 58.

2. Fernschreibstelle AA, Budapest, Nr. 1163/23, June 24, 1943, Inland II/K213655; and Vorvereinbarung, signed Neyer and Ruszkiczaz-Rüdiger, July 2, 1943, reproduced in Braham, *Destruction of Hungarian Jewry,* 1: 102, 11–12, Docs. 56 and 62.

3. AS, DK, k. 599, fasc. 649, June 6, 1945; György Nagy, "A 108/84," and YVA testimonies by Aharon Strauss, 03/805; Moshe Glück, 03/1061; Yehoshua Amsel, 03/5360; Leopold Klein, 03/5585; Shmuel Herskovic, 03/5687; and Dr. Zoltán

Straus, 03/6799, as cited in Erez, "Jews for Copper," pp. 251–252.

4. Deutsch, *Bor*, pp. 101–103.
5. Ibid., p. 105.
6. *FAA,* 2: 378, as cited in Braham, *Politics of Genocide,* Table 10.4, 1: 347.
7. Deutsch, *Bor*, pp. 56–67.
8. Ibid., pp. 68–75.
9. VHA #42506, Andrew Martin testimony, June 22, 1998.
10. Radnóti, *Clouded Sky*, p. 88.
11. Deutsch, *Bor*, pp. 85–100.
12. Ibid., p. 162.
13. Jazo Appel questionnaire, May 16, 1950, ITS, 1.1.07, Doc. 87769413.
14. Deutsch, *Bor*, pp. 165–169.

BUDAFOK

Budafok was an independent county town (*megyeváros*) in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, located just 13 kilometers (8 miles) south of Budapest. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the town had a population of 24,352. This figure included 314 Jews and 109 Christians of Jewish origin. Between 1940 and 1945, various labor and internment camps, as well as a ghetto, were located in Budafok. These sites are not well documented. Hungarian Jews constituted the main group of victims detained here. A smaller number of foreign Jews and possibly some non-Jewish individuals were also among the inmates.

ITS documentation suggests that forced laborers were registered in Budafok as early as 1940. For instance, Endre Ruttkay, a Hungarian Jew, may have been incarcerated in a labor camp in Budafok on July 1, 1940.[1] Laszlo Rosenzweig was likely dispatched to a labor camp in Budafok after his arrest in Gödöllö in July 1940.[2] Little is known about the life and work of forced laborers in Budafok. Scarce documentation indicates that an enamel factory employed forced laborers between 1942 and 1944.[3] Forced laborers were also registered at a cardboard factory at Gyar Street in Budafok.[4] In late 1944, one labor or internment camp was likely located at the Budafok airfield.[5] According to historian Randolph Braham, it is also possible that this field served as a transit station during the death marches of November 1944. At the time, the Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) also operated a camp in Budafok, although its exact location is not clear. According to eyewitness testimony, some 600 to 700 women, likely of Jewish origin, were registered there. The site was guarded by members of the Hungarian Army and the Arrow Cross, suggesting that it operated between September 1944 and January 1945.[6]

In the spring of 1944, Hungarian authorities opened a ghetto in Budafok for Jews from the town and surrounding areas. The ghetto initially occupied a single street. In early July 1944, Hungarian

gendarmes moved the inmates to a school building in Budafok, where they were physically abused and undernourished. Subsequently, they were transferred to a brick factory in Budakalász. This site served as an improvised entrainment center. Many of the Jews of Budafok were deported from that brick factory to Auschwitz II-Birkenau between July 6 and July 8, 1944. At least one eyewitness recalls cold winter weather during his transfer, suggesting the possibility that there were subsequent transports from Budafok to Auschwitz.[7] An unknown number of Jews were still living in the ghetto at Budafok on January 18, 1945, when Soviet soldiers arrived at the site.[8] Some evidence also suggests that inmates of the Arrow Cross camp were spared from deportation.[9] After the end of the war, 20 survivors returned to Budafok.[10]

SOURCES For background information on the detention sites in the Budafok internment camps see these secondary sources: Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 735; and Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977), p. 71.

Relevant primary documentation includes Records of the 8th Gendarmerie District, Kassa, Hungary (MOL Z 936), 1944–1945 (USHMMA, RG-39.005M, reel 5). VHA holds three testimonies indexed for the Budafok ghetto: Miryam Kohen, February 25, 1998 (#41278); Malka Mittelman-Seifert, September 14, 1995 (#6760); and Stephen Nasser, December 13, 1995 (#10053). The digital ITS Archive deposited at USHMMA contains a postwar eyewitness report describing the Arrow Cross camp for women at Budafok. See ITS, 1.1.0.7 (Verschiedene Lager in Ungarn), folder 85, Doc. No. 87769081. Also, the CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several dozen Jewish and possibly non-Jewish inmates of labor and internment camps at Budafok and of the Budafok ghetto, as well as other town residents. The cards

document various paths of persecution and are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. CNI card for Endre Ruttkay, Doc. No. 50619146.
2. CNI card for Laszlo Rosenzweig, Doc. No. 53139189.
3. CNI card for Zoltan Fried, Doc. No. 52814110.
4. CNI card for Josef Weisz, Doc. No. 50760135.
5. CNI card for Marika Korda, Doc. No. 52448567.
6. Testimony by Ermine Schisha, ITS, 1.1.0.7, folder 85, Doc. No. 87769081.
7. VHA #10053, Stephen Nasser testimony, December 13, 1995.
8. VHA #6760, Malka Mittleman-Seifert testimony, September 14, 1995.
9. ITS, 1.1.0.7, folder 85, Doc. No. 87769081.
10. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 2: 735.

BUDAKALÁSZ

Budakalász is located 14 kilometers (9 miles) north of Budapest in the Pomáz District of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County. In 1941, the town had a native population of 3,259, including 48 Jews. The Hungarian authorities rounded up most Jews in the towns surrounding Budapest between May 22 and June 30, 1944, and detained them in ghettos or so-called yellow-star houses. The Jewish population of Budakalász was transferred to the Csillaghegy ghetto in Budapest on May 24, 1944. At the same time, Hungarian authorities established a ghetto and deportation center at Budakalász. The site spanned several brickyards and possibly other industrial installations in town.[1] Between 17,500 and 20,000 Jews were transferred to Budakalász from Csepel Island in Budapest and from communities north of the capital, such as Kispest, Pesterzsébet, and Újpest.

Survivors have testified to the brutality in Budakalász.[2] According to survivor Olga Herskovitz, Hungarian gendarmes and the Nazi SS policed the Budakalász brickyards.[3] The site was overcrowded with thousands of frightened people who trampled over one another. Survivor Leslie Aigner testified that it lacked even basic accommodations: most people had to sleep outdoors on the ground without shelter.[4] People had to endure hunger and boredom for several weeks before being deported. Between July 6 and July 8, 1944, more than 24,000 inmates detained at the deportation centers of Budakalász, Monor, and other smaller sites in Deportation Zone VI were deported to Auschwitz and to sites in Austria.

SOURCES Secondary sources covering the Budakalász ghetto and deportation center include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols.

(Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 735–736.

Relevant primary sources include RG-19.013M (OGYK), reel 10, box D 9/4. VHA has 25 testimonies indexed for the "deportation center" at Budakalász, including testimony by Leslie Aigner, March 12, 1995 (#1400); Olga Herskovitz, December 10, 1995 (#9902); Armin Krauss, May 5, 1996 (#14918); Ibolya Kritzler, December 22, 1996 (#25215); and Elizabeth Laszlo, January 14, 1997 (#25846). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about nearly 100 Budakalász inhabitants and people likely detained at the Budakalász ghetto. Some cards refer to a labor camp for Jews in Budakalász operating in 1944. It is not clear whether this reference is to the ghetto. See, for instance, the CNI card for Laszlo Riess (Doc. No. 51988048). The cards are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. CNI card for Klara Ritter (Doc. No. 50542313) lists a light-bulb factory and a brick factory in Budakalász as possible detention sites.
2. VHA #25846, Elizabeth Laszlo testimony, January 14, 1997.
3. VHA #9902, Olga Herskovitz testimony, December 10, 1995.
4. VHA #1400, Leslie Aigner testimony, March 12, 1995.

BUDAPEST

Jews had lived in Budapest since the medieval period, but it was at the end of the nineteenth century that the Jewish population grew most dramatically in both absolute and relative terms. According to the 1880 census, the Jewish population was 70,879 (19.7% of the total). Forty years later, in 1920, it had increased to 215,512 (23.2%), making Budapest home to the second largest Jewish population in Europe after Warsaw. In the last census taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, in 1941, the Jewish population of the city was 184,453 (15.8%). Jews lived throughout the city, but their proportion was much higher on the Pest side (18.9%) of the Danube River than on the Buda side (6.1%). Within Pest, Jews were especially prevalent in the central districts of the city, making up 34.4 percent, 31.6 percent, and 35.5 percent of the population in Districts V, VI, and VII, respectively, according to the 1941 census.

The Jews in the capital suffered economically as a result of the anti-Jewish measures introduced in 1938, and Jewish men were called up into labor service battalions. The relocations of Jews in Budapest first came about when Jewish-owned apartments were seized for use by non-Jewish families made homeless by the Allied bombing of the city in early April 1944. These Jewish families were rehoused in Districts VI and VII in central Pest, where the rightist press reported something like a "ghetto" being formed. However it was not until May 9, 1944, that formal plans for ghettoizing Budapest's Jews were developed.[1] These plans sketched out major streets and squares that were to be "cleansed" of Jews, as well as seven ghetto areas—four in Pest and three in Buda—where Jews were to be gathered. These locations were intended to be in close proximity to strategically important sites—such as factories, railway stations, and government offices—that were targets of Allied bombing. They were in accord with the claims of the State Secretary for Jewish Affairs in the Interior Ministry, László Endre, that "we will concentrate an appropriate

number of Jews close to everywhere we expect to be attacked by the terror bombers, for example factories, railway stations."[2]

However, a far more dispersed form of ghettoization was adopted in the capital by mayoral officials in mid-June. A mass registration of the city's inhabitants was undertaken on June 1–2, 1944, that identified which properties were owned and lived in by a majority of Jews. Where Jews lived in the city appears to have been critical in determining which 2,637 apartment buildings and family homes were listed on June 16 as ghetto houses, to be marked on their exterior with a large yellow star on a black background, earning them the name "[yellow-] starred houses."[3] Jews were to move into these properties by June 21, making use of the Jewish Council's Housing Department if they needed assistance in finding a place to live.

Almost immediately, there were complaints about which houses had or had not been designated. Hundreds of petitions were sent to the Budapest mayor, the majority from non-Jews calling for the removal of ghetto status from their apartment building, and there was a thoroughgoing reinvestigation of the properties that were designated as yellow-star houses on June 16.[4] Less than a week later, on June 22, a new, definitive list of properties was published.[5] This reduced the total number of apartment buildings making up the ghetto to 1,948—with a large proportion found in the central districts of Pest (where almost one in three buildings in Districts V and VII were marked with a yellow star). Most strikingly, the scale at which ghettoization was implemented shifted as a result of the extensive complaints launched by non-Jewish inhabitants. Although Jews were being forced to move into yellow-star buildings, non-Jews were permitted to remain living in their apartments in these buildings, and large numbers chose to do so. At the end of November, non-Jews partially occupied 144 of the 162 yellow-star houses in the area that was later made into the Pest ghetto.[6] If these figures are representative of the city as a whole, it would seem that the great majority of ghetto houses were in fact "mixed houses" where non-Jews lived just down the corridor from Jews.

Jews lived in yellow-star houses throughout the city from June through late November 1944. From June 5 onward, Budapest Jews were permitted to shop only between 11 A.M. to 1 P.M. This

reduction in their access to shops was applied to other places in the city, with a limited number of cafes, bars, restaurants, bath houses, and cinemas designated as accessible by Jews at set times on set days. On June 25 Jews were informed that they could only leave these buildings between 2 P.M. and 5 P.M., a period later extended to 11 A.M. to 5 P.M.[7]

Entrance to a yellow star house in Budapest, 1944. USHMM WS #76124, COURTESY OF FORTEPAN.

Although deportations were planned for Budapest's Jews in July, they were spared the fate of Jews living elsewhere in Hungary when Regent Miklós Horthy halted deportations on July 7. After his failed attempt to extricate Hungary from the war, Horthy was captured and a puppet Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*)

government installed on October 15, 1944. This government implemented a new policy of ghettoization for those Jews who remained in the country. Men aged 16 to 60 and women aged 18 to 40 were marched westward from the city to undertake forced labor, particularly the digging of fortifications. Those who remained were placed into one of two ghettos, depending on their status. In November 1944, an "International ghetto" was set up in the "Palatinus" buildings in the Újlipótváros quarter of the city. "Protected" Jews were to move into these houses by November 15, a deadline that was extended to November 17. A little over 15,000 Jews held official papers issued by the neutral legations, although the numbers of Jews crammed into International ghetto houses was considerably higher, with Raoul Wallenberg estimating that up to 35,000 Jews lived in them.[8] They moved into around 120 houses clustered on the following streets: Katona József, Pozsonyi, Tátra, Pannónia, Csanády, Wahrmann Mór, Hollán Ernő, Légrády Károly, Phönix, and Sziget, the Újpesti Wharf, and Szent István Park.

Those Jews who did not have this protection were moved from yellow-star houses across the city into a fenced ghetto established in the traditional "Jewish quarter" of the city around the Dohány Street synagogue. The precise shape of the Pest ghetto was announced by Interior Minister Gábor Vajna on November 29, although the Jewish Council had been informed of the plan to set up a closed ghetto on November 18 by the deputy head of police, János Solymossy. Located in the area bordered by Károly Boulevard and Király, Dohány, and Nagytádi Szabó Streets, the ghetto included apartment buildings on Dob, Wesselényi, Rumbach Sebestyén, Sip, Holló, Kazinczy, Kisdiófa, Nagydiófa, Nyár, Csányi, Klauzál, and Akácfa Streets, and Klauzál Square. Non-Jews were ordered to leave the ghetto area between December 2 and 7. According to a Jewish Council survey undertaken in December, 44,416 Jews lived in 7,726 rooms in 4,513 apartments in 241 to 243 buildings.[9] The ghetto was closed on December 10, with exit and entry restricted to four gates guarded by policemen. As elsewhere, the costs of fencing were withdrawn from the Jewish bank account.

Under the direction of the Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*), the ghetto was subdivided into 10 districts, with each one being

responsible for its food and fuel supply. Communal kitchens were established at a number of locations, supplying around 60,000 portions of food daily. According to the estimates of the ghetto commander and Jewish Council member, Miksa Domonkos, ghetto provisions supplied 781 calories per adult per day.[10] Food supply was a major problem, in particular after the Red Army encircled Budapest on December 25. The food shortage was compounded by the growth of the ghetto population to an estimated 70,000 by January 1945. Within the ghetto, order was maintained by a ghetto police force (*gettórendészet*) of around 900. However, they were largely powerless against roaming gangs of Arrow Cross thugs who murdered thousands of Jews from both the Pest and International ghettos in the chaotic winter of 1944. Rumors of plans to blow up the Pest ghetto remain unsubstantiated. Instead, both ghettos were liberated by the Red Army between January 16 and 18, 1945. Around 20,000 to 25,000 Jews survived in the International ghetto, a little less than 70,000 in the Pest ghetto, and another estimated 25,000 Jews survived the war in hiding in Budapest.

Jews in the Budapest ghetto, 1944. USHMM WS #98981, COURTESY OF BEIT LOHAMEI HAGHETAOT (GHETTO FIGHTERS' HOUSE MUSEUM).

SOURCES Major secondary sources on the Budapest ghetto are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust*

in Hungary, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Tim Cole, *Holocaust City: The Making of a Jewish Ghetto* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Kinga Frojimovics et al., *Jewish Budapest: Monuments, Rites, History* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999); László Karsai, "The Last Phase of the Hungarian Holocaust: The Szálasi Regime and the Jews," in Randolph L. Braham and Scott Miller, eds., *The Nazis' Last Victims* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), pp. 103–116; "Budapest," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 736–755; and Zoltán Vági, László Csősz, and Gábor Kádár, *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press in association with USHMM, 2013). An early history of the ghetto is found in Jenö Lévai, *A Pesti Gettó Csodálatos Megmenekülésének Hiteles Története* (Budapest: Officina, 1946).

Primary sources on the Budapest ghetto can be found in BFL, MOL, and ÚMKL. Two of the many collections available at USHMMA concerning the Budapest ghetto are RG-39.013M (Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956); and RG-39.006M (Records of the Budapest People's Court). USHMMA holds a large number of written and oral testimonies by ghetto survivors, as does VHA. Some documentation on the Budapest ghetto can also be found in NARA, T-973 (Hungarian Political and Military Records), selectively copied at USHMMA as RG-30.003M. Published primary sources can be found in Ilona Benoscofsky and Elek Karai, eds., *Vádirat a Nácizmus Ellen*, 3 vols. (Budapest: A Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete Kiadása, 1958); and Raoul Wallenberg, *Letters and Dispatches 1924–1944*, trans. Kjersti Board (New York: Arcade Publishing in association with USHMM, 1995).

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NOTES

1. MOL, K147, 3410 cs., reproduced in Benoscofsky and Karai, eds., *Vádirat a Nácizmus Ellen*, 1: 301–303.

2. *Magyarság*, April 16, 1944.

3. See the lists published in *BuKö* 135 (June 17, 1944); *EsUj*, June 16, 1944; and on wall posters.

4. See BFL, IX/1867.1944; IX/1870.1944; IX/2026.1944; IX/2027.1944; IX/2030.1944; IX/2031.1944; IX/2035.1944; IX/2037.1944; IX/2040.1944; IX/2041.1944; IX/2042.1944; IX/2048.1944; IX/2102.1944; IX/2105.1944; IX/2114.1944; IX/2115.1944; IX/2116.1944; IX/2339.1944; IX/2747.1944; IX/2781.1944; IX/2782.1944; IX/2783.1944; IX/2784/1944; IX/2785.1944; IX/2786.1944; IX/2787.1944; IX/2789.1944; IX/2790.1944; IX/2791.1944; and IX/2792.1944; see also MOL, I collection, reels 15–17.

5. For example, see the lists published in *EsUj*, June 22, 1944; and on wall posters.

6. ÚMKL, XXXIII-5-c-1, XI.23.

7. See the translation of this order, Decree 7200/fk. ebn. 1944, June 23, 1944, in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 855–856.

8. Wallenberg, *Letters and Dispatches 1924–1944*, p. 265.

9. ÚMKL, XXXIII-5-c-2, n.d.

10. Domonkos is quoted in full in Frojimovics et al., *Jewish Budapest*, p. 415.

BUDAPEST/COLUMBUS STREET

A major camp for Jewish refugees was located at 60 Columbus Street (*Kolumbusz utca*) in Budapest, District XIV, on a lot behind the Jewish National Institute for the Deaf and Dumb (*Israelita Siketnémak Országos Intézete*) on Mexico Street (*Mexikói utca*). The camp had a capacity of up to 3,000. According to eyewitness testimony, the inmates occupied two large wooden barracks, each containing two rows of bunk beds. A third, smaller barrack served as an infirmary. The inmates were mostly Jewish refugees awaiting emigration clearance. Some inmates contributed significant sums of money that went toward the running of the camp.

Survivor Vera Barcza entered the camp in 1944, when she was 15 years old. She remembered it as a safe haven after the extreme stress of living in hiding. She credited her stay in the camp with her survival because it offered safety, shelter, and food during the dangerous final months of World War II.[1] In-deed, after the German invasion of Hungary in March 1944, the site came to be known as a "privileged camp." According to historian Randolph Braham, SS units guarded the site until September 1944, temporarily preventing Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) attacks and deportations. Many Jews saved by the famous transports arranged by Rudolf (Rezső) Kasztner were housed at the Columbus Street camp.[2] Some 388 of these Jews arrived in the camp from the Kolozsvár ghetto.

By September 1944, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) assumed full control over the site's day-today administration. The camp was liquidated in early December 1944 after the Arrow Cross attacked the barracks and murdered a number of the inhabitants. Children and elderly inmates were subsequently transferred to the Budapest ghetto. Women were transferred to a detention site at Teliki Square, colloquially called "Jews' House Teliki Square" (*Judenhaus Teliki Platz*). Others were transferred to the nearby deportation center at the National

Center for Secondary Sports Clubs (*Középiskolai Sportkörök Országos Központja*, KISOK) sports field.[3]

SOURCES For secondary sources describing the Budapest/Columbus Street camp, see especially Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Yehuda Bauer, *Jews for Sale? Nazi–Jewish Negotiations, 1933–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994).

Primary sources documenting the Budapest/Columbus Street camp can be found in MZSML, available at USHMMA as RG-39.013M (Records relating to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956). The ITS CNI contains inquiries about inmates registered at the internment camp at Columbus Street. The cards document various paths of persecution and are available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA testimonies include Vera Barcza, March 3, 1996 (#12733); Tibor Bielik, March 10, 1995 (#1332); George Bishop, October 25, 2000 (#51218); Rachel Bleier, December 11, 1995 (#7071); and Eva Boyum, February 9, 1995 (#40695).

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1. VHA #12733, Vera Barcza testimony, March 3, 1996.
2. Partial passenger list of Kasztner train, USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), box 6/2, reel 69.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Sosana Weis, Doc. No. 53055977.

BUDAPEST/CONTI STREET PRISON

A military prison was located on Conti Street in District VIII in Budapest. During World War II, the Hungarian authorities detained political prisoners and others accused of treason, espionage, and related offenses at the site. Postwar documentation suggests that some foreign Jews were also among the prisoners.[1]

The Hungarian poet and Zionist resistance fighter Hannah Szenes was one of the most famous prisoners detained at Conti Street; she lived in a cell with other prisoners. After the war, her mother Catherine testified to having visited her at the site in early October 1944. After Hannah's execution by firing squad at the Margit Boulevard prison on November 7, her mother picked up her personal belongings from the Conti Street prison.[2]

Another famous prisoner incarcerated at the site was János Kádár. The Hungarian communist leader and resistance fighter was arrested while trying to cross the border into Yugoslavia on April 20, 1944. Sentenced to two and a half years in prison, he was incarcerated at the Conti Street prison. His cell was nearly demolished when a bomb damaged the prison during an American air raid later that year.

The Conti Street prison was evacuated in November 1944, when prisoners were assembled for a forced march toward the Slovakian border. Kádár managed to escape at that time. He survived the war, but was once again incarcerated at Conti Street as a political prisoner before eventually rising to the position of General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Conti Street prison include Maxine Schur, *Hannah Szenes: A Song of Light* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1986); Roberta Grossman, ed., *Hannah Senesh: Her Life and Diary* (Woodstock, VT: Jewish Lights Publishing, 2007); and Judith Tydor Baumel-Schwartz, *Perfect Heroes: The World*

War II Parachutists and the Making of Israeli Collective Memory (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010). For Catherine Szenes's postwar testimony regarding her daughter Hannah's incarceration at Conti Street see Grossman, *Hannah Senesh: Her Life and Diary*, pp. 253–293. See also Roger Gough, *A Good Comrade: János Kádár, Communism and Hungary* (London: I. B. Taurus, 2006).

There is little documentation of the prison at Conti Street. The CNI of the ITS contains an inquiry about Ruzica Raicic (Doc. No. 52022212) who may have been a prisoner there. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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1. For confirmation see ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Ruzica Raicic, Doc. No. 52022212.

2. Grossman, ed., *Hannah Senesh*, pp. 281–293.

BUDAPEST/KISOK

The National Center for Secondary Sports Clubs (*Középiskolai Sportkörök Országos Központja*, KISOK) was located on Erzsébet Királyné Street in District XIV in Budapest. Between October 1944 and January 1945, the site served as a detention and deportation center for Hungarian Jews after Defense Minister Károly Beregfy issued a labor conscription decree on October 21, 1944. He ordered Budapest's Jewish men between the ages of 16 and 60 to report to the Tattersall horse race track at Kerepsi Street and Jewish women between the ages of 16 to 40 to go to the KISOK sports field by October 23.[1]

Immediately following the announcement, Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) units acted as "recruitment officers" and unleashed a terror campaign against Budapest's Jews. The Arrow Cross units brutally forced the Jews out of their "yellow-star houses" where they made preselections and then drove those who were selected toward the appointed assembly points. These sites had no facilities to accommodate the thousands of people who were processed every day.[2] Thousands were assigned to labor battalions deployed to dig trenches and build defense fortifications along the southern periphery of Budapest. Those who survived several months of violence, abuse, and neglect were liberated alongside the remaining inhabitants of the Budapest ghetto by the Red Army on January 18, 1945.[3] Others were selected for forced labor in Nazi Germany. These Jewish labor battalions were marched from KISOK and other transit points, such as the Ujlaki Brickyards, toward Hegyeshalom, the Hungarian checkpoint at the Austrian border. Among them was Valeria Szerkely, who was a Jewish 21-year-old Budapest native when she entered a yellow-star house in the city in June 1944. From there she passed through the KISOK deportation center and survived a forced march to Hegyeshalom. She then was transferred to Köszeg and Mauthausen and was finally liberated at Gunskirchen in May 1945.[4]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources include the following: for background information on the Hungarian forced labor program for Jews see Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977); and Zoltán Vági, László Csősz, and Gábor Kádár, *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press in association with USHMM, 2013). The latter volume contains relevant primary documents, including Beregfy's conscription order from October 21, 1944, pp. 153–154. See also Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994).

Primary sources include USHMMA, RG-39.013M, reel 25 (HJA XX-F-1, box D 6/1). USHMMPA contains information about several KISOK inmates, including the Breuer family, whose members were assembled at the KISOK sports field, but escaped the death march of December 1944; see WS #67848. Although VHA contains several thousand testimonies indexed for Budapest, very few of them contain references to the KISOK site. The ITS CNI contains inquiries about several dozen Hungarian Jews registered at the KISOK sports field. The cards document various paths of persecution to and from the site. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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1. USHMMA, RG-39.013M (HJA), reel 25.
2. USHMMPA, WS #67848.
3. CNI card for Lea Leuchter, Doc. No. 52030551.
4. CNI card for Valeria Szerkely, Doc. No. 50579943.

BUDAPEST/MAGDOLNA STREET

Magdolna Street was located in District VIII, in a poor neighborhood of Budapest traditionally occupied by observant Jews.[1] A house possibly located at 28 or 31 Magdolna Street served as an internment camp for foreign Jews and other refugees.[2] Hungarian Jews without proper identification papers were also interned there. Some records casually refer to the site as the "Jew House."[3] It likely operated between 1941 and 1944. According to International Tracing Service (ITS) documentation, one of the earliest admissions was in April 1941.[4] Police records detail transfers into and out of the Magdolna Street camp as late as June 11, 1944.[5]

Survivor Arnold Polak, a Jew from Slovakia, who spent one month at the site, described it as a "detention house." According to his postwar testimony, the site consisted of a residential building with a gated courtyard. He remembered that he was grateful to receive meals and shelter at Magdolna Street after spending time in hiding in Slovakia.[6] Like Polak, most inmates were foreign Jews under age 50. Most seem to have stayed at the site no longer than a few weeks or months before being transferred to other internment camps in Budapest and the surrounding areas. Survivor Benjamin Wayne, for example, was detained at Magdolna Street after crossing the border from Slovakia in 1943. After a few weeks at the camp, he was moved to a similar site on Szabolcs Street. After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, some Magdolna Street inmates were transferred to Jewish labor camps in the Reich, including Austria. For others, the house at Magdolna Street became a way station to Auschwitz.[7]

SOURCES For background information on Budapest internment camps see Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994).

Important primary sources documenting the Magdolna Street camp include MZSML, available at USHMMA as RG-39.013M (Records relating to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956). The ITS CNI contains inquiries about inmates registered at the internment camp at Magdolna Street. The cards document various paths of persecution and are available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA contains seven survivor testimonies of former internees at Magdolna Street, including Piroska Freund, March 11, 1996 (#11459); Arnold Polak, October 16, 1998 (#47954); Benjamin Wayne, May 19, 1996 (#15361); and Ilona Singer, April 14, 1997 (#28381).

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1. VHA #11459, Piroska Freund testimony, March 11, 1996.
2. Compare ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Fritz Berger, Doc. No. 51839185; with ITS, 1.1.0.6, Doc. No. 82341641.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Franciska Unger, Doc. No. 53193216.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Nurit Jungreisz, Doc. No. 52125700.
5. List of prisoners, Magdolna Street, n.d., USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), box d/84, reel 10.
6. VHA #47954, Arnold Polak testimony, October 16, 1998.
7. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Sarotta Czimmerman, Doc. No. 52529429.

BUDAPEST/MARGIT BOULEVARD

The Hungarian authorities maintained a large prison in District I in Budapest. It was located on Margit Boulevard (*Margit körut*), part of Grand Boulevard (*nagkörut*), one of the city's major thoroughfares. During World War II, the site served as a military prison.[1] Political prisoners and others accused of treason, espionage, and similar offenses were detained there. Postwar documentation suggests that many foreign Jews were among the prisoners.

David Schoenblum, a Jewish Romanian survivor, was incarcerated at Margit after illegally crossing the border in 1942. According to his postwar testimony, he spent nine months in solitary confinement in a cell measuring roughly 2 by 3 meters (6 by 9 feet). There was little food, and he suffered from starvation and other ailments stemming from neglect. Schoenblum was accused of espionage and sentenced to 15 years in prison. He recalled learning of this sentence with some relief after having witnessed mass hangings of other prisoners at the site.[2]

After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, the Gestapo also detained prisoners at this site. Many were Jews who were subsequently deported to Auschwitz or transferred to other detention sites, including labor camps, concentration camps, and ghettos.[3] Zipora Blick, a Jewish Romanian survivor like Schoenblum, was detained at the Margit Boulevard prison for several days in 1944. According to her postwar testimony, she was interrogated several times and threatened with torture. However, when she refused to divulge her Jewish identity and provided the authorities with false identification papers, she was released.[4]

The Hungarian poet and pro-Zionist resistance fighter Hannah Szenes was also imprisoned at the Margit prison in 1944. Szenes was tried for treason in a military trial on October 28, 1944, and executed by firing squad at the site on November 7. In late December 1944, members of the Zionist Hashomer Hatzair

organization liberated several inmates from the prison according to historian Kriszián Ungváry. The remaining prisoner population was liberated on January 18, 1945.[5]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources include Kriszián Ungváry, *Battle for Budapest: 100 Days in World War II* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004); Judith Tydor Baumel-Schwartz, *Perfect Heroes: The World War II Parachutists and the Making of Israeli Collective Memory* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010); Maxine Schur, *Hannah Szenes: A Song of Light* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of Amer i ca, 1986); and Roberta Grossman, *Hannah Senesh: Her Life and Diary* (Woodstock, VT: Jewish Lights Publishing, 2007).

Primary documentation about the prison at Margit Boulevard is very scarce. VHA has 21 testimonies indexed for the prison including a testimony by Sidonie Bennett, December 18, 1995 (#10307); Zipora Blick, July 26, 1995 (#43123); David Schoenblum, August 7, 1996 (#18618); Eric Spicer, August 29, 1995 (#4535); and Raymond Taudlich, May 19, 1995 (#2602). Additionally, the CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about 12 inmates. The cards document various paths of persecution, including inmates' passage through a series of prisons or through a variety of detention institutions, such as prisons, labor camps, concentration camps, and ghettos. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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1. For confirmation see ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Bernard Kunovitz, Doc. No. 52716484, and Helene Abeles, Doc. No. 52936590.
2. VHA #18618, David Schoenblum testimony, August 7, 1996.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Alice Rottmann, Doc. No. 52532665.
4. VHA #43123, Zipora Blick testimony, July 26, 1995.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Awraham Karni, Doc. No. 51261168.

BUDAPEST/MOSONYI STREET

The Hungarian judicial authorities operated a police detention center ("*toloncház*" or colloquially "*tolonc*") at 9 Mosonyi Street in Budapest District VIII. The site was located near the Keleti Railway Station, where many of the detainees arrived.[1] Some records refer to it by the German term "push house" (*Schubhaus*), a detention facility traditionally used to process vagabonds and others lacking proper identification papers. Postwar documentation and secondary literature refer to the site by a number of different designations, including "detention camp" or "collection camp."[2]

The Mosonyi Street site was part of a network of police detention centers that included two larger sites: Toloncház I at Mosonyi Street in Budapest and Toloncház II at Kistarcsa. The available documentation from the International Tracing Service (ITS) suggests that the Hungarian authorities used such sites as detention centers for refugees and political prisoners—both Hungarians and foreigners—throughout the early 1940s. Even before the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, a high percentage of these centers' inmates were Jews. Prisoners were processed here before their transfer to permanent internment camps or labor battalions.[3] Itziak Benakuva, a Polish Jew, was 28 years old when he was briefly interned at the Mosonyi Street detention center in the summer of 1941. According to his postwar testimony, the cells were overcrowded with hundreds of inmates. Gizela Eisner was a Czech Jew detained at Mosonyi Street. She recalled later that Jewish aid organizations provided the inmates with food and basic necessities. After staying at the Mosonyi Street prison for several weeks or even months, Eisner was transferred to an internment camp located on Budapest's Szabolcs Street in 1942.[4]

After the German occupation of Hungary in the spring of 1944, many of the newly detained foreign and Hungarian Jews passed through institutions of the toloncház network, including the site at Mosonyi Street. Elizabet Benedek was one of many foreign Jews

detained at the Mosonyi site at that time. According to her postwar testimony, she arrived at the Keleti Railway Station with a large transport of detainees. At the prison, men and women were separated and made to spend the night sleeping on the floor of large detention halls. Like other survivors, she testified that the prisoner population consisted of hundreds of people. The following morning, the prison authorities conducted a roll call in the prison yard. Benedek, her brother, and other younger detainees were slated for deportation to Auschwitz.[5] Postwar documentation reveals that the vast majority of Jews processed at Mosonyi Street after March 1944 were transferred to Kistarcsa. Most Kistarcsa inmates were then deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau in the summer of 1944. The available evidence suggests that a significant number of those initially registered at Mosonyi avoided deportation and survived the war.[6]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Mosonyi Street detention site include Gábor Kádár and Zoltán Vági, "Ungarn," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9: 359–361. See also Szita Szabolcs, *Ungarn in Mauthausen: Ungarische Häftlinge in SS-Lagern auf dem Territorium Österreichs* (Vienna: Bundesministerium für Inneres, Abt. IV/7, 2006); Jonny Moser, *Wallenbergs Laufbursche: Jugenderinnerungen 1938–1945* (Vienna: Picus, 2006); Johannes F. Evelein, ed., *Exiles Traveling: Exploring Displacement, Crossing Boundaries in German Exile Arts and Writings 1933–1945* (New York: Rodopi, 2009), pp. 363–364; and Norbert Kerenyi, *Stories of a Survivor* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2011).

Primary documentation about the Mosonyi Street camp is scarce. An Austrian postwar report listing the site can be found at ITS, 1.1.0.6, folder 53/I412, Doc. No. 82341650. Additionally, the CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several dozen Mosonyi Street inmates. The cards document various paths of persecution, including the flow from Mosonyi Street to Kistarcsa that predominated in 1944. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA has 69 testimonies indexed for the

prison at Mosonyi Street, including testimony by Itziak Benakuva, April 15, 1996 (#12550); Elizabet Benedek, November 13, 1997 (#37905); Gizela Eisner, July 16, 1996 (#17690); Jacob Halberstam, July 10, 1996 (#17276); and Margaret Hubsher, February 15, 1998 (#38985).

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NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Magda Breiner, Doc. No. 5207599.
2. See, for example, CNI cards for Tova Schwartz, Doc. No. 52174540; Erzsebeth Jakob, Doc. No. 52089972; and Jehuda Jakubovics, Doc. No. 52193160.
3. VHA #12550, Itziak Benakuva testimony, April 15, 1996.
4. VHA #17690, Gizela Eisner testimony, July 16, 1996.
5. VHA #37905, Elizabet Benedek testimony, November 13, 1997.
6. Compare CNI cards for Rose Heilig, Doc. No. 52208979; Ilona Braun, Doc. No. 52246758; Mordechaj Roth, Doc. No. 52422132; and Soel Rubin, Doc. No. 52424626.

BUDAPEST/ÓBUDA

The Nagybátony-Újlaki Brickyards were located at 134–136 Bécsi Street in Óbuda, a northeastern suburb of Budapest. Between November 1944 and January 1945, the site served as a large transit and deportation center. Thousands of Hungarian Jews were marched from these brickyards to the Austrian border.

The Óbuda area saw antisemitic excesses immediately after the Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) took over the Hungarian government in October 1944: gangs of Arrow Cross militants rounded up Jewish labor servicemen and executed them at the Margit Bridge and the Chain Bridge. In the following weeks, most of the remaining Jewish labor service units were evacuated from the path of the advancing Red Army and transferred to Budapest. When the Soviet offensive against the Hungarian capital stalled briefly in November 1944, many of these labor units were deployed on the left bank of the Danube to dig trenches and build fortifications. Once the offensive resumed, the surviving laborers and other Jews rounded up in Budapest were detained at the Újlaki Brickyards in Óbuda.

During this period, András Szentandrássy commanded the Óbuda Deportation Center at the Újlaki Brickyards. Hungarian police nominally served as guards while the Arrow Cross terrorized, robbed, and abused the inmates. Thousands of Jewish men and women were housed under extremely primitive conditions. They endured cold and rain in the overcrowded courtyards or in the open brick-drying barns. Sanitary conditions were catastrophic. There was little to no food.[1]

Beginning on November 8, 1944, after spending several days at the brickyards, Jewish labor battalions were formed into marching columns and sent along a route through Piliscsaba, Dorog, Süttő, Szőny, Gönyű, Dunaszeg, and Mosonmagyaróvár toward Hegyeshalom, the Hungarian checkpoint at the Austrian border. The Hungarian Defense Ministry and the Interior Ministry were responsible for guarding, housing, and feeding the prisoners during

the forced marches. However, in reality, prisoners endured rampant neglect, abuse, and torture at the hands of their guards, resulting in mass deaths along the route.[2] At Hegyeshalom, the survivors were transferred to the German authorities and sent to build fortifications near Vienna.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources about the Óbuda Deportation Center at the Újlaki Brickyards include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977); and Kinga Frojimovics et al., *Jewish Budapest: Monuments, Rites, History* (New York: Central European University Press, 1999).

Primary documentation includes 100 VHA testimonies indexed for the Óbuda Deportation Center, including VHA testimony by Yehuda Adam, January 21, 1998 (#37507); Fred Adler, July 2, 1998 (#44077); Leslie Aigner, March 12, 1995 (#1400); Judith Alt, May 4, 1995 (#2217); Per Anger; February 21, 1996 (#12289); Gabrielle Baumann-Kober, July 27, 1996 (#17895); Ivan Becker, February 23, 1996 (#12390); and Magdalena Berenyi, June 13, 1996 (#16138). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several dozen inmates registered at the Újlaki Brickyards. The cards document various paths of persecution endured by Hungarian Jews in the fall of 1944. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #2217, Judith Alt testimony, May 4, 1995; VHA #17895, Gabrielle Baumann-Kober testimony, July 27, 1996.

2. VHA #12390, Ivan Becker testimony, February 23, 1996; VHA #16138, Magdalena Berenyi testimony, June 13, 1996.

BUDAPEST/RÖKK-SZILÁRD STREET

The National Rabbinical Institute (*Országos Rabbiképzó Intézet*, ORI) was located at 26 Rökk-Szilárd Street in Budapest's Palace District (*Palotanegyed*). Under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Dieter Wisliceny, the site served as a Gestapo prison and transit center for Jews from March until September 1944.

Gestapo and SS forces first seized the building on March 20, 1944. By the following day, some 240 prisoners were registered there. The facility was guarded by the Hungarian police under Pál Ubrizsi, who was described by the survivors as a merciless perpetrator. The site served several purposes. It was the administrative center for the network of internment camps on the heavily industrialized Csepel Island, due south of Budapest. The site also served as a collection point for the deportations of Hungarian Jews, including the first major deportation of nearly 1,800 Kistarcsa inmates to Auschwitz.[1] Prisoners tended to stay only for brief periods and were usually transferred to other internment camps for Jews. By September 1944, the Hungarian authorities closed the internment camp at 26 Rökk-Szilárd Street. Beginning on October 15, 1944, however, the regime of Ferenc Szálasi used the site as a jail run by the Center of National Defense.[2]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources include Gábor Kádár and Zoltán Vági, "Ungarn," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9: 359–361. See also Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994), 1: 124, 165, 281.

There is scarce documentation on the internment camp at Rökk-

Szilárd Street. VHA has two testimonies indexed for the site. See the VHA testimony by Eva Hance, December 6, 1997 (#36043), and by Sándor Szenes, July 14, 2000 (#50997). Additionally, the CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Rökk-Szilárd prisoners. Most of them were detained at the site in April and May of 1944 before their transfer to other prisons and camps, including Auschwitz. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. See also records of the HDCM collection as cited by Szita Szabolcs, *Trading in Lives? Operations of the Jewish Relief and Rescue Committee in Bucharest, 1944–1945* (New York: Central European University Press, 2005): 25. MAZSIHISZ holds a report issued by the Jewish Council about the internment camps for Jews (XX-C-1, Box D 8/4). Also relevant is a letter by the directorate of the seminary regarding the return of the building issued on September 22, 1944 (PIH-XII-A, Box N 4) and an eyewitness testimony by Dr. Tibor Neumann (DEGOB, Transcript No. 3617). All MAZSIHISZ documents are cited by Gábor Kádár and Zoltán Vági in "Ungarn," 9: 360–361.

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NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Michael Heisler, Doc. No. 51257200, and Eva Schwartz, Doc. No. 51135831.

2. HJMA, PIH-XII-A, Box N 4/1, as cited by Kádár and Vági, "Ungarn," p. 661.

BUDAPEST/TATTERSALL

Named after the British race horse auctioneer Richard Tatter-sall, Budapest's Tattersall racetrack and arena were located at 7 Kerepsi Street in District VIII. It was adjacent to the Budapest ghetto that operated between November 18, 1944, and January 18, 1945, in District VII. During the Arrow Cross's (*Nyilas*'s) reign of terror against Budapest's Jews, the Tattersall area served as a detention and transfer center.[1] After rounding up the city's Jews, Arrow Cross forces moved them to Tattersall where they confiscated their valuables before transferring them into the ghetto. Arrow Cross militants not only terrorized but also murdered an unknown number of Jews at the Tattersall location.[2] Elszebeth Kertesz was among the Budapest Jews arrested after the German occupation of Hungary. Detained in April 1944, she was likely briefly registered at Tattersall in November 1944 before being deported to Theresienstadt, Dachau, and Bergen-Belsen.[3]

SOURCES The Arrow Cross roundup point at Tattersall is under-researched. It is mentioned in Kinga Frojimovics et al., *Jewish Budapest: Monuments, Rites, History* (New York: Central European University Press, 1999), p. 389.

For primary documentation see the CNI inquiry card for Elszebeth Kertesz, who likely passed through Tattersall in November 1944. Her card refers to the site as a "Jew House Tattersall" and is available in digital form at USHMMA. See ITS, 0.1, Doc. No. 53746129. VHA has a small number of testimonies mentioning Tattersall. Relevant testimonies include VHA testimony by Irene Abrams, November 6, 1995 (#5402); Livia Adler, June 18, 1996 (#15295); and Fred Andrews, June 1, 1997 (#29534).

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NOTES

1. VHA #15295, Livia Adler testimony, June 18, 1996; VHA #29534, Fred Andrews testimony, June 1, 1997.
2. VHA #5402, Irene Abrams testimony, November 6, 1995.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Elszebeth Kertesz, Doc. No. 53746129.

CSEPEL ISLAND

Extending south from Budapest, Csepel Island (Hungarian: Csepel-sziget) is the largest Danube River island in Hungary, measuring approximately 48 kilometers (30 miles) long and between 6 and 8 kilometers (3.7–5 miles) wide. At its northernmost point lies the town of Csepel, located about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) south of Budapest's center. In 1941, it was located in Központi District in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County (today: Pest County). At the time, Központi District had a total population of 149,671, including 4,342 Jews. The town of Csepel was home to a population of 46,171, including 902 Jews and 262 Christians of Jewish descent.

In early 1944, approximately 900 Jews still lived in the town of Csepel. After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, the German authorities established several internment camps for Jews at industrial locations on Csepel Island (see the next entry).[1] The Jews were deliberately detained in the vicinity of the Csepel Island armaments factories, including the Manfréd Weiss Works, to serve as human shields against the intensifying Allied air raids. Most of these adults performed forced labor.[2]

Like other towns ringing the capital, Csepel also became the site of a ghetto or concentration center during the deportation drive against Hungary's provincial Jews. The largest of these urban concentration centers were located in Csepel, Kispest, and Újpest. In April 1944, the Hungarian authorities first set up a ghetto for Csepel's Jews in a few dilapidated buildings located around one of the steel works. On May 10, 1944, the leaders of the Csepel Jewish community were instructed to organize the community's transfer to the bicycle storage rooms of the Manfréd Weiss Works.

The site lacked adequate facilities, and the conditions deteriorated rapidly as hundreds of Jews from nearby communities, including Dömsöd, Kiskunlacháza, Ráckeve, Szigetszentmiklós, Taksony, and Tököl, were also transferred to the site. Within a few days, the ghetto population swelled to about

3,000. Beginning on June 30, 1944, the Jews of the Csepel ghetto, together with the Jews from the island's various internment camps, were transferred to the entrainment center at Budakalász.[3] From there, they were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau between July 6 and July 8, 1944.[4] After the deportation, several Jewish labor battalions remained in Csepel through November 1944.[5]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Csepel Island ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 758–759. See also Frigyes Brámer, "Koncentrációs tábor a Rabbiképző épületében," *Évkönyv 1971–72* (1972): 219–228; Jenő Lévai, *Zsidósors Magyarországon* (Budapest: Magyar Téka, 1948); and Alice Landau, *Snippets from My Family Album* (Caul-field, South Victoria, Australia: Makor Jewish Community Library, 2009).

For important primary documentation see the following collections: USHMMA, RG-39.005M, (MOL Z 936), reel 5; RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 7 (box D 8/4); and DEGOB, protocols nos. 273, 689, 719, 1333, 1553, 1690, 2131, 2203, 2641, 2935, 3606, 3617, 3620, and 3627 (also available at USHMMA as RG-31.013M). Published firsthand accounts include János Fóthy, *Horthyliget: A magyar Ördögsziget* (Budapest: Müller Károly, 1945); and various articles by journalist Endre György in *Új Élet* (1946–1948); USHMMPA contains relevant images, including images of several Mantello El Salvadoran certificates issued to Jews registered at Csepel. VHA contains relevant testimonies, including Leslie Aigner, March 12, 1995 (#1400); Victor Shermer, June 25, 1996 (#15504); and Miriam Rozner, April 23, 1998 (#40449). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Csepel natives and individuals likely interned in Csepel camps and ghetto. These cards are available in digital format at USHMMA.

NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Oskar Friedmann, Doc. No. 50726465.
2. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Zoltan Fohn, Doc. No. 50551926; Andrew Glynn, Doc. No. 50564305; and Jehuda Klein, Doc. No. 50567122.
3. VHA #1400, Leslie Aigner testimony, March 12, 1995.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Piroska Lederer, Doc. No. 51366609; and Regina Engel, Doc. No. 51540493.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Jehuda Klein, Doc. No. 50567122; and Oskar Friedmann, Doc. No. 50726465.

CSEPEL ISLAND/INTERNMENT CAMPS

The high number of arrests made in March and April 1944 after the German invasion strained Hungary's extant internment facilities and led the Hungarian authorities to set up temporary internment camps. With the intention of using Jews as human shields against intensifying Allied air raids, the authorities preferred sites adjacent to military and industrial zones and transportation lines. Hence the Hungarians established five internment camps and two subcamps in the industrial area due south of Budapest on Csepel Island. The sites included one of Europe's largest armament complexes, including the Manfréd Weiss Works and other strategic factories, all of which were Jewish owned before the German occupation.

The internment camps were set up on the island in late April and early May 1944. Two were civilian internment camps, one at the Tschuk fur factory (*Szűcs-és Szőrmeárúgyár*, Camp III) and the other at the Mauthner grain-processing plant (*Mauthner Ödön Magtermelő és Magkereskedelmi Rt.*, Camp I). The third was a military internment camp at Horthyliget (*Horthy-liget* or Újtelep, Camp II). Constant se lections, releases, new arrivals, and the flow of people among the Csepel camps and various internment facilities in and around Budapest make it difficult to estimate the size of the individual camps. According to Jewish Council reports, the Tschuk (or Tsuk) camp's population peaked at the end of May 1944 at 604 men, women, and children. The Mauthner camp's population peaked in mid-June with 333 men and women. The first detainees arrived at Horthyliget on May 3, and their number reached 447 by June 9. The highest number at Horthyliget according to Jewish Council lists was 468 men and women on July 29.[1] There were also smaller auxiliary camps, including Királyerdő (Camp IV), with an average of 30 to 40 inmates, and Herminamajor (Camp V), with a maximum of 53 according to a

report dated June 11. Horthyliget subcamps were located at the shooting range of the *levente* youth paramilitary movement at the Manfréd Weiss Works, which held 51 men, and at the Füzesséry estate, which held 50 people.

Tschuk was a camp for people registered by the National Central Authority for Controlling Foreigners; it held Central Europeans, former Yugoslavs, and those of "uncertain citizenship." They were placed in store houses and cellars on the factory grounds. According to one member of the Jewish Supportive Office, which was under the auspices of the Jewish Council,

> These rooms were in an indescribable condition lacking the most basic structures, there was not even glass in the windows, etc. The latrine was for instance a half-meter (20 inches) from the unglazed window in the cellar so that its smell was everywhere. There were only two taps to be used for hygienic purposes …. These conditions become unthinkable if we add that 90% of the interned in this camp were over 60 years (old), but at least 50% was over 70, and that there were rooms occupied by people over 90.[2]

A number of textile workers, mainly women, were taken to the Mauthner camp to perform slave labor. Mauthner's inmates also included prominent figures such as Alfréd Brüll, the industrialist, sports manager, and chairman of the renowned Hungarian Jewish sport club, Circle of Hungarian Fitness Activists (*Magyar Testgyakorlók Köre*, MTK). Mauthner's sanitary conditions were generally better than those at the Tschuk camp, although crowded rooms and the lack of soap led to a louse infestation. The inmates complained about the meals, which largely consisted of potatoes and legumes. Bread portions were satisfactory, but there was hardly food to be had with the ration cards. According to some survivor accounts, the women in Tschuk and Mauthner were sexually harassed by the policemen who served as guards.[3]

Horthyliget (named after Regent Miklós Horthy) consisted of a recently developed industrial area of 243 acres and an airfield of 324 acres located between the villages of Szigetszentmiklós and Tököl. Following the June 6, 1941, German-Hungarian agreement,

an armaments factory was established on this territory by the Manfréd Weiss Syndicate with Hungarian state support. The Danube Airplane Factory (*Dunai Repülőgépgyár*, DR) mostly produced Messerschmitt aircraft. The Horthyliget camp was set up near the Szigetszentmiklós-Gyártelep suburban railroad station in a cluster of bomb-damaged adobe huts built to accommodate seasonal workers and livestock. Survivors described them as dirty holes with broken windows, damaged roofs, and doors. Guarded by Hungarian soldiers under Főhadnagy (First Lieutenant) Károly Dudás, the camp also had a kind of Jewish police force organized under attorney Dr. Ernő Vajda.

The first groups interned in Horthyliget included prominent liberal Jewish journalists. One journalist, János Fóthy, published the most detailed memoir on the site, *Devil's Island*, a reference to the notorious nineteenth-century penal facility in French Guyana. Another group of 69 men arrived on May 25 and included mostly workers and intellectuals. At first, the treatment was generally cruel, mostly meted out by factory supervisors (armed civilians) who assisted the undermanned military in guard duty. Chief Supervisor Pusztaffi and some of his associates routinely humiliated and robbed the detainees and beat them with rubber batons. Harsh physical abuse caused two internees to die of heart failure. According to Fóthy, the detainees were forced to wear a square metal plaque on the right side of their chests, along with the yellow star on the left. On the plaques were a yellow strip and the prisoner's registration number.[4]

Dudás tried to stop the atrocities committed by those under his command, and the detainees' situation gradually improved, beginning in late May. Prisoners were allowed to receive parcels and letters from home. The treatment followed roughly the same pattern in the Tschuk and Mauthner camps. Most of the adults performed forced labor in 12-hour shifts, including auxiliary labor in the factories, such as loading railroad cars or carrying equipment, clearing rubble, and digging out corpses from bombed factory buildings, or agricultural work.

The Budapest/Rökk-Szilárd Street police detention house served as the administrative center of the Csepel internment camps. It was the task of the Jewish Council and its Supportive Office to provide the inmates with food, clothing, and equipment. The Jewish camp

leaders did everything they could to improve conditions.

In addition to experiencing hard labor, poor food and clothing provisions, substandard accommodations, and often cruel treatment by guards, the prisoners suffered from Allied bombings. The Danube Airplane Factory was equipped with modern bomb shelters, but Jewish prisoners were not allowed to use them. Instead, they found shelter in makeshift trenches that they had dug. On July 30, the United States Army Air Forces (USAAF) bombed the Horthyliget camp, killing 20 inmates and severely injuring 15.

In early July, the inmates of the three major Csepel camps experienced dramatically different fates. Taken first to the Budakalász brick factory, the Tschuk and Mauthner inmates were then deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau between July 6 and 8, where most of them perished. Unwilling to lose the Danube Airplane Factory's valuable workforce, Dudás intervened to spare Horthyliget's internees from deportation. However, there were still at least three rounds of se lections at Horthyliget, during which some 150 internees were dispatched to other internment camps, including Kistarcsa and Sárvár. There were former Horthyliget detainees among those deported from these two camps by Sonderkommando Eichmann on July 19 and 24, respectively.

From July 18 onward, the Swiss and Swedish diplomatic corps liberated several detainees from the Rökk-Szilárd Street and the Csepel camps. Treatment further improved, and the most notorious supervisors were replaced. The internees were allowed to use proper air-raid shelters and receive non-Jewish visitors. After Romania's switch to the Allied side, the deportation of the remaining Hungarian Jews was taken off the agenda. By August 31, all the Csepel camps were shut down.

Until the end of November, when the Red Army approached and soon occupied the territory, the Csepel Island sites occasionally served as temporary forced labor camps for various labor service companies at nearby plants.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the internment camps on Csepel Island include Frigyes Brámer, "Koncentrációs tábor a Rabbiképző épületében," *Évkönyv 1971–72* (1972): 219–228; Jenő Lévai, *Zsidósors Magyarországon* (Budapest: Magyar

Téka, 1948); and Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994).

Primary sources documenting the Csepel Island camps can be found in MZSML, RG-XX-C-1, box D 8/4, reports of the Central Jewish Council on the internment camps, name lists of internment camp inmates (this documentation is available at USHMMA as RG-31.013M); and DEGOB, protocol nos. 273, 689, 719, 1333, 1553, 1690, 2131, 2203, 2641, 2935, 3606, 3617, 3620, and 3627 (also available in RG-31.013M). Published firsthand accounts include János Fóthy, *Horthyliget: A magyar Ördögsziget* (Budapest: Müller Károly, 1945); and various articles by journalist Endre György in *Új Élet* (1946–1948). An English-language testimony is Alice Landau, *Snippets from My Family Album: Csepel Island to Caulfield* (Caulfield, South Victoria, Australia: Makor Jewish Community Library, 2009).

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NOTES

1. MZSML, RG-XX-C-1, Box D 8/4.
2. DEGOB testimony 3617.
3. DEGOB testimony 3620.
4. Fóthy, *Horthyliget*, pp. 35–40.

CSONGRÁD

The town of Csongrád was located less than 60 kilometers (37 miles) north of Szeged, the capital of Csongrád County. In 1941, it had a small native Jewish population of 286. After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, Hungarian authorities opened a ghetto in Csongrád. It was located on Csemegi Károly and Úri Streets and included several buildings near the synagogue.

The ghetto operated between mid-May and late June 1944. Hungarian gendarmes rounded up 220 local Jews by May 12, 1944. Several foreign-born Jews were also detained at the site. Survivor Magda Simon testified that ghetto inmates endured boredom and overcrowding, but did not suffer harassment or abuse. By late June, most inmates were transferred from the Csongrád ghetto to the brickyards in Szeged. According to Simon, authorities told them that they would be assigned to work details there.[1] Instead, Gendarmerie Százados Imre Finta oversaw their deportation in three transports between June 25 and 28.

Altogether, 204 Jews from the Csongrád ghetto were deported at this time. Two transports went to Strasshof in Austria, and one went to Auschwitz. A number of Csongrád inmates were transferred to other camps from both Strasshof and Auschwitz. Some survived the ordeal. For example, Schoschanna Schchori, who had been born in Csongrád and was detained at its ghetto in 1944, was deported to Auschwitz. She was then transferred to Bergen-Belsen, to a labor camp at Duderstadt, and finally to Theresienstadt, where she was liberated.[2] Sixty-four survivors returned to Csongrád after the end of the war.[3]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Csongrád ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in*

Hungary, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 322–323.

Primary sources documenting the Csongrád ghetto include USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), reel 8 (Box I 9/2) and reel 33 (Box J 6/7). VHA contains the testimony of Magda Simon, November 17, 1994 (#262). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about more than 100 people from Csongrád, as well as ghetto inmates. The cards document various paths of persecution, including the deportations to Auschwitz and beyond. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #262, Magda Simon testimony, November 17, 1994.
2. See among others: ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Schoschanna Schchori, Doc. No. 52421197.
3. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 323.

CSÖRGŐ

The village of Csörgő (Čerhov) was located in Zemplén County, 9 kilometers (nearly 6 miles) north of Sátoraljaújhely and some 60 kilometers (37 miles) southeast of Košice. The Hungarian authorities installed an internment camp at Csörgő for political prisoners, refugees, and Jews without proper citizenship papers. Its exact opening date is not clear, but the site may have been operational as early as May 1942.[1] Henry Steeber was an Austrian Jewish refugee interned in Budapest in February 1943 when he was transferred some 265 kilometers (165 miles) northeast to the Csörgő internment camp. He recalled that the site was isolated and guarded by Hungarian police. Under Hungarian auspices, daily camp life was bearable, marked mainly by boredom. Rations were small and consisted mostly of thin soup, but the inmates could buy or receive additional food. In addition, the Welfare Bureau of Hungarian Jews (*Magyar Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája*, MIPI) provided extra food and other general care. Many survivors recalled that they did not starve at Csörgő.[2]

The situation at Csörgő changed dramatically after the German occupation of Hungary. According to inmate testimonies, there were between 130 and 300 inmates at the camp in March 1944.[3] German and Hungarian authorities expanded the site to house even larger numbers of prisoners, including prominent hostages and Jews. Several former inmates testified that guards viciously abused the prisoners.[4] German authorities also immediately began to organize deportations of Jews from the camp. Steeber was among the first groups of deportees who were transported from Csörgő for Sátoraljaújhely in the spring of 1944; from there they were deported to Auschwitz.[5] ITS documentation suggests that deportations from Csörgő to Auschwitz proceeded throughout the summer of 1944. During the same period, some inmates were transferred to labor camps,[6] and others were released.[7]

SOURCES The history of the Csörgő internment camp is neither

well documented nor researched. Relevant secondary sources include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1291.

Relevant primary documentation includes Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956 (USHMMA, RG-39.013M, reel 70). VHA has nine testimonies indexed for the Csörgő internment camp, including Joseph Heimberg, November 28, 1995 (#9307); Henry Herzog, May 14, 1995 (#4301); Israel Kupferwasser, February 28, 1996 (#10434); and David Mandl, September 18, 1998 (#46684). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several dozen Csörgő camp inmates and village residents. The cards document various paths of persecution and are available in digital form at USHMMA. See RG-50.322*0031, oral history interview with Henry Steeber from January 28, 1980, at USHMMA. An unauthorized Salvadoran citizenship certificate issued to Ignacz Knaker, January 11, 1944, by Salvadoran diplomat George Mandel-Mantello is available at USHMMPA, WS #88817.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. CNI card for Josef Loewner, Doc. No. 52069582.
2. VHA #10434, Israel Kupferwasser testimony, February 28, 1996.
3. VHA #9307, Joseph Heimberg testimony, November 28, 1995.
4. VHA #4301, Henry Herzog testimony, May 14, 1995.
5. Testimony of Henry Steeber, January 28, 1980, USHMMA, RG-50.322*0031; also VHA #10434.
6. CNI card for Artur Korton, Doc. No. 51275206.

7. CNI card for Jakob Necker, Doc. No. 51310164.

DEBRECEN

Debrecen, the capital of Hajdú County, is located in eastern Hungary, approximately 195 kilometers (121 miles) east of Budapest. The situation of the Jews deteriorated considerably in the wake of the antisemitic agitation and the increasingly harsh anti-Jewish measures of the 1930s and early 1940s. Students in higher education and the middle and lower classes were hit particularly hard. Beginning in 1939, an increasingly large number of Jewish males of military age were conscripted into the forced labor service system, which became much harsher after Hungary's entry into the war two years later. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, Debrecen had a Jewish population of 9,142, representing 7.3 percent of the city's total of 125,933.

The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, brought to an end the once flourishing Jewish community in Debrecen. Many leaders were arrested on April 9 and taken as hostages to the Hajdúszentgyörgy camp. On May 9, under an order by Mayor Sándor Köcsey, the authorities established a ghetto in the Jewish district of Debrecen. The ghetto consisted of two parts —the "large" and the "small" ghettos—divided by Hatvan Street. The local Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) was headed by Pál Weisz and included Miksa Weinberger, Bernfeld, and Waldmann as members. Dr. Dezsö Fejes Friedmann was in charge of health and sanitary services, and Béla Lusztbaum, a reserve captain, headed a 25-member "police" force entrusted with the preservation of law and order. Debrecen's chief police commissioner, Gyula Szabó, exercised command over the ghetto. To coordinate the Jews' eventual deportation, the mayors and local police from Gendarmerie Districts V and VI, the latter including Debrecen, convened at Szeged on June 10 with Hungarian Interior Ministry and German officials. The ghetto gates were locked on June 11, and the last valuables of the Jews were confiscated.[1]

Jewish men perform forced labor in Debrecen, 1940–1944. USHMM WS #60346, COURTESY OF HANNAH & NISSAN LOWINGER.

The ghetto was liquidated on June 20 with the transfer of the Jews to the Serly brickyard for purposes of entrainment and deportation. The brickyard contained 13,084 Jews, including those brought in from the neighboring communities in Hajdú County. Among them were the Jews first concentrated in Balmazújváros, Hajdúböszörmény, Hajdúdorog, Hajdúhadház, Hajdúnánás, Hajdúsámson, Hajdúszoboszló, Józsa, Mikepércs, Téglás, Tiszacsege, and Vámospércs. In the brickyard, the Jews, especially those who were well-to-do, were again subjected to harsh treatment by sadistic gendarmes in search of hidden valuables. The Jews were deported in four transports starting on June 25, 1944. Two of the transports that left Debrecen on June 26 and 27 with 6,841 Jews were taken to Strasshof, near Vienna, where many of the families survived relatively intact. The other two transports ended up in Auschwitz II-Birkenau. During the Holocaust, the city lost 4,028 Jews, nearly half the pre-1944 total.

The Red Army liberated Debrecen on October 19, 1944. The number of liberated Jews retuning to the city was relatively large thanks to the survival rate of those deported to Strasshof and of those in labor service companies. A small number of Debrecen ghetto survivors reached Switzerland, via Bergen-Belsen, as part Rudolf (Rezső) Kasztner's negotiations with the German authorities.[2] In 1946, the Jewish community numbered 4,640.

A people's court in Debrecen condemned Szabó to death shortly

after the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Debrecen ghetto are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 406–413; and Moshe Eliyahu Gonda, *A debreceni zsidók száz éve* (Tel Aviv: A Debreceni Zsidók Emlékbizottsága, n.d.). Brief mention of the ghetto can be found in Gáti Ödön et al., eds., *Mementó: Magyarország 1944* (Budapest: Kossuth, 1975), pp. 50–52. A portion of the Debrecen memorial book, Moshe Elijahu Gonda, ed., *Mea shana leyehudei Debrecen; le-zekher kedoshei ha-kehila ve-yishuvei ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv: Committee for Commemoration of the Debrecen Jewry, 1970), is available in English translation at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Debrecen/Debrecen.html#TOC295.

Primary sources on the Debrecen ghetto can be found in CML. A list of some Debrecen survivors of the Kasztner mission at Strasshof can be found in ITS, 1.1.3.1. USHMMA holds a number of oral history interviews with Debrecen survivors, including RG-50.549.02*0006, Agnes Vogel, July 9, 1997. VHA has 200 interviews with Debrecen survivors. Two published testimonies on the Debrecen ghetto are Nicolas Roth, *Avoir 16 ans à Auschwitz: Mémoire d'un juif hongrois* (Paris: Manuscrit—Fondation pour la mémoire de la Shoah, 2010); and Ceila Weiss, *Where Once I Walked* (self-published, 1992).

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NOTES

1. Hungarian Interior Ministry Item No. 3299, signed Péter Halmosi, CML, as cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 742 n. 2.

2. ITS, 1.1.3.1, Ord. 34, “Namentliches Verzeichnis von ungarischen Häftlingen (Männer, Frauen und Kinder) die im Juni 1944 nach Strasshof deportiert und von dort am 29.11./7.12.1944 zum KL-Bergen-Belsen überstellt wurden.”

DÉS

A town in the Transylvanian region of Romania, Dés (Romanian: Dej), was part of Hungary until the end of World War I and from 1940 to 1944. It was the capital of Szolnok-Doboka County, 48 kilometers (30 miles) northeast of Cluj-Napoca. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 3,719 Jews, representing 19.3 percent of the total population of 19,242 inhabitants.

During the interwar period, the Jews, most of whom were Hungarian and spoke Yiddish, were largely resented by the Romanian authorities for their adherence to Hungarian cultural and linguistic traditions. The political and economic climate under which the Jews lived worsened in the wake of the antisemitic policies that the successive Romanian governments adopted after December 1937. As a result of the Second Vienna Award of August 30, 1940, arbitrated by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, Northern Transylvania, which included Dés, was acquired by Hungary. The Jews of the region were immediately subjected to the anti-Jewish laws already in place in Hungary. They became the victims of increasingly harsh economic measures, and Jewish males of military age were conscripted into labor service units.

The Jews' situation worsened after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944. The Jews of Dés were isolated, marked with yellow stars, expropriated, and placed in a ghetto prior to deportation. The details relating to the anti-Jewish drive in Szolnok-Doboka County, the capital of which was Dés, and in several other counties in Northern Transylvania were worked out at a conference held by the officials in charge of the "Final Solution" convened in Szatmárnémeti on April 26, 1944.[1] The conference was chaired by László Endre, the State Secretary for Jewish Affairs in the Interior Ministry, and attended by the local and county governmental and law enforcement officials of the affected counties. Szolnok-Doboka County and Dés were represented by János Schilling, the deputy prefect of the county;

Jenö Veress, the mayor of Dés; Lajos Tamási, the mayor of Szamosújvár; Gyula Sárosi, the police chief of Dés; Ernö Berecki, the police chief of Szamosújvár; and Pál Antalffy, the commander of the gendarmerie in the county. The decisions taken at this conference were communicated to the civil service, gendarmerie, and police officers of the county at a special meeting held in Dés on April 30 under the chairmanship of Schilling.

The ghettoization drive in Dés began on May 3, at 5:00 A.M. Before their transfer to the ghetto, the Jews of Dés were concentrated in three centers within the city, where they were subjected to body searches for valuables. The Jews from outside Dés were similarly subjected to a first round of expropriations. (The Jews assembled in Szamosújvár were eventually transferred to the Kolozsvár ghetto.) The roundup of the Jews in the county was carried out under the leadership of Antalffy, the commander of the gendarmerie.

Living conditions in the Dés ghetto were among the most miserable in the region. At the insistence of the virulently antisemitic local city officials, it was set up in a forest—the Bungur—situated nearly four kilometers (two miles) from the city. At its peak, the ghetto held around 7,800 Jews, including close to 3,700 from the town itself. The others were brought in from the rural communities in the following járás (districts) of the county: Bethlen, Dés, Kékes, Nagyilonda, Magyarlápos, and Szamosújvár. The luckier among the Jews who were concentrated in the Bungur ghetto lived in makeshift barracks; the others found shelter in homemade tents or lived under the open sky.

Surrounded by barbed wire, the ghetto was guarded by the local police supplemented by a special unit of 40 gendarmes assigned from Zilah. Supreme command over the ghetto was in the hands of *Nyilas*-member Jenő (Emil) Takács, a "government commissioner." The internal administration of the ghetto was entrusted to a Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) consisting of the trusted leaders of the local community. Its chairman was Lázár Albert, and the members included Ferenc Ordentlich, Samu Weinberger, Manó Weinberger, and Andor Ágai. Dr. Oszkár Engelberg served as the ghetto's chief physician and Zoltán Singer as its economic representative in charge of supplies.

Sanitary conditions within the ghetto were miserable, and essential services and supplies were lacking. In the short life span of the ghetto, 25 inmates died. This was largely due to the malevolence of Jenő Veress, the mayor of Dés, and Dr. Zsigmond Lehnár, its chief health officer. The investigative teams for the search for valuables were as cruel in Dés as they were everywhere else. Among those involved in such searches were József Fekete, József Gecse, Maria Fekete, Jenő Takács, and József Lakadár, as well as police officers Albert (Béla) Garamvölgyi, János Somorlyai, János Kassay, and Miklós Désaknai. All of them were tried and convicted by a people's court in Kolozsvár in 1946.[2]

The ghetto was liquidated between May 28 and June 8 with the deportation of 7,674 Jews in three transports. A few Jews managed to escape from the ghetto. Among them was Rabbi József Paneth of Nagyilonda, who together with nine members of his family was eventually able to get to safety in Romania.

Soviet and Romanian forces liberated Dés in October 1944. Among the first survivors to return to the city were the labor servicemen whose companies were overrun by the Allied forces in eastern Hungary.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Dés ghetto are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994), 1: 635–637; Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1022–1028.

Primary sources on the Dés ghetto can be found at USHMMA, in RG-25.017, Selected records of the Cluj Branch of ANR. YVA holds testimonies by Dés survivors in the O-3 collection. Under its Romanian name, VHA holds 63 survivor testimonies on the ghetto. The following publication contains personal recollections about the Jewish community of Dés and of the neighboring

communities: Zoltán Singer, ed., *Volt egyszer egy Dés … Bethlen, Magyarlápos, Retteg, Nagyilonda és környéke*, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: A Dés és Vidékéről Elszármazottak Landmannschaftja, n.d.).

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NOTES

1. Szatmárnémeti conference summarized in Nagybanya mayor's office to Interior Ministry, Doc. 30/44, cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: 652 n. 4.

2. Judgment in Minierul Afacerilor Interne, Dosar No. 40029, Ancheta Abraham Josif şi alţii, reproduced in Braham, *Genocide and Retribution*, p. 181.

DUNASZERDAHELY

Located in northwestern Slovakia, Dunaszerdahely (Slovakian: Dunajská Streda) was part of Hungary before 1918 and between 1938 and 1944. Under the terms of the First Vienna Award of November 2, 1938, the area of the Upper Province (*Felvidék*) of Czechoslovakia, which included Dunaszerdahely, was allotted to Hungary. Dunaszerdahely was a district capital in Komárum County, approximately 41 kilometers (26 miles) southeast of Bratislava and 122 kilometers (76 miles) northwest of Budapest. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the town had 2,645 Jews, representing 40.2 percent of the total number of 6,584 inhabitants.

When Dunaszerdahely became part of Hungary, it made the transition from a democratic society into a semi-fascist one, which changed the status of the area's Jews: they were then subjected to the ever harsher anti-Jewish measures introduced by the Hungarian authorities. Particularly cruel was the fate of those who could not prove their citizenship; many of them were first interned and then, in July-August 1941, deported to near Kamenets-Podolsk where they were murdered. Starting in 1940, Dunaszerdahely became a recruitment center for the mobilization of Jews for forced labor. It was also a transit center for some escapees from ghettos in Poland and Slovakia.

The status of the Jews worsened drastically after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944. According to the census ordered by the Nazi authorities, the Orthodox community consisted of around 2,000 members, guided by József Wetzler as president and by Rabbis Hillel Weinberger, Antal Katz, Mór Katz, David Salczer, Jenö Weinberger, and Pál Weinberger as spiritual leaders. The Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*), installed by the authorities, was headed by József Wetzler. The local ghetto was established in the Jewish quarter along Bacsák and Csillag Streets. Among the 2,840 Jews in the ghetto were not only the local Jews but also those brought in from many communities in

Dunaszerdahely Járás, including Csallóközkürt, Förgepatony, Gelle, Nemesabony, Tönyeistál, and Vásárút. The ghetto also included the Jews brought in from Nagymegyer, Somorja, and some communities in other districts in Komárom County. The Jews were subjected to unspeakable cruelties, especially during the gendarmes' search for valuables.[1] As part of the deportation of Jews in Zone III, the Dunaszerdahely ghetto was closed on June 8, 1944, when the Jews were first transferred to the town's large synagogue, where they were deprived of their last valuables, and then deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau on June 15.

After the war approximately 650 Jews returned to the town, many of whom used to live in the neighboring smaller communities. They reorganized the community under the leadership of József Weisz and Rabbi Yechiel Weinberger.

SOURCES The following secondary sources describe the ghetto at Dunaszerdahely: Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 529–532; and Alfréd Engel, ed. *A dunaszerdahelyi zsidó közösség emlékkönyve* (Tel Aviv: A Dunaszerdahelyi Bizottság Kiadása, 1975).

The Jews of Dunaszerdahely boarding railroad cars for deportation to Auschwitz, 1944. USHMM WS #82747, COURTESY OF SEFER HA-ZIKARON LI-KEHILAT DUNASERDAHELI/MEMORIAL TO THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF DUNA-SZERDAHELY.

Primary sources on the Dunaszerdahely ghetto can be found in MOL, collection I. USHMMPA holds two photos from the deportation, WS #71042 and WS #82747. YIVO has testimonies by survivors Charlotte and Rose Fleischmann (Archives file no. 774/2715). VHA holds 35 testimonies in Hebrew, Hungarian, Slovak, and English.

Randolph L. Braham

NOTE

1. On the expropriation of Jewish property from Dunaszerdahely, see MOL, collection I, reel 73, as cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: 704 n. 8.

EGER

The seat of Heves County, Eger, is located 110 kilometers (68 miles) northeast of Budapest. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, Eger's Jewish population was 1,787, representing 5.5 percent of the city's 32,482 inhabitants. According to data compiled in April 1944 at the order of the German authorities, the Status Quo Ante synagogue had 748 members and was led by President Jenő Polátsik and Rabbi Zoltán Rácz.

Beginning in 1938, the Jewish community in Eger was subjected to increasingly harsh anti-Jewish measures. The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, sealed the fate of Eger's Jews. The leader of the community, Lajos Fischer, and some of his associates were arrested and detained in Budapest. Under the supervision of Prefect Árpád Horváth, ghettoization began on May 15 under plans worked out by Mayor István Kálnoky, and the operation lasted until May 27, when Endre Pál took over as mayor. The Eger ghetto was in Deportation Zone III, Gendarmerie District VII. The Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) consisted of Jenő Polatsik, Béla Löw, Jenő Balázs, Jenő Kunovits, Mór Frank, Ignác Braun, József Grosz, and József Fischer. The ghetto included 2,744 Jews, of whom more than 1,600 were from the city itself. The others were brought in from neighboring towns and villages, including Egercsehi, Felnémet, Füzesabony, Kál, and Verpelét. Another ghetto was established a few miles from Eger at Bagólyuk in the workers' quarters of a deserted mine—the Coal and Portland Cement Mine of Egercsehi (*Egercsehi Kőszénbánya és Portlandcementbánya*). Among the 984 Jews concentrated at Bagólyuk were 174 Jews from the smaller communities in Gyöngyös District; 625 Jews from Heves District; and 185 Jews from Pétervásári District.[1] A third ghetto, located in Eger, was opened for the small group of Christian converts, who numbered fewer than 20.

On June 8, after their valuables were confiscated, the Jews

concentrated in Eger were marched to the brickyards of Kerecsend, located about 16 kilometers (nearly 10 miles) south of the city. Among those taken to Kerecsend was the 94-year-old rabbi of Eger's Orthodox community, Simon Schreiber, who had led the community since 1879 and had also established a well-known yeshiva. Rabbi Schreiber was murdered at Auschwitz II-Birkenau. After the gendarmes confiscated their last valuables, the Jews were put on trains at the Maklár railway station and deported to Auschwitz.

The survivors, including a number of former labor servicemen, reorganized the Eger Jewish community after the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Eger are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 452–457; Arthúr Ehrenfeld, ed., *Az egri zsidók története* (Tel Aviv: Az Egri Zsidók Emlékbizottsága, 1975); Arthúr Ehrenfeld and Tibor Klein, eds., *Egri Zsidók* (New York: New York Public Library; Amherst, MA: National Yiddish Book Center, 2003); and Orbánné Szegö Ágnes, *Egri zsidó polgárok* (Budapest: VPP, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the ghettos and entrainment center at Eger can be found in MOL. VHA holds 12 testimonies by Eger survivors. Two published testimonies on the Eger ghetto are Lilly Kertész, *Mindent felfaltak a lángok* (Budapest: Ex Libris, 1995); and Tibor Gerstl, *Mosaics of a Life* (Pittsburgh, PA: Sterling House, 1999).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTE

1. MOL, collection I, reels 109–110, as cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: 707 n. 39.

GARANY

Garany (Slovak: Hraň) was a village in the Sátoraljaújhely District in Zemplén County (Slovak: Zemplin), located more than 349 kilometers (217 miles) northeast of Bratislava and almost 235 kilometers (146 miles) northeast of Budapest. After World War I, Zemplén County's northern territories were awarded to the newly formed Czechoslovakia. Hungary retained the southern portions and subsequently expanded its territorial control over the Upper Province with the First Vienna Award of November 1938. The settlement conferred on Garany considerable strategic importance because of its location at a railway hub near the border. Consequently, the Hungarian authorities established the largest of the three Zemplén County internment camps in the village.[1]

The internment camp operated between July 1940 and the summer of 1944. It was administered by the Hungarian Interior Ministry, while the Welfare Bureau of Hungarian Jews (*Magyar Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája*, MIPI) and the Public Kitchen of the Orthodox (*Népaszal*) Jewish community provided food, medicine, and other aid to the inmates. The prisoners included Jewish refugees from Slovakia and German-occupied Poland who had crossed the border since September 1939 and who had to register with the National Central Alien Control Office (*Külföldieket Ellenőrző Országos Központi Hatóság*, KEOKH) in Hungary. Hungarian Jews detained for lacking sufficient citizenship papers, as well as Hungarian communists and others negatively characterized as regime opponents, were also detained there.

Survivor Stephen Abraham arrived at Garany in late 1940 and remained through late 1943. According to his postwar testimony, the site consisted of barracks that housed some 800 to 900 Jewish men interned for political offenses, as well as refugees. He recalled that Hungarian soldiers and policemen guarded the site. His parents visited the camp regularly, talking to their son through the fence and leaving parcels with food and clothing. Daily life in the camp was regimented, with prisoners having to assemble for roll

call several times a day. Prisoners were beaten and starved as punishment for a variety of transgressions, including nearly constant escape attempts.[2] Survivor Fred Baron also recalled the strict regime at the camp, which impressed on inmates that they were prisoners. According to him, Hungarian guards armed with bayonets hunted runaways and beat them mercilessly. At the same time, most of his days were marked by boredom because the inmates did not work. Baron recalled that there was much "rumor-mongering" among prisoners, with stories circulating about "unspeakable, terrible things" happening to Jewish people in Poland. Unsure whether to believe these stories, Baron said he had hoped to be able to stay at Garany and ride out the war in relative safety.[3]

The few existing records reveal that the inmate population at Garany was in constant flux. Six hundred prisoners were registered at the camp in 1941. According to a March 24, 1942, report by the Hungarian General Staff, there were 293 inmates at Garany available for punitive labor service.[4] In late April 1944, the camp inmates were transferred to the Sátoraljaújhely ghetto along with a few Jews from the village. (Sá-toraljaújhely is more than 19 kilometers [12 miles] southeast of Garany.) Baron was among those evacuated from the camp. He recalled that the Jewish inmates were separated from the non-Jewish inmates and that the Jews were marched out of Garany, closely guarded by armed gendarmes. After marching for a day, the group finally arrived at a railway station where other Jews were already assembled; there armed SS men forced men, women, and children into overcrowded cattle cars that took them to Sátoraljaújhely.[5] From Sátoraljaújhely, many of the Jews of the Garany camp were transferred to Auschwitz in May 1944, where most were put to death.

SOURCES The history of the Garany internment camp is covered in several secondary sources, including Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2:1294; Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in*

Hungary, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977); and Elek Karsai, ed., *Fegyvertelen álltak az aknamezökön: Dokumentumok a mundaszolgá lat történetéhez Magyarországon*, 2 vols. (Budapest: Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete, 1962).

Primary sources documenting the Garany internment camp include MOL (K 149 PTI), available in microform at USHMMA as Provincial Police Reports to the Hungarian Ministry of Internal Affairs (RG-39.011M, reel 3, 1941). VHA has 35 testimonies indexed for the Garany internment camp, including Stephen Abraham, May 7, 1995 (#2540); Fred Baron, February 18, 1996 (#12162); Itziak Benakuva, April 15, 1996 (#12550); Izak Fremd, July 24, 1996 (#18640); and Bill Friedman, June 12, 1996 (#42586). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several dozen Garany camp inmates and village residents. See also a postwar ITS document listing Garany's period of operation at ITS, 1.1.0.6. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. ITS, 1.1.0.6, folder 53/I 412, Doc. No. 82341653.
2. VHA #2540, Stephen Abraham testimony, May 7, 1995.
3. VHA #12162, Fred Baron testimony, February 18, 1996.
4. Karsai, *Fegyvertelen álltak az aknamezőkön*, 1: 512.
5. VHA #12162.

GYŐR

Located approximately 100 kilometers (67 miles) west-northwest of Budapest, Győr was the seat of Győr-Moson-Pozsony County and of the Toszigetcsiliköz District. In 1941, the city had a population of 57,000, including nearly 4,700 Jews. From late May until mid-June 1944, the Hungarian authorities operated a ghetto in Győr. They issued a formal ghettoization order on May 13 and prepared registration lists on May 15 and May 16, 1944. According to survivor John Batory, Jewish residents had to register with the local gendarmerie, which inflicted severe abuse and humiliation. People were tortured at the elementary school in the Sziget District, also known as Győrsziget, to reveal the location of their valuables. Batory's grand mother endured a humiliating body search by a young gendarme looking for hidden jewelry. When his father went to protest this treatment, he was beaten at the police station.[1]

A Nazi SS-Obersturmführer Schmidt and Hungarian Gendarmerie Százados Zoltán Neszemély commanded the Győr ghetto, which spanned several streets near the Jewish cemetery in the Sziget District. It consisted of several buildings with a total of 430 rooms that had previously housed about 1,200 people. It also included emergency accommodations in the Orthodox synagogue, where people slept in makeshift bunk beds. By late May 1944, more than 5,600 Jews were crowded into the ghetto. About 1,000 of these Jews came from neighboring communities, and the rest were residents of the city of Győr. The local authorities also rounded up smaller groups of Roma ("Gypsies") and interned them at the ghetto.

The Győr ghetto lacked even basic accommodations. There was no communal kitchen. People suffered from hunger, crowding, and catastrophic hygienic conditions. They were also subjected to physical abuse. Survivor Marianne Benedek witnessed the routine cruelty of the Hungarian gendarmes. According to her, they beat the ghetto's rabbis and humiliated them by shaving the Star of

David into their heads.[2]

On June 7, 1944, the gendarmes evacuated the ghetto and moved the Jews from Győr to military barracks located on the outskirts of town. According to Benedek, the local population lined the road and watched while the Jews marched to their destination. There is evidence to suggest that the ghetto population was slated to join the transports arranged by Rudolph (Rezső) Kasztner, which would have saved most of their lives. They were deported on two transports on June 11 and June 17, 1944. However, the trains were not routed to Switzerland, but to Kosiče and then to Auschwitz, where many were killed.

The young and the elderly, who made up a majority of ghetto population, were particularly vulnerable: 299 Jewish children from Győr are known to have perished at Auschwitz. Among them was Szuzsana Krausz, who was 13 years old when she died there.[3] Other former residents of the Győr ghetto, especially able-bodied women, were transferred from Auschwitz to a series of labor and concentration camps in the Reich, where some survived. Judith Löwinger, for instance, who was born in 1922 in Celldömölk, entered the Győr ghetto in May 1944. She was deported to Auschwitz in June 1944 and later to Parschnitz, a subcamp of Gross-Rosen, and then to other camps. Margarethe Grüngold, born 1910 in Kapuvar, followed the same path of persecution before her liberation at Parschnitz. Many survivors emigrated after the war, and only a few hundred Jews returned to Győr.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Győr ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 386–392.

Primary sources documenting the Győr ghetto can be found in USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML). VHA testimony indexed for "Győr ghetto" include John Batory, July 12, 1996 (#17360); Marianne Benedek, September 26, 1997 (#34355); Eva Bock,

January 4, 1996 (#10767); Arpad Buzasi, July 23, 1996 (#18250); and John Cillag, November 3, 1996 (#22328). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about more than 1,500 Győr natives and ghetto inmates. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #17360, John Batory testimony, July 12, 1996.
2. VHA #34355, Marianne Benedek testimony, September 26, 1997.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Szuzsana Kraus, born in 1931 in Győr, Doc. No. 50710620.

HUSZT

Located 193 kilometers (120 miles) southwest of Lviv in the Máramaros Administrative Agency of Subcarpathian Rus' (today: Zakarpats'ka oblast' in western Ukraine), Huszt (Czech: Chust; Ukrainian: Khust) was home to around 4,800 Jews in 1930, 27 percent of the town's population. Huszt came under Hungarian occupation in March 1939, as part of the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, to which the town had belonged in the interwar period. Although Hungarian rule brought with it severe anti-Jewish measures, including economic persecution, outright plunder, violence, conscription into the Hungarian labor battalions, and partial deportations, the annihilation of the town's Jewish community took place only after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944.

For almost a month prior to ghettoization, a number of anti-Jewish decrees and laws—initiated by both the Hungarian authorities and the German occupiers—marked Jews, robbed them of their remaining possessions and property, and restricted their mobility. Immediately after Passover, on April 16, the Hungarian authorities forced the town's Jews into several synagogues, where they locked them in for several days in terribly crowded conditions, without sanitation facilities, and where they were subjected to continuous humiliation and abuse. During that time, the erection of three separate ghettos completely changed Huszt's landscape. Certain areas in Huszt became ghettos by removing all the fences that divided the houses and boarding all the windows that faced streets outside of the ghettos' boundaries. In addition, the Hungarian authorities deported around 5,000 Jews from the small towns and villages around Huszt to the Davidovics brickyard at the outskirts of the town.

The Huszt Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) had five members: Shmuel David Lazarovitch, the last head of the community and the Council president; Rosenbaum; Dr. Hegedüs; Dr. Polgár; and Markovits. These men had been key figures in the interwar Jewish

community of Huszt, and their inclusion in the Council points to continuity in leadership and the sense of responsibility that they shared. Other Jewish leaders functioned as representatives in each ghetto, and László Mauskop served as a liaison to the German authorities because of his command of German. Alongside the Jewish Council, a somewhat improvised Jewish police force helped keep order inside the ghettos.

The Jewish Council labored to fulfill the endless material demands of the Hungarian authorities and German occupiers. At the same time, they attempted to alleviate the suffering of the town's Jews by setting up communal kitchens. Although the quantity and quality of food in the Huszt ghettos remained low, these kitchens together with smuggled food saved the inmates from starvation. In an effort to prevent random kidnapping in the streets, the Council also engaged in the organization of forced labor demanded by the Germans.[1] The Council members, who could have benefited from their prewar status, connections, and knowledge of the "Final Solution," refused to flee or hide and instead chose to share the fate of their community.

Grave overcrowding, poor sanitary conditions, and food shortages turned ghetto life into prolonged misery. Families were divided among the three separate ghettos, and the Germans occasionally demanded men for forced labor. Random violence and plunder were routine occurrences, and several survivors recounted instances in which Germans or Hungarians raped Jewish women. Thirty well-off Jews, who had been arrested during ghettoization, fell victim to the cruel interrogations by Hungarian gendarmes in pursuit of money and valuables.[2] This was the local manifestation of the robbery of the Jews in Hungary by the state that occurred prior to their deportation. Some survivors also remembered that Hungarian gendarmes took their identification papers and destroyed them in front of their eyes, a symbolic act of annihilation that preceded physical destruction.

Most Jews in the Huszt ghettos and brickyard (nearly 11,000 altogether) were women, children, and elderly, because many men had already been drafted into the labor battalions. Nevertheless, several small-scale escape attempts from the ghettos took place. One such attempt succeeded: Zvi Prizant, a Zionist activist from Budapest and a former Huszt resident, received help from the

Jewish ghetto police in smuggling 10 Jews from the ghettos to the capital. Several other people fled the town in the direction of Budapest, Romania, and Slovakia, where survival chances in the spring of 1944 seemed better. Given that the Huszt ghettos in town existed for only a very short period of time, cultural activities and public life did not develop, apart from some efforts to organize prayer groups and Torah study sessions.

According to survivor accounts, the non-Jewish population of Huszt, predominantly Carpatho-Ruthenian, responded to the plight and suffering of the Jews mostly with indifference. However, in contrast to other places in Subcarpathian Rus', the German and Hungarian authorities found quite a few collaborators among the Carpatho-Ruthenians in the Huszt area. Interestingly, although some survivors noted the assistance that the German occupiers received from the local Germans (*Karpatendeutsche*), others specified the names of a few people among the latter group who helped and saved Jews.

Such ambiguities hardly characterized the Hungarian authorities who directed the process of ghettoization and deportation. The Hungarian mayor of Huszt, József Biró, enthusiastically led the discrimination, persecution, spoliation, ghettoization, and deportation of the Jewish community. Hungarian midwives participated willingly in searching and humiliating Jewish women just before pushing them into the boxcars that took them to their deaths. The Hungarian gendarmes abused, beat, robbed, murdered, and deported the Jews.

Between May 22 and the first days of June, four trains carried the Jews in the Huszt ghettos and brickyard to Auschwitz II-Birkenau as part of Deportation Zone I. The Hungarian authorities first deported the Jews in the brickyard, situated near the railroad tracks, thus making room for the Jews in the town's ghettos. Hungarian gendarmes tormented the Jews walking from the ghettos to the brick factory, and the remains of some victims were left on the streets, in full view of non-Jews. In the brick factory, more violence awaited the town's Jews in the hope of squeezing from them what ever possessions they had managed to salvage. There again, murder occurred.

Only one postwar trial dealt with the Huszt ghettos: József Biró

was put on trial and executed.

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the Huszt ghettos are Raz Segal, "The Jews of Huszt between the World Wars and in the Holocaust," *YM* 4 (Winter 2006): 80–119; Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 583–585; and Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994).

Primary sources on the ghettos in Huszt begin with more than 30 survivors' testimonies at YVA (mainly in Hebrew, located in collection O.3). USHMMA holds an unpublished survivor testimony, RG-02.152, "A Void in My Heart: The Memoirs of Regina Godinger Hoffmann, a Jewish Holocaust Survivor" (1989); and two interviews with survivor Leo Samuel under RG-50.477*1257 and RG-50.477*0023. Among the many photographs in USHMMPA's collection on Huszt are three images of the Hungarian Labor Service Company VIII/2 in Huszt, working on railroad tracks in 1942 (WS #12391, 17384–85; Courtesy of Adalbert Feher). VHA holds 143 testimonies on the Huszt ghetto, under the Czech name, Chust. Published memoirs on the ghettos in Huszt include Gavri'el Heller, *Ki ehyeh va-asaper* (n.p.: Avraham Naveh Publications, 1987); Bernard R. Shore, *Remembrance ha-Shoah: Autobiography* (self-published, 1991); Zvi Menshel, ed., *Chust and Vicinity: A Memorial Book of the Community*, trans. Rachely Schloss and Jonathan Gershovitz (Rehovot: Organization of Chust and Vicinity, 2002); Eitan Porat with Erhard R. Wiehn, *Voice of the Dead Children: From the Carpathian Mountains via Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen to Israel 1928–1996,* trans. James Stuart Brice (Constance, Germany: Hartung-Gorre, 1997); and Edith Singer, *March to Freedom: A Memoir of the Holocaust* (Santa Clarita, CA: Impact Publications, 2008).

Raz Segal

NOTES

1. H. Shefer testimony, YVA O.3/5959.
2. E. Porat testimony, YVA O.3/9578; and P. Elberg testimony, YVA O.3/7750.

IPOLYSÁG

Ipolyság (Slovak: Šahy) is located approximately 88 kilometers (55 miles) north of Budapest. Originally part of Austria-Hungary, the town was incorporated into Czechoslovakia after the end of World War I. In the interwar period, Ipolyság retained an ethnic Hungarian majority. It came under Hungarian administration when Hungary annexed Bars and Hont County in 1939 after the First Vienna Award. In 1941, Ipolyság had a population of 5,000, including 773 Jews. German occupation authorities dissolved both Jewish congregations in late March 1944.

The German and Hungarian authorities operated a ghetto in Ipolyság between early May and mid-June 1944. A total of 1,205 people were registered at the site. Initially, most ghetto inhabitants were town residents. By May 8, authorities also ordered the Jews of the surrounding Ipolyság and Szob Districts into the ghetto, which spanned Rózsa, Csepreghy, and Malom Streets. It included a mill, a brick factory, and an Orthodox synagogue, where people slept on the floor and in makeshift shelters. Survivor Vera Karoly recalled that the ghetto was located in the poor part of town. According to her, German soldiers helped clear the residents out of the "slum" and move the poor Jews into vacated "hovels." The ghetto's houses and rooms were overcrowded, and sanitary conditions deteriorated quickly. There was little food, and most people subsisted on the small stores of food they had brought from home.[1]

The inmates of the Ipolyság ghetto were subjected to physical abuse and torture. Survivor testimony tends to focus on Hungarian gendarmes as the main perpetrators. Led by Gendarmerie Főhadnagy Károly Sziller, the ghetto commander, the gendarmes routinely tortured Jews at the so-called Vikulenszki house. They whipped and beat people to learn the hiding places of their jewelry and other valuables. For example, survivor Katherine Muller testified that her mother was beaten black and blue during her interrogation. The soles of her feet were burnt with cigarettes, and

she returned to her family gravely injured.[2] Survivor Rose Halpern testified that gendarmes threatened to murder her mother and young daughter if she did not divulge her hiding places. According to her, many people suffered serious injuries during these brutal interrogations; several people died as well, and some committed suicide. The gendarmes continued to terrify ghetto inmates by breaking into their rooms at night to search for valuables. Halpern recalled that inmates also suffered grave humiliation at the hands of the gendarmes. Her own father was traumatized when the gendarmes shaved the men's beards and mustaches.[3]

In May 1944, male ghetto inhabitants between the ages of 18 and 55 were drafted into the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF). Women remained in the ghetto and were forced to work on surrounding farms. At the same time, 80 inmates were sent to the Garany internment camp and from there to Auschwitz. On June 7, 1944, the gendarmes marched the remaining ghetto inhabitants through the town while the local population looked on. The Jews were temporarily housed at an agricultural school on the outskirts of Ipolyság and then transferred to Illésipuszta the following day. From there, they were deported to Auschwitz on June 11 and June 14, 1944. Some 200 survivors are known to have returned to Šahy, which was reincorporated into Czechoslovakia after the war.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Ipolyság ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 111–114; and S. Asher and György, *"Örökmécses": Sǎhy-Ipoolyság és környéke/ szöveggondozás* (Kfar Vradim: A. I. Gidron, 1994).

Primary sources documenting the Ipolyság ghetto can be found in USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), especially reel 7 (box D 5/1) and reel 135 (box TC/276 and box TC/512). There are 10 VHA testimonies indexed for "Šahy ghetto," including Rose

Halpern, May 19, 1995 (#2761); Vera Karoly, July 11, 1997 (#34085); and Katherine Muller, February 26, 1997 (#26448). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Ipolyság natives and ghetto inmates. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #34085, Vera Karoly testimony, July 11, 1997.
2. VHA #26448, Katherine Muller testimony, February 26, 1997.
3. VHA #2761, Rose Halpern testimony, May 19, 1995.

KALOCSA

Kalocsa was the seat of Kalocsa District in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, located approximately 111 kilometers (69 miles) south of Budapest. In 1941, it had a population of 12,341, including 360 Jews and 42 Christians of Jewish origin. Between late May and mid-June 1944, Hungarian authorities operated two small ghettos in Kalocsa.

District Sheriff Kálmán Egedy directed the roundup of Jews in Kalocsa District between May 22 and May 30, 1944, into two ghettos. The Jewish Council headed by Dr. Mátyás Wolf managed the daily affairs of these sites. Several buildings along Tomori and Híd Streets comprised the larger Kalocsa ghetto. Beginning in May 1944, altogether 617 Jews from the Kalocsa and Dunavecse Districts were registered there. This number included 304 Jewish residents of the city of Kalocsa. Among them was the family of survivor Magda Katz. According to her testimony, the Katz family was assigned a small room in their old neighborhood in May 1944. Magda was enrolled in a trade school at the time located outside the ghetto. She attained a special permit and was allowed to spend her days at school, returning to the ghetto in the evenings.[1] Survivor Eva Gregory also testified that families were crammed into small rooms, but had some freedom of movement. For example, her mother was allowed to leave the ghetto for two hours every morning to procure food and run other errands.[2] The second Kalocsa ghetto was located in two ware houses belonging to a paprika factory on Buzapiac Square. Approximately 181 Jews from several rural communities surrounding Kalocsa were held there.

The Kalocsa ghettos were liquidated on June 18, 1944. Although official documentation is not clear on the exact path of persecution, several survivors testified that the Jews were dispatched to the Szeged entrainment center.[3] From Szeged, most were deported to Auschwitz. Several Jews from Kalocsa were transported to Strasshof in Austria in accordance with the

Kasztner-Eichmann agreement, where most survived. Among them was Ilana Schulhof, who was interned in one of the Kalocsa ghettos in May 1944. Subsequently, she was transferred to the brickyard at Szeged and from there to Strasshof. She was liberated at Theresienstadt.[4] According to some estimates, approximately 100 Jews returned to Kalocsa after the end of the war.[5]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Kalocsa ghettos are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geograph i cal Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 766–768.

Relevant primary sources documenting the Kalocsa ghettos include USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), reel 7 (box D 5/1), reel 23 (box 6), and reel 65 (box B 6/1); VHA testimony of Eva Gregory, February 26, 1995 (#1143); Magda Katz, April 24, 1996 (#14442); and Maryla Korn, February 20, 1996 (#12273). See also the CNI cards of the ITS, which contain inquiries about several Kalocsa natives and ghetto inmates. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #14442, Magda Katz testimony, April 24, 1996.
2. VHA #1143, Eva Gregory testimony, February 26, 1995.
3. Ibid.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Ilana Schulhof, Doc. No. 52935139.
5. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 768.

KAPOSVÁR

The capital of Somogy Megye County, Kaposvár is located in southwestern Hungary, 156 kilometers (97 miles) southwest of Budapest. The situation of Kaposvár's Jewish community worsened in the wake of the major anti-Jewish laws enacted in the late 1930s. Hundreds of Jews of military age were drafted into labor service companies, many of which were deployed along the frontlines during World War II. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the city had a Jewish population of 2,346, representing 7.1 percent of the total of 32,982.

Kaposvár was part of Deportation Zone V, Gendarmerie District IV. After the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, the Jews of Kaposvár were isolated, marked with the yellow star, and expropriated. As recalled by survivor Judith Magyar Isaacson, a rumor that the Americans were taking over Kaposvár spread at the time.[1] Instead the local ghetto was established in the Jewish quarter of the city during the second half of May, on orders issued by the deputy prefect of Somogy Megye, Pál Stephaich, and the mayor of Kaposvár, György Kaposváry (Vétek). An announcement of the ghetto's pending formation appeared in the local press in early May.[2] The ghettoization drive was led by Police Officer Tamás Pilissy and Gendarmerie Alezredes László Újlaky. The ghetto was administered by its Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*), which was established on May 4 and consisted of Ödön Antl and Janö Mittelman (co-chairs), Miklós Bók, Sándor Hajdú, József Kardos, László Simon, and Kálmán Tarján. Hungarian gendarmes and police guarded the ghetto; 60 Jewish "ghetto policemen" ensured internal order.

At its peak, the ghetto held 5,159 Jews, including local Jews as well as those brought in from the smaller ghettos in the Kaposvár District and in several nearby districts. Among them were the districts of Barcs, Csurgó, Igal, Nagyatád, and Szigetvár, which included the communities of Barcs, Csurgó, Igal, Kadarkút,

Nagyatád, Nagybajom, Somogyszil, Szigetvár, and Tab. A few days before their entrainment the Jews were transferred to the local artillery barracks, which were close to a railroad line. There the Jews were subjected to another round of expropriation. They were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau in two transports on July 6, 1944.

In 1946, the Kaposvár People's Tribunal tried György Kaposváry (Vétek) and the Kaposvár town clerk and Arrow Cross member, Dr. József Csukly, in connection with the "Aryanization" of Jewish property in the town. Kaposváry received a sentence of one-and-a-half years' imprisonment and a 10-year deprivation of political rights, a sentence that was later vacated on appeal by the National Council of People's Courts (*Népbíróságok Országos Tanácsa*, NOT). By contrast, NOT sentenced Csukly to imprisonment for 5 years and 1 month, in addition to the loss of political rights for 10 years. According to historian Tamás Kovács, the discrepancy in sentencing arose from Csukly's continued service during the Arrow Cross period, at which time, October 17, 1944, Kaposváry was removed from office.[3]

The surviving remnant reestablished Kaposvár Jewish community life after the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Kaposvár are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 819–825; and Tamás Kovács, "Ghettoization in Kaposvár," trans. Ralph Berkin, in Judit Molnár, ed., *The Holocaust in Hungary: A European Perspective* (Budapest: Balassi Kiado, 2005), pp. 500–517.

Primary documentation on the Kaposvár ghetto can be found in SML and YVA. The local newspapers in Kaposvár, *SÚj* and *ÚjS*, published antisemitic decrees during the ghettoization process. VHA holds 15 testimonies on the Kaposvár ghetto, including that of Judith Magyar Isaac son, July 23, 1997 (#31353). Isaac son's

published testimony is *Seed of Sarah: Memoirs of a Survivor*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTES

1. Isaac son, *Seed of Sarah*, p. 37.
2. *SÚj*, May 2, 1944, as cited in Kovács, "Ghettoization in Kaposvár," p. 511.
3. SML, XVII Fond, People's Tribunal case records of György Kaposváry (Vétek) and Dr. József Csukly, as cited in ibid., pp. 515–517.

KASSA

Kassa (Slovak: Kosiče) is located approximately 250 kilometers (155 miles) northeast of Budapest. Originally part of Austria-Hungary, Kassa was awarded to Czechoslovakia after the end of World War I and was then the biggest city in eastern Slovakia. In accordance with the provisions of the First Vienna Award of November 1938, Hungary incorporated the city as the seat of the Kassa District in Abaúj-Torna County. When an unidentified aircraft bombed Kassa on June 26, 1941, the Hungarian government declared war on the Soviet Union the following day. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the Kassa District had 718 Jews in outlying areas, but the city of Kassa itself had 10,079 Jews. Between April and June 1944, Kassa was the site of one of the largest ghettos and entrainment centers operating in Hungary. Approximately 12,000 Jews were deported from there.

The Kassa ghetto and entrainment center operated under the purview of Mayor Sándor Pohl and under the direction of Deputy Police Commissioner György Horváth and the ghetto commanders, Tibor Szoó and László Csatáry. A large segment of Kassa's Jewish population had lived in an area encompassing about 11 streets, including Zríní, Lubzsenszky, and Pogány Streets. After the ghettoization decree of April 28, 1944, this area was fenced off to serve as the center of the Jewish ghetto. Kassa's local Jewish population was largely detained in town, whereas most of the Jews from the surrounding areas were forced into two of the city's brickyards. Survivor Magda Beer recalled how gendarmes drove her family members out of their home and onto a truck while neighbors ransacked the house. They were driven to one of the brickyards, where sheds and wooden barracks immediately became overcrowded.[1] Chaotic scenes unfolded as thousands of people were crammed into the site.[2] Most people slept outside, on the ground, without shelter from the rain.[3] People lacked food and water. Several survivors reported that they only

received a thin soup or water about once a day.[4] The sanitary conditions were catastrophic. A medical officer accompanying Adolf Eichmann's special task force to the Kassa ghetto on June 24, 1944, found cases of typhoid. Numerous inmates succumbed to this and other diseases. Several people are known to have committed suicide. Others died as the result of the brutal treatment and abuse at the hands of the guards and city police, who conducted violent raids in an attempt to seize all valuables. Inmates were beaten for the slightest infractions and shot at if they approached the ghetto's fence.

Deportations from Kassa began on May 15, 1944, and proceeded until June 2, 1944.[5] Approximately 12,000 people were deported on four trains. Several thousand members of Kassa's Jewish community survived the war. Most of them had been drafted into the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) or had other wise escaped ghettoization and deportation.

SOURCES There are numerous secondary sources describing the Kassa (Kosiče) ghetto. See, among others, Anna Jurová and Pavol Šalamon, *Košice a deportácie Židov v roku 1944: zborník príspevkov z odborného seminára k 50. výročiu deportácií z Košíc* (Košice: Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 1994); Artúr Görög et al., *História košických židov=A kassai zsidóság története=A history of Košice Jews* (Dunajská Streda, Slovakia: Lilium Aurum, 2004); Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geograph i cal Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 9–16.

For important primary documentation about Kassa (Kosiče) see the following collections: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 6 (box D 8/1), reel 7 (box D 5/1), and reel 11 (box D 4/2). USHMMA holds numerous small family collections containing memoirs and photos of Jewish life in Kassa before and during the Holocaust. See, among others, Acc. No. 1995.A.0992

("A Memoir Relating to Experiences in Kosice, Bor, Auschwitz, Warsaw, Dachau, and Muehlendorf"); Acc. No. 2012.53.1 ("Dinnertime Survivor Tale"); Acc. No. 1997.A.0184 ("Coleman Gross Collection"); Acc. No. 2008.308.1 ("Braf Family Collection"); Acc. No. 2010.398.1 ("Kurz Family Collection"); RG-02.227 ("The gray coat"). One hundred and ninety-three VHA testimonies are indexed for the Kassa ghetto, including Judith Adler, March 18, 1996 (#13433); Edita Alexander, February 14, 1995 (#1001); Magda Beer, June 29, 1998 (#43471); and Jozsef Benedikt, March 28, 1997 (#27476). At USHMMA see also oral history interviews with Leslie Korda (RG-50.617*0053), Helena Faltinová (RG-50.688*0030), and Kate Bernath (RG-50.030*0023), among others. The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several thousand natives, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed in Kassa. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #43471, Magda Beer testimony, June 29, 1998.
2. VHA #1001, Edita Alexander testimony, February 14, 1995.
3. VHA #13433, Judith Adler testimony, March 18, 1996.
4. VHA #43471.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Emil Rubin, Doc. No. 50539425.

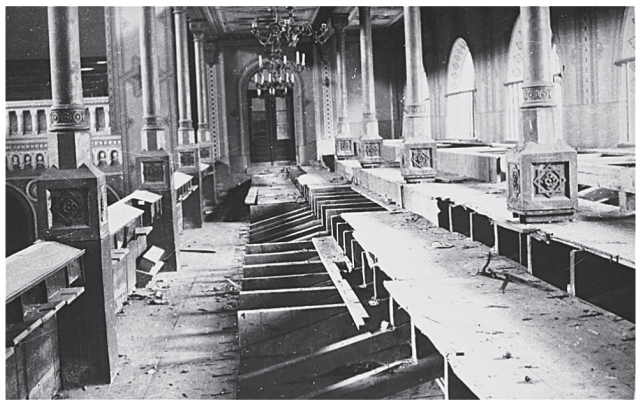
KECSKEMÉT

A city in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun Megye County, Kecskemét is located 79 kilometers (49 miles) southeast of Budapest. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the city had a Jewish population of 1,346, representing 1.5 percent of the total population. In addition, there were 174 converts (0.2%), who were identified as Jews under the racial laws then in effect. Between 1916 and 1942, the community was led by Rabbi József Borsodi and, from 1942 through 1950, by Rabbi József Schindler. In 1944, the Neolog community had 1,100 members, led by János Vajda and Rabbi József Schindler; the Orthodox community had 198 members under the leadership of Izidor Kecskeméti.

The lot of the Jewish community, already suffering under the hardships of the major anti-Jewish laws enacted after 1938, became catastrophic after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944. Soon after the occupation, the authorities arrested 30 Jews, including the leaders of the Jewish community. They were first held as hostages in the Kistarcsa internment camp and then deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau at the end of April. In April, approximately 60 Jews were ordered to destroy the interior of the local synagogue, which the Germans then used as a stable. The local Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) was led by Dezsö Schönberger and included Miksa Gerö and István Markó as members.

Toward the end of May, on instructions from Mayor Béla Liszka, a vocal antisemite, the Jews were ordered into a ghetto that was established in and around the Orthodox synagogue and the Jewish communal buildings. In June, the Jews were relocated in an abandoned factory that served as a concentration and entrainment center and held 5,413 Jews—not only the local Jews but also those brought in from the neighboring communities, including those previously concentrated in the ghettos of Abony, Cegléd, Jászkarajenö, Kiskörös, Kiskunfélegyháza, Nagykörös,

Soltvadkert, and Törtel. The concentration center was liquidated with the deportation of the Jews in two transports to Auschwitz II-Birkenau on June 27 and 29, 1944. Among the witnesses to the deportations from Kecskemét was László Endre, the State Secretary for Jewish Affairs in the Hungarian Interior Ministry.[1]



The damaged interior of the synagogue in Kecskemét, 1944.
USHMM WS #69949, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM PHOTO ARCHIVES.

Approximately 150 survivors returned to the city after the war. By 1947, when the reorganized community was being led by Rabbi József Schindler, the city had 410 Jews, including many who settled there from other parts of Hungary.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Kecskemét are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 769–771; and János Hornyik, *A kecskeméti zsidók története* (Gyula: Bács-Kiskun Megyei Levéltár, 1988).

Primary sources on the Kecskemét ghetto can be found in USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSL). Records related to Hungarian

Jewish Communities 1944–1956. Also available at USHMMA (RG-39.006M), is BFL XXV, Records of the Budapest People's Court, 1945 to 1949, which includes the judgment against László Endre. An unpublished survivor's testimony at USHMMA is Magda Klein Dorman, "My Account: The Honest Truth" (Acc. No. 2012.58.1). VHA holds 18 testimonies by Kecskemét survivors. A published testimony is Lea Schnapp, *Hatikvah in Auschwitz* (Haifa: self-published, 1993).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTE

1. Trial of Baky, Endre, and Jaross, Nb.X 4419/1945, p. 38, as cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 748 n. 66.

KESZTHELY

Keszthely (Zala County) was an entrainment center and ghetto and the seat of the Keszthely District in the southwestern part of Hungary on the western shore of Lake Balaton. The city is nearly 161 kilometers (almost 100 miles) southwest of Budapest and more than 144 kilometers (almost 90 miles) northeast of Zagreb. According to the 1941 Hungarian census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 755 Jews living in Keszthely or just over 6 percent of the city's population.

The ghettoization of the Jews of Keszthely and of the surrounding villages in the Keszthely District began on May 15, 1944. A total of 768 Jews (319 families) were ghettoized. The Keszthely ghetto included the synagogue and a few blocks around it; it was surrounded by a wooden fence and guarded by the Keszthely gendarmerie and Jewish ghetto police. No one from the town was allowed to come inside the ghetto, but people communicated across the ghetto fence.[1] The housing was very crowded. The ghetto doctor was named Dr. Bartos. Inmate Belane Dabronaki was active in the ghetto's medical facility, administering first aid despite the fact that she lacked formal training.

On June 20, 1944, 719 Jews (excluding about 150 labor servicemen) were transferred from Keszthely to the Zalaegerszeg ghetto. Between May 1944 and April 1945, Imrene Kertesz, originally from Keszthely, was transferred from the Keszthely ghetto to Zalaegerszeg, then to Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, and finally to Bremen where she was liberated.[2] Joseph Somogyi, of Nemesbük, followed a different path. Originally interned in the Keszthely ghetto, he was liberated from Mauthausen in May 1945.[3] At the end of the war there were approximately 100 Jews in Keszthely.[4]

SOURCES Further information about the Keszthely ghetto in Hungary can be found in the following secondary sources:

"Keszthely," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 615; "Keszthely," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1250–1254; and István Goldschmied and Szarka Lajos, *A Keszthelyi Zsidosag Tortenete 1966–2005* (Kesz t hely, Hungary: Keszthelyi Izraelita Hitközség, 2005).

Primary source material is available on the Keszthely ghetto at USHMMA. VHA holds three testimonies from Jewish survivors of the ghetto. The testimony featured here is Belane Dabronaki, September 19, 2000 (#51236). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Keszthely ghetto; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA #51236, Belane Dabronaki testimony, September 19, 2000.
2. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Imrene Kertesz, Doc. No. 53197831.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Joseph Somogyi, Doc. No. 53343225.
4. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 2: 1254.

KISTARCSA

In the 1930s, the Hungarian authorities established an internment camp in Kistarcsa in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, approximately 20 kilometers (almost 13 miles) northeast of Budapest. The first inmates included political prisoners, refugees, enemy aliens, and other foreigners who did not have proof of their citizenship. A significant number were Jewish; they received aid from the Welfare Bureau of Hungarian Jews (*Magyar Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája*, MIPI) and the Public Kitchen of the Orthodox Jewish community. Immediately after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, the Nazi authorities and Hungarian collaborators enlarged the Kistarcsa camp population to approximately 2,000, including many Jews. In the summer of 1944, most of the inmates were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. A smaller number of inmates were transferred into the Hungarian Army's forced labor battalions.

According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the village of Kistarcsa had a population of 3,709, including 100 Jews and 30 Christians of Jewish origin. Only 50 Jews remained registered in the village at the time of the German occupation on March 19, 1944. However, Jews constituted the largest group of inmates in the expanded Kistarcsa internment camp. Most had been randomly arrested by Hungarian police or by the German Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo) during sweeps of the area's towns and countryside. They were charged with a variety of offenses, including conspiracy and sabotage, but also making illegal phone calls or failure to wear the yellow star. Other inmates were prominent politicians, professionals, and industrialists arrested as hostages of the German occupation regime. In late March 1944, some 280 inmates were transferred from an internment camp at the National Rabbinical Institute at 26 Rökk-Szilárd Street in Budapest to the Kistarcsa camp. At Kistarcsa they occupied "Pavillon-B," one of five multistory buildings used to house the prisoners. Another building

was guarded by the German authorities and housed Wehrmacht and SS personnel accused of various infractions. Socialists, communists, and other political prisoners as well as a number of prostitutes and vagrants were housed in another building. The largest group of inmates comprised between 800 and 1,000 so-called Gestapo internees (*gestaposok*), which included Jews accused of conspiracy or other offenses. Most of them were transferred to Kistarcsa from the Pest County jail. Pearl Amsel was one of many caught up in these early sweeps and dumped at Kistarcsa. According to her postwar recollections, the German and Hungarian police simply snatched people off the streets—from schools, shops, and cafes—confiscating their papers and leaving friends and family without a clue or trace of them.[1]

The deportation of Hungarian Jews began almost immediately after the German occupation. Hungarian experts tended to oversee the technical aspects of the operation, while their German counter parts under Adolf Eichmann organized the transports to concentration camps. The first transport of some 1,800 "Jewish laborers" left Kistarcsa on April 28, 1944.[2] It arrived at Auschwitz on May 2.[3] Only approximately 400 Jews remained at Kistarcsa at the time, but the German and Hungarian police soon transferred new Jewish prisoners to the site. Erika Benesch arrived at Kistarcsa the day after the first transport left for Auschwitz. By that time, she had already been incarcerated in four prisons. According to her, the inmates did not starve at Kistarcsa in part because outside organizations provided extra rations. She was among the prisoners dispatched for random work in the village, such as cleaning and work in the fields. According to Benesch, it was common knowledge among inmates that they were slated for deportation to Auschwitz.[4]

The deportations of Hungarian Jews were temporarily halted after the regent, Miklós Horthy, ordered their suspension on July 7, 1944. Disregarding the order, Eichmann demanded the deportation of some 1,000 Jews from Kistarcsa on July 14, 1944, and a deportation train did leave the camp. However, the event caused massive outrage, and the Jewish Council and Hungarian political officials all the way up the chain of command to the regent intervened. Ultimately, Horthy's office ordered a gendarmerie unit to stop the train and return the deportees to

Kistarcsa. On July 17, approximately 280 of the returned Jews were transferred from Kistarcsa to the camp at Sávár. On July 24, some 1,500 inmates were then deported from Sávár under circumstances similar to the Kistarcsa operation.[5]

Eichmann devised a new plan to continue the deportations to Auschwitz. On July 19, 1944, he held the Jewish Council incommunicado at his office in the Majestic Hotel in Budapest. He also cut the lines of communication between Kistarcsa and Budapest. At the same time, he dispatched to Kistarcsa a Gestapo unit headed by his transportation expert, Hauptsturmführer Franz Novak, as well as a Hungarian dejewification squad. Assistant Police Counselor Pál Ubrizsi then informed the camp commander István Vasdényei that he was authorized by State Secretary Baky to evacuate the camp. Vasdényei challenged the legitimacy of the order and negotiated the release of a few prisoners. However, three Eichmann Kommando platoons armed with machine guns rounded up the inmates and, amid brutal beatings, loaded them onto waiting trucks. The trucks carried 1,220 Jews from Kistarcsa to Rákoscsaba, where they were then loaded onto freight cars. The transport arrived at Auschwitz on July 22, and most of the Jews were gassed that same day. According to Yad Vashem, another 350 Hungarian Jews from the Kistarcsa camp arrived at Auschwitz on August 14, 1944.[6]

The fate of the Kistarcsa Jewish community is not entirely clear. Native Jews may have been deported to Auschwitz in mid-June 1944 during the deportations from Zone III or in early July 1944 during deportations from Zone IV. Fourteen survivors returned to the city after the end of the war.[7]

SOURCES The history of the Kistarcsa internment camp is covered in several secondary sources, including Randolph L. Braham, *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 778–781; Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981); and Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945*

(Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977). See also Theodore Lavi, ed. *Pinkas ha'kehilot. Hungaria* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1975).

Important primary sources include MZSML, I-7/7, Vasdényei István visszaemlékezése. Yad Vashem has recognized Vasdényei as a Righteous Among the Nations. See also MZSML, DEGOB collection, record 3627; and YVA, M-20/47. The Kistarcsa index in VHA contains a useful synthesis of background information on the camp. There are 109 testimonies indexed for Kistarcsa. Important eyewitness testimonies from camp survivors include Eva Aitay, October 7, 1996 (#20598); Pearl Amsel, May 14, 1996 (#15088); Erika Benesch, December 27, 1995 (#10568); and Sidonie Bennett, December 18, 1995 (#10307). The CNI collections of the ITS contain inquiries about numerous Jews of various national origins registered at Kistarcsa before deportation to Auschwitz or other camps; there are also several IRO CM/1 files of survivors in ITS 3.2.1. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMPA also holds numerous images of Kistarcsa inmates, letters written from the camps, and other related artifacts. A published eyewitness account of the July deportation from Kistarcsa is available in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Tragedy of Hungarian Jewry: Essays, Documents, Depositions* (New York: Institute for Holocaust Studies of the City University of New York, 1986), pp. 271–273. An excerpt from Vasdényei's recollections is available in Zoltán Vági, László Csősz, and Gábor Kádár, *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press in association with USHMM, 2013), pp. 140–141.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #15088, Pearl Amsel testimony, May 14, 1996.
2. VHA #20598, Eva Aitay testimony, October 7, 1996.
3. Rosso Rudolph Kastner affidavit, 1945, 2605-PS, ITS, 1.2.7.1, folder 7/I337, pp. 31–36.
4. VHA #10568, Erika Benesch testimony, December 27, 1995.

5. ICRC, "Notiz über die Situation der Juden in Ungarn," November 14, 1944, YVA M20/47, as cited by Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 892–893.

6. Kastner affidavit, 1945, 2605-PS, ITS, 1.2.7.1, fol. 7/I337, pp. 31–36.

7. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 2: 780–781.

KISVÁRDA

Kisvárda (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County), a regional ghetto and entrainment center in northeastern Hungary, was located approximately 237 kilometers (approximately 148 miles) northeast of Budapest and more than 75 kilometers (nearly 47 miles) northwest of Satu Mare, Romania. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the Kisvárda District had a population of 4,865 Jews. Of those, 3,770 Jews lived in the city of Kisvárda, making up almost 26 percent of the total population of 14,782.

Ghettoization in Kisvárda began on April 16, 1944, with the roundup of Jews in the district's villages. The process was completed by the end of April with the confinement of 7,000 Jews.

The ghetto was administered by an unarmed Jewish police force. Wealthy Jews were interrogated about hidden valuables. Some people, particularly doctors and lawyers, who knew about the killing centers committed suicide.[1]

As part of Deportation Zone I, the entrainment and deportation of the ghetto's Jews began on May 25, 1944. The first transport left for Csap (today: Chop, Zakarpattia oblast', Ukraine), and after it left there was a wave of suicides in the ghetto. The second transport left for Auschwitz II-Birkenau. From Auschwitz some Jews from the Kisvárda ghetto were later dispatched to other Nazi concentration camps, including Gross-Rosen and Bergen-Belsen.[2]

SOURCES Further information about the Kisvárda ghetto can be found in these secondary sources: "Kisvárda," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 874–877; and "Kisvárda," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and*

during the Holocaust (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 631.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Kisvárda Jews can be found at USHMMA, including RG-39.013M, Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities (1944–1956 (MZSML), boxes D 8/1, H 7/5, GB 1/32, and TB B/308. USHMMA holds several oral interviews by survivors of the Kisvárda ghetto, including Aranka Tóth (RG-50.670*0047, September 9, 2012); Leslie Schwartz (RG-50.486*0094, September 22, 2011); and Alexander Karp (RG-50.155*0027, September 14, 1995). VHA holds 90 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Kisvárda ghetto. The testimony featured here is Erzsébet Becker, April 11, 2000 (#50827). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Kisvárda ghetto; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA #50827, Erzsébet Becker, April 11, 2000.
2. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Ignacz Fulop, Doc. No. 53628833, and Elizabeth Eichler, Doc. No. 50841990.

KOLOZSVÁR

The seat of Kolozs County, Kolozsvár (Romanian: Cluj-Napoca; German: Klausenburg) was part of Hungary before 1918 and from 1940 to 1944; it is located 353 kilometers (219 miles) southeast of Budapest and 325 kilometers (202 miles) northwest of Bucharest. During the interwar period, the city was the center of Zionist activities in Transylvania. The various branches of the Zionist movement attracted adherents largely in response to the anti-Jewish activities of the Romanian Iron Guard and other ultra-rightist parties and movements. According to the Hungarian census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the city had a Jewish population of 16,763, representing 15.1 percent of its 110,956 inhabitants.

Under the terms of the Second Vienna Award of August 30, 1940, Northern Transylvania came under Hungarian jurisdiction. The Jews of Kolozsvár were immediately subjected to the anti-Jewish laws already in effect in Hungary: a large number of Jewish men of military age were drafted into the forced labor service; the publication of Jewish newspapers, such as the local *Új Kelet (New East),* was prohibited; Jews were largely deprived of their livelihood; the licenses of many Jewish professionals were revoked; and Jewish students were prohibited from attending secondary and higher educational institutions. Under the leadership of Antal Márk, the Jewish community established a coeducational high school to serve the educational needs of Jewish students in Northern Transylvania as a whole. Those Jews who could not prove their citizenship were rounded up and deported—together with approximately 18,000 other "alien" Jews picked up all over Hungary—to near Kamenets-Podolsk in German-occupied Ukraine, where they were murdered in late August 1941.

The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, imperiled the Jews of Kolozsvár. They were subjected to an additional series of anti-Jewish measures designed to bring about their isolation, expropriation, ghettoization, and deportation. They

were compelled to wear the yellow star starting on April 5 and soon thereafter were required to surrender all their property. The details of the ghettoization and deportation drive were spelled out in a decree issued on April 7, 1944.[1] According to the plan, Kolozs and several other counties in Northern Transylvania encompassing Gendarmerie District IX were identified as Deportation Zone II in the "Final Solution." The details relating to the implementation of the decree in Kolozs and elsewhere in Gendarmerie District IX were worked out at a conference held in Szatmárnémeti on April 26.[2] The conference was chaired by László Endre, the Secretary of State for Jewish Affairs in the Interior Ministry, and attended by the leading civilian and military officials of the respective counties.

The specifics of the roundup operation in Kolozsvár and Kolozs Country were worked out at a meeting held on May 2 under the leadership of László Vásárhelyi, the mayor of Kolozsvár. Among the approximately 250 officials who attended the meeting were László Urbán, the police chief, and Gendarmerie Ezredes Tibor Paksy-Kiss, who was in charge of the anti-Jewish operations in the gendarmerie district. The Hungarian officials in charge of the anti-Jewish drive in Kolozsvár and Kolozs County acted in cooperation with SS-Obersturmführer Walter Strohschneider, the local Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) commander. The anti-Jewish drive in Kolozs County was planned and implemented under the leadership of a group that included József Forgács, the secretary general of Kolozs County, representing the deputy prefect; Lajos Hollóssy-Kuthy, the deputy police chief; Géza Papp, a high-ranking police official; and Kázmér Taar, a top official in the mayor's office. Overall command of the ghettoization process in Kolozs County, outside of Kolozsvár, was exercised by Ferenc Szász, the deputy prefect of the county, and by József Székely, the mayor of Bánffyhunyad.

The ghettoization in Northern Transylvania began early on May 3, preceded by an announcement posted all over Kolozsvár the day before and issued under the signature of Lajos Hollóssy-Kuthy, the deputy police chief. The Jews of Kolozsvár were concentrated in a ghetto established in the Iris Brick-yard, in the northern part of the city, together with Jews brought in from the other communities in Kolozs County. The Kolozsvár ghetto was one of the largest in the region.

By May 10 the ghetto population reached 12,000. At its peak, just before the deportations began, it was close to 18,000. Among the Jews transferred to the ghetto of Kolozsvár were those from the communities in the county's five districts: Kolozsborsa, Kolozsvár, Hidalmás, Bánffyhunyad, and Nádasment. The Kolozsvár ghetto also included the Jews of Szamosújvár, a town in Szolnok-Doboka County, who were originally supposed to have been concentrated in the ghetto of Dés. The brickyard ghetto of Szamosújvár had included close to 1,600 Jews, of whom nearly 400 were from the town itself; the others had been brought in from neighboring communities in Szamosújvár District. The transfer of these Jews into the Kolozsvár ghetto was carried out under the command of Lajos Tamási, the mayor of Szamosújvár, and Ernö Berecki and András Iványi, the chief police officers of the town.

The conditions in the Kolozsvár ghetto were inhumane. Most of the Jews had to sleep in the open brick-drying sheds of the brickyard. Water and food supplies were minimal and sanitary facilities all but nonexistent. The Jews suspected of being wealthy were subjected to torture by the investigative gendarmes and policemen to force them to reveal their hidden valuables.

The Kolozsvár ghetto was under the direct command of Police Chief Urbán. The ghetto's internal administration was entrusted to its Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) consisting of the traditional leaders of the local Jewish community. It was headed by József Fischer, the head of the city's Neolog community, and included Rabbi Akiba Glasner as the representative of the Orthodox community; other members were József Fenichel; Gyula Klein, former editor-in-chief of the *Új Kelet*; Ernö Marton; Zsigmond Léb; and Rabbi Mózes Weinberger. The secretary general of the council was József Moskovits, whereas Deszö Hermann served as secretary. In contrast to other Jewish Councils of Northern Transylvania, Kolozsvár's Council members were fully aware of the realities of Auschwitz and the "Final Solution." Almost all managed to escape deportation, the subject of much postwar contention among survivors. Fischer and his family were among the 388 Jews who were removed from the ghetto of Kolozsvár and taken to Budapest—and eventually to freedom—on June 10, 1944, as part of Rudolf (Rezső) Kasztner's controversial deal with the SS. Many of the other members escaped to Romania.

The ghetto was liquidated with the deportation of the Jews in six transports that left the city between May 25 and June 9. The dates of the transports and the number of deportees were as follows: May 25: 3,130; May 29: 3,417; May 31: 3,270; June 2: 3,100; June 8: 1,784; and June 9: 1,447.

Soviet and Romanian troops liberated Kolozsvár on October 11, 1944. Among the first Jewish returnees were 50 to 60 survivors, mostly labor servicemen who were liberated in the area. By March 1945, the Neolog community was reorganized with approximately 100 members. By 1947, Kolozsvár had a Jewish population of 6,600, consisting of local survivors and mostly people who had moved there from other parts of Romania.

Kolozsvár was the setting for a people's tribunal that tried perpetrators for crimes committed against Jews in Northern Transylvania. Among the convicted, some in absentia, were officials tied to the ghettoization of Kolozsvár: Forgács, Paksy-Kiss, Papp, Székely, Urbán, and Vásárhelyi.[3]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Kolozsvár ghetto are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 505–523.

Primary sources on the Kolozsvár ghetto can be found in ANR, Cluj Branch, microcopied to USHMMA as RG-25.017M. The ITS Postwar collection holds a list of 938 returnees to Cluj-Napoca, effective July 15, 1945, furnished by WJC. The local Kolozsvár press, such as *Ell*, contains archives of contemporaneous documentation of anti-Jewish persecution. USHMMA holds two interviews by Kolozsvár survivors, Magdalena Farkas Berkovics (RG-50.106*0177) and Barbara Marton Farkas (RG-50.030*0070). VHA holds 220 interviews by survivors of the

Kolozsvár ghetto, under its Romanian name. Among a great number of personal narratives on Kolozsvár, see Olga Lengyel, *Five Chimneys: The Story of Auschwitz* (Chicago: Ziff-Davis, 1947); Oliver Lustig, *Dicţionar de lagăr* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1982); and Oliver Lustig, *Atunci, acolo … la Auschwitz* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1977).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTES

1. Decree No. 6163/1944.
2. Szatmárnémeti conference summarized in Nagybánya mayor's office to Interior Ministry, Doc. 30/44, cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 652 n. 4.
3. For sentences related to these defendants, see Minierul Afacerilor Interne, Dosar No. 40029, Ancheta Abraham Josif şi alţii, reproduced in Braham, *Genocide and Retribution*, pp. 216, 220–221.

KOMÁROM

The city of Komárom is situated on both banks of the Danube River, approximately 75 kilometers (47 miles) northwest of Budapest. Originally part of Austria-Hungary, Komárom was divided into two separate towns after the end of World War I. The 1920 Treaty of Trianon formally ceded the city's northern half to Czechoslovakia and assigned the southern half to Hungary. Renamed Komárno, the Czechoslovakian city retained an ethnic Hungarian majority and became the center of cultural and social life of the Hungarians in Czechoslovakia. The First Vienna Award of 1938 returned Komárno to Hungary. The town was reincorporated into Komárom, which served as the seat of Komárom District and Komárom County. With the onset of World War II, Komárom became an important center for Hungarian and German military operations. In 1941, it had a native population of 30,858, including 2,713 Jews.

Between 1939 and 1945, Komárom's historic fort and military compound, Monostori Fortress, served as a locale for the persecution and detention of Jews and Roma. After the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) system went into effect on July 1, 1939, Labor Battalion No. 2 was headquartered in Fort No. II in Komárom. By 1943, the forced laborers were sleeping in the filthy stables with the animals. They suffered physical abuse and torture at the hands of camp commander László Ágh and his henchmen. Jewish labor servicemen were being registered in Komárom as late as 1944.[1]

In the spring of 1944, the mayor of Komárom designated the area between Hajnal, Eötvös, and Király Streets as a ghetto. Beginning on May 16, 1944, the city's military compound around Monostori Fortress served this function. The area was enclosed by high walls and fences. According to survivor testimony, the Nazi SS acted as supervisors to the Hungarian police, who served as guards.[2] Altogether 5,040 Jews were detained at the ghetto at

Komárom. Approximately 2,000 of them were residents of the city, and the rest came from 22 surrounding communities. Most survivor testimony emphasizes the squalor and overcrowding these inmates had to endure. Many were forced to sleep in dark, damp cellars without beds and blankets.[3] Others occupied barracks without basic accommodations, such as sanitary facilities.[4] Inmates suffered from hunger. Survivor Jonas Bruck witnessed harrowing scenes of children starving and crying from hunger. He also witnessed the suicide of one inmate who jumped out of a window to his death.[5] Other survivors also testify to the abject terror and despair felt by many inmates.[6] The ghetto at Monostori Fortress was liquidated when the inmates were deported to Auschwitz in two transports on June 13 and June 16, 1944.

After the Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) coup of October 15, 1944, Arrow Cross members under the leadership of Richárd Wojtowicz terrorized Komárom County. The Arrow Cross operated a prison and internment camp at the fort in Komárom. Jews, Roma, and political opponents were among the hundreds of inmates detained and abused at the site. Prisoners were later deported from there to different Nazi concentration camps, including Dachau, Neuengamme, and Mauthausen. Jewish survivor Aniko Whealy was among those detained at the Arrow Cross prison in Komárom. She had escaped from a forced march from Budapest, but was soon discovered hiding in November 1944 at a farm near Komárom. She recalled being taken to the "Nazi headquarters" at Komárom where hundreds of Jews and Roma were imprisoned. In late November 1944, prisoners were put on closed rail cars. Whealy was transported to Ravensbrück and survived the war.[7] The Arrow Cross was still killing Jews and others in Komárom as late as January 1945. After liberation, the city was divided once more.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the ghetto, prison, and KMOF at Komárom include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with

USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 534–538; and Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977).

Important primary sources on the ghetto, prison, and KMOF at Komárom are available in the following collections: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML) and RG-39.010M (MOL K 149 BM res.). VHA testimonies indexed for the ghetto at Komárom include testimony of Jonas Bruck, July 11, 1996 (#17137); Joseph Eckstein, October 20, 1995 (#7827); Serena Feldman, May 19, 1996 (#15248); Georg Gottlieb, September 24, 1996 (#20035); and Lilia Guttmann, December 21, 1995 (#8707). For VHA testimony about the Csillag prison at Komárom, see the testimony of Aniko Whealy, April 13, 1995 (#1968). USHMMPA contains numerous photos documenting Jewish life in Komárom, including the Lilian Rosenthal Collection (CD No. 0777) and the Georg and Ivan Kalmar Collection (CD No. 1047). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about more than 1,100 residents of Komárom, as well as ghetto inmates, prison inmates, and KMOF men registered there. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. CNI card for Gabriel Lövinger, Doc. No. 50562818.
2. VHA #20035, Georg Gottlieb testimony, September 24, 1996.
3. VHA #7827, Joseph Eckstein testimony, October 20, 1995.
4. VHA #20035.
5. VHA #17137, Jonas Bruck testimony, July 11, 1996.
6. VHA #15248, Serena Feldman testimony, May 19, 1996.
7. VHA #1968, Aniko Whealy testimony, April 13, 1995.

LÉVA

Léva (Slovak: Levice) is located approximately 87 kilometers (54 miles) north-northwest of Budapest. Originally part of Austria-Hungary, the town was incorporated into Czechoslovakia after the end of World War I. Following the breakup of Czechoslovakia with the First Vienna Award of 1938, Léva came under Hungarian administration and became the seat of Hungary's Bars and Hont County and of the Léva District. In 1941, the town had over 12,758 inhabitants, including 1,271 Jews and 59 Christians of Jewish descent.

Léva became the site of a ghetto after May 10, 1944, when the Hungarian authorities forced the local Jewish population out of their homes and into buildings on a designated street in the town. Léva also housed another ghetto for Jews from the Léva District, who occupied one of the town's military barracks and possibly the surrounding buildings as well. The Léva ghettos were not fenced in, although Hungarian gendarmes enforced a curfew. According to several survivor testimonies, many inhabitants of the Léva ghettos knew of the fate of other Jews in Europe from listening to the radio, and some went underground to escape their own impending deportation.[1] Indeed, survivor testimony suggests a rigorous movement and human trafficking across the Hungarian-Slovakian border at the time. For example, the family of survivor Georg Gertler paid a smuggler to take them from Léva into Slovakia in late May 1944.[2] Survivor Edith Hofbauer testified that her family hired a guard to lead them across the border into Slovakia, where he left them in the woods.[3]

In early June 1944, the local authorities liquidated both Léva ghettos when they transferred the inhabitants to a tobacco factory on the outskirts of town.[4] The Léva tobacco factory was one of six major transit centers in Gendarmerie District II, in which close to 24,000 Jews were concentrated in preparation for deportation. According to a report by Gendarmerie Alezredes László Ferenczy, on June 13, 1944, some 3,000 Jews were deported from Léva to

Auschwitz, where they arrived on June 16, 1944.[5] Eyewitness testimony and scarce documentation suggest the possibility that deportations from Léva began as early as June 12, 1944.[6] Among those deported was Magda Deutsch, who had been born in Levice in 1930; after Auschwitz, she was later transferred to Kurzbach, where she was liberated.[7] Jolana Mechurova, born in Stary Tekov in 1903, was deported from Léva to Auschwitz and then to Ravensbrück and Neustadt, where she was liberated. Many others perished. Among them was Edit Kovac, born 1928 in Levice and deported from there in June 1944. She was declared dead on December 12, 1944, at Auschwitz.[8] Several Jewish survivors returned to Léva after 1945, when the town was reincorporated into Czechoslovakia.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Léva (Levice) ghetto and transit center include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 117–119.

Primary sources documenting the Léva (Levice) ghetto and transit center can be found in USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 6 (box D 8/1), reel 7 (box D 5/1), and reel 24 (box 10). There are 21 VHA testimonies indexed for the "Levice ghetto," including Lilla Bleich, October 3, 1996 (#20385); George Gertler, February 22, 1996 (#10138); Martha Golan, April 20, 1995 (#2373); Edith Hofbauer, June 30, 1996 (#17074); and Karl Kalisch, December 22, 1996 (#24417). The CNI of the ITS contains several hundred inquiries about Léva or Levice natives and ghetto inmates. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #2373, Martha Golan testimony, April 20, 1995.
2. VHA #10138, George Gertler testimony, February 22, 1996.
3. VHA #17074, Edith Hofbauer testimony, June 30, 1996.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Alzbeta Vitekova, Doc. No. 50652355.
5. Among others, see also CNI card for Jolana Mechurova, Doc. No. 50559565.
6. VHA #20385, Lilla Bleich testimony, October 3, 1996.
7. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Magda Deutsch, Doc. No. 50563993.
8. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Edit Kovac, Doc. No. 50605098.

MÁRAMAROSSZIGET

Máramarossziget (Romanian: Sighet and Sighetul Marmaţiei) was a ghetto and entrainment center located in Maramureş County in northwestern Transylvania, in the eastern part of Hungary in the annexed territory of Northern Transylvania. Máramarossziget is located approximately 39 kilometers (24 miles) east of Baia Mare and more than 131 kilometers (almost 82 miles) northwest of Cluj, Romania. During the interwar period, the Jewish population of Sighet was approximately 11,000. The town is best known as the birthplace of Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel, whose long list of works includes *Night*, a book that documents life in the ghetto before his deportation to Auschwitz.

The Jewish population of 15,000 (including Jews from the surrounding villages) was ghettoized on April 20, 1944; they were forced to wear the yellow star for two to three weeks beforehand.[1] Two ghettos (a large one in the center of town and a small one on the outskirts) for the Jewish population were erected in Máramarossziget seemingly overnight by the Hungarian authorities in April 1944. The ghettos were surrounded by barbed wire 3 meters high (almost 10 feet), and a curfew was enforced.[2] The Roma were relocated to the Bandzalgo section of the city.

A Jewish Council and Jewish police force were appointed. The Jewish internal government also consisted of a health agency, social welfare agency, and labor committee. The ghetto had a makeshift hospital (with 15 to 20 beds), and some internees were trained as nurses; babies were born in the ghetto. The commander of the ghetto was the chief of police, Lajos Toth. The head of the local firefighters, Jozsef Konyuk, served as Toth's deputy. The behavior of the Germans and gendarmes was particularly cruel. At the end of April, SS officers Adolf Eichmann and Dieter Wisliceny visited the ghetto. According to Wiesel, "The ghetto was ruled by neither German nor Jew; it was ruled by delusion."[3]

All Jews were moved into the Great Synagogue before being deported to Auschwitz; they stayed there for one day and one

night.[4] There they were guarded by Hungarian gendarmes and were searched for gold and jewelry in body cavities by midwives. Some Jews were badly beaten, and every one slept on the floor.[5] The Jewish population was deported in four transports to Auschwitz from May 16 to 21, 1944, where most were killed. When the ghetto was liquidated, Jews who had been hiding were discovered. Some were transferred to Aknaszla-tina and subsequently deported.

If they did not perish in Auschwitz, the inmates of the ghetto had various persecution paths. Fani Dascal was transferred from Auschwitz to Bergen-Belsen and then Dachau.[6] Judith Davidovich instead was sent from Auschwitz to Gelsenkirchen and then on to Esen, Bergen-Belsen, and finally Buchenwald.[7]

SOURCES Further information about the Máramarossziget ghetto and Jewish life in the ghetto can be found in these secondary sources: "Sighet," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary,* foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 601–605; "Sighet," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1181–1183; and "Sighet Marmatiei," in Gershon David Hundert, ed., *The Yivo Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe,* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 2: 1744–1746.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Máramarossziget Jews can be found at USHMMA, Acc. No. 2005.166.1, "Dora Apsan Collection"; and RG-25.004M (SRI). VHA holds many testimonies from Jewish survivors of the ghetto. The testimonies featured here are Eva Chava Perl (#21881), Luiza Kovacs (#31963), and Terezia Eizikovits (#19893). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Máramarossziget ghetto. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. Two published testimonies are Hindi Rothbart with P'nenah Goldstein, *The Girl from Sighet: A Memoir* (Xlibris, 2009); and Elie Wiesel, *Night* (New York: Hill

and Wang, 1972).

Jews bound for the railroad station during the deportation action that cleared the ghetto in Máramarossziget, May 18, 1944. USHMM WS #10471, COURTESY OF ALBERT ROSENTHAL.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA #31963, Luiza Kovacs testimony, May 29, 1997.
2. VHA #21881, Eva Chava Perl testimony, October 30, 1996.
3. Wiesel, *Night*, p. 12.
4. VHA #19893, Terezia Eizikovits testimony, September 17, 1996.
5. VHA #21881.
6. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Fani Dascal, Doc. No.

50841778.

7. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Judith Davidovich, Doc. No. 53827175.

MAROSVÁSÁRHELY

Marosvásárhely (Romanian: Târgu Mureş), a ghetto and deportation center located in eastern Hungary in Maros-Torda County in the annexed territory of Northern Transylvania, is almost 78 kilometers (49 miles) southeast of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) and approximately 241 kilometers (150 miles) southwest of Iasi, Romania. According to the Hungarian census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the population of Marosvásárhely included 5,693 Jews. German troops arrived in Marosvásárhely on March 2, 1944.

The roundup and ghettoization of the Marosvásárhely area's Jews, including the Jews of Udvarhely County, began on May 3, 1944. The ghetto was established in a brickyard on the outskirts of the city. The ghetto residents were interrogated and beaten as the gendarmerie searched them for jewelry and other valuables. A total of 7,549 Jews were deported to Auschwitz in three transports via Kassa (Kosiče) on May 27, May 30, and June 8 as part of Deportation Zone II. Some of the deportees from Marosvásárhely were dispatched from Auschwitz to Stutthof/Thorn, Dachau, Krakau-Płaszów, and Bergen-Belsen.[1]

Those responsible for the ghettoization of Marosvásárhely's Jews were tried at the 1946 Kolozsvár People's Tribunal. Those accused of crimes perpetrated at the Marosvásárhely ghetto included Andor Joos, the prefect of Maros-Torda County (sentenced in absentia to 25 years of forced labor); Zsigmond Marton, the deputy prefect of Maros-Torda County (sentenced in absentia to 25 years of forced labor); and Ferenc Majay, mayor of Marosvásárhely (sentenced to 10 years of prison with hard labor).[2] Only 1,200 of the Jews of the Marosvásárhely ghetto survived the Holocaust.

SOURCES Further information about the Marosvásárhely ghetto in Hungary can be found in the following secondary sources: "Târgu Mureş," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds.,

Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1289; "Marosvásárhely," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 651–664; and Radu Balas and Francisko Kocsis, *370 de zile de teroare* (Târgu Mureș: Fundația Cronos, 2003).

Primary source material documenting the fate of Marosvásárhely's Jews is available digitally in USHMMA, collection RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 41; and "Selected records relating to the Holocaust in Romania" as RG-25.021M (FCER). VHA holds 59 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Marosvásárhely ghetto. The CNI of the ITS contains numerous search inquiries for Jews deported from the Marosvásárhely ghetto. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. The judgment of the Kolozsvár People's Tribunal is reproduced in Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983).

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NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Agnes Mendel Mittelman, Doc. No. 50549550; Seren Rosenfeld Wacchsman, Doc. No. 50542087; Jozsef Salamon, Doc. No. 50541578; and Olga Strasser, Doc. No. 50541789.

2. Judgment, August 31, 1946, reproduced in Braham, *Genocide and Retribution*, p. 207.

MISKOLC

The seat of Borsod County, Miskolc is located 148 kilometers (92 miles) northeast of Budapest. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the city had a Jewish population of 10,428, representing 13.5 percent of the total of 77,362 inhabitants. The Jews' situation worsened in the wake of the Great Depression, when they were subjected to a number of increasingly severe restrictions affecting their livelihoods. Their status grew even worse as a result of several major anti-Jewish laws that were enacted beginning in May 1938. The anti-Jewish laws and regulations brought about the closing of many religious, cultural, and social organizations and communal institutions, including women's organizations and the local branch of the Pro-Palestine League. Starting in 1939 many Jewish males of military age were drafted into the Hungarian labor service. In the summer of 1941, several hundred Jews unable to prove their Hungarian citizenship were rounded up and deported to Kamenets-Podolsk, where most of them were murdered in late August. The head of the Jewish community before and during the Holocaust was Mór Feldman. Among the spiritual leaders of the community were Rabbis Simon Neufeld, Adolf Ehrenfeld, and Juda Gottliebb.

The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, marked the beginning of the end of this once flourishing Jewish community. The anti-Jewish drive in Borsod County was spearheaded by Prefect Emil Borbély Maczky and Deputy Prefect Gyula Mikuleczky. In Miskolc, the anti-Jewish drive was led by Mayor László Szlávy and Deputy Mayor Béla Honti. (In the late spring of 1944, Szlávy was appointed prefect of Szilágy County; he was succeeded by Imre Gálffy.) The Jews were expropriated, isolated, made to wear the yellow star, and placed in a ghetto in accordance with Decree No. 10160/a.i.1944 issued by Deputy Prefect Mikuleczky. A ghetto was established in the Jewish section of the city, as part of Deportation Zone II, Gendarmerie District VII. Internally it was led by a Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*)

headed by Mór Feldman; his closest collaborator was Elemér Banet.

The ghetto held approximately 13,500 Jews, of whom more than 7,500 were from Miskolc.[1] The others were brought in from communities in the following districts of Borsod County: Edelény (821), Mezöcsát (892), Mezökeresztes (511), Mezökövesd (931), Miskolc (1,083), Ózd (1,008), and Sajószentpéter (1,116). Among the largest Jewish communities concentrated in the ghetto of Miskolc were those of Abaújszántó, Bánréve, Diósgyör, Edelény, Encs, Gönc, Hejócsaba, Hidasné-meti, Mád, Mezöcsát, Mezökeresztes, Mezökövesd, Monok, Ózd, Putnok, Sajószentpéter, Szrencs, Szikszó, Tállya, Tiszaeszlár, Tiszaluc, and Vilmány.

Conditions in the ghetto were deplorable. Particularly horrendous was the situation of the well-to-do Jews who were tortured by gendarmes and detectives searching for hidden valuables. Gendarmerie officers András Oláh, József Bata, and Imre Sashalmi headed the squad of investigators. An Allied bombing attack on June 2, 1944, which damaged many buildings and caused more than 600 casualties, hardened non-Jewish Hungarian attitudes toward the ghetto's inhabitants because many blamed Jews for the bombing. On June 5, the Hungarian gendarmerie started to empty the ghetto, forcing the Jews to move to a brickyard on Tatár Street. The deportation of the Jews of the Miskolc ghetto took place in five transports between June 12 and June 15, 1944. Some of these transports were loaded at nearby Diósgyör.

During their retreat from the Miskolc area in the late fall of 1944, Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) gangs murdered a large number of labor servicemen and other hostages in and around Lé-trástetö. The survivors reestablished the community in February 1945 under the leadership of Alfréd Züszmann and Rabbi Károly Klein, who was succeeded by Rabbi Sándor (Shlomo) Paszternák. By 1946, the city's Jewish population, including those who moved in from the neighboring communities, increased to 2,350.

A People's Court condemned András Oláh to death after the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Miskolc are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 261–270; and Shlomo Paszternák, ed., *Miskolc és környeke emlékkönyve* (Tel Aviv: self-published, 1970).

Primary sources documenting the ghetto at Miskolc can be found in MOL. People's Tribunal documentation for Miskolc perpetrators and suspects can be found in BML. The Miskolc newspaper, *MÉ*, regularly reported on antisemitic measures and the Jews' ghettoization. VHA holds 129 survivor testimonies mentioning Miskolc. Published testimonies on the Miskolc ghetto include Erika Jakoby, *I Held the Sun in My Hands: A Memoir* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2004); David Fridman, *Kunṭres ha-Sho'ah: Yoman ishi ve-toldot hayim* (Bene Barak: self-published, 2001); György Fazekas, *Miskolc—Nyizsnyij-Tagil—Miskolc* (Budapest: Magvető, 1979); and Yosef Ziv (Zisman), *Kaftorim be'marak: Sipuro shel nitzol me'Buchenwald* (Tel Aviv: Milo, 1992).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTE

1. On population figures, MOL, reel 122, as cited by Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: 708 n. 49.

MOHÁCS

The seat of Mohács District, the town of Mohács (Baranya County) is located on the right bank of the Danube River, approximately 170 kilometers (106 miles) south-southwest of Budapest. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the Mohács District had a total population of 38,891, including 108 Jews in outlying areas. The town of Mohács had a total population of 18,128, including 707 Jewish inhabitants.

On May 6, 1944, the mayor of Mohács received orders from Deputy Prefect István Horvát to establish a ghetto and concentrate all local Jews there by May 9. The local authorities designated an area on Baron Eötvös Street between Szent Háromság and Vörösmarty Streets. Five hundred sixty-seven local Jews were detained there. Another area near Kígyo Street and Kálvin Lane was designated for Jews from surrounding communities. After an inspection by Horvát, the local authorities began the ghettoization of Jews in the county on May 15, 1944. Altogether 607 Jews from rural communities in Mohács District and Baranya County were sent to the Mohács ghetto.

Life in the ghettos of Mohács was marked by overcrowding, fear, and uncertainty. The ghettos of Mohács were partially enclosed and fenced in. Survivor Livia Frim recalls being forced out of her family's home in Mohács and into the ghetto on May 29, 1944. According to her, each person was allowed to take 5 kilograms (11 pounds) of belongings. Many packed as much food as they could. According to her testimony, some locals occasionally threw food over the fence to help the ghetto population. However, others reinforced the ghetto fence with extra wooden planks so they did not have to look at the inhabitants.[1] One part of the ghetto bordered the Danube River. Survivor Julia Stern, who was detained there as a young girl, later gave testimony that Yugoslav Partisans crossed the river at night and offered to take children from the ghetto to hide them. The Sterns declined the

offer, preferring that the family stay together.[2] At least some of the ghettos' inmates were conscripted for forced labor. Livia Frim, for example, testified that she and other younger women had to do house work for German officers.[3]

The ghettos of Mohács were liquidated between June 28 and 29, 1944. Gendarmerie Százados Ferenc Declava led a special detachment of gendarmes from Pécs to organize the transfer of the Jews from Mohács to the transit center at Pécs. The inmates were driven out of their rooms and onto the streets, where many underwent humiliating body searches for hidden valuables. Survivor Klara Swimmer remembered the ordeal as a "gynecological examination."[4] Livia Frim recalled how, during the roundup, her father was beaten by a Hungarian officer for carrying a leather briefcase. The officer called her father a "rotten, dirty Jew" and accused him of stealing from the Hungarian people. Frim and several other survivors recalled that locals lined the streets, clapping and cheering as the Jews were marched to the train station.[5] Most of the Jews of Mohács were deported from Pécs to Auschwitz, where they arrived on July 6, 1944.

Some documentation suggests that numerous Jewish labor battalions of the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) were stationed in and around Mohács between 1942 and 1944.[6] In mid-September 1944, Mohács briefly became a way station for several thousand Jewish labor servicemen who were forced-marched by the German authorities from Bor in occupied Yugoslavia. From Mohács the survivors were then transferred to Szentkirályszabadja and finally deported to various concentration camps in Germany.[7]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Mohács ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 80–83. See also Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service*

System, 1939–1945 (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977). The volume includes transcripts of testimonies by KMOF members Tibor Groner and Sándor Guttmann, who survived a death march to Mohács (pp. 95–105).

For important primary documentation see the following collections: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 112 (box TB B/158) and reel 135 (box TL/241). Nine VHA testimonies are indexed for the Mohács ghetto, including Livia Frim, September 18, 1996 (#19935); Julia Stern, February 28, 1996 (#12507); and Klara Swimmer, December 17, 1995 (#10226). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about more than 400 Mohács natives and ghetto inmates. They are available in digital format at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #19935, Livia Frim testimony, September 18, 1996.
2. VHA #12507, Julia Stern testimony, February 28, 1996.
3. VHA #19935.
4. VHA #10226, Klara Swimmer testimony, December 17, 1995.
5. VHA #19935.
6. Among others, CNI cards for Jichak Markusz, Doc. No. 50563829; Mosche Grossman, Doc. No. 50583504; and Bela Fülöp, Doc. No. 51254776.
7. Testimony by Tibor Groner, n.d., YIVO, archives file 768/3583, reproduced in Braham, *Hungarian Labor Service System*, pp. 95–97.

MONOR

Located 34 kilometers (21 miles) southeast of Budapest, Monor was the seat of the Monor District in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County. In 1941, it had a population of 13,103, which included 344 Jews. Scarce documentation suggests that Jewish labor servicemen were stationed in and around Monor as early as 1941.[1] Some records refer to one or more labor camps for Jews in the vicinity.[2]

Under the direction of Kálmán Egedy, the Hungarian district chief administrative officer, Hungarian authorities began organizing the roundup and ghettoization of the Jews of Monor and surrounding areas in early May 1944. On May 5, Monor's chief notary issued a plan for a ghetto for the internment of the local Jewish population. The designated buildings included Verbőczy Street No. 4, 8, and 11; Pesti Street No. 57 and 59; Deák Ferenc Street No. 10, 11, 12, and 13; and Gőzmalom Street No. 8, 11, 14, and 15. Subsequent amendments to the plan listed additional buildings at Verbőczy Street No. 13, Deak Ferenc Street No. 6, Gőzmalom Street No. 24, and Mátyás Király Street No. 11. The original ghettoization plan also identified areas for the internment of Jews from communities surrounding Monor. They included a building at Kölcsey Ferenc Street No. 26 and the Polacsek lumberyard. Subsequently, authorities also designated buildings at Pesti Street No. 15, Balassi Street No. 19, and Kölcsey Street No. 25 as ghetto areas.

Gendarme Örnagy Bajor organized the ghettoization of the Jews of Monor between May 22 and May 30, 1944. In addition to the local Jews, some 7,500 Jews from communities in the vicinity of Monor and Budapest were detained in the Monor ghetto. As in Budakalász, the Monor brickyard served as a major entrainment center for the Jews of communities surrounding Budapest. Among those detained there was Johanna Barta, who was brought to Monor from a "yellow-star house" near Budapest. As a trained nurse, she tried to alleviate the suffering of inmates who endured

hunger, overcrowding, and despair. According to her postwar testimony, many inmates at the brickyard had no shelter at all and were forced to sleep outdoors.[3] Several inmates who were old and sick died from a lack of basic care.[4] Some committed suicide, and many suffered abuse at the hands of the guards searching for valuables. Johanna Barta, in contrast, remembers that a guard warned her that she should try to escape from the ghetto before the deportations commenced. Her mother ruled against it, however, and Barta was among the inmates deported to Auschwitz.[5] Deportations from Monor began on July 6, 1944, and continued through July 8, despite Regent Miklós Horthy's order halting the deportations of Jews from Hungary.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Monor ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 783–784.

For important primary documentation see the following collection: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 10 (box D 9/4) and reel 28 (box D 5/6). Thirty-three VHA testimonies are indexed for the Monor ghetto, including Johanna Barta, November 24, 1995 (#9209); Anna Carmon, March 17, 1995 (#1367); Martha Grunwald, November 18, 1996 (#22940); Alice Halasz, February 1, 1997 (#40521); and Rosa Hoffmann, January 12, 1997 (#25597). See also the following oral history interviews at USHMMA: Irma Nemenyi (RG-50.583*0095) and Eugen Turkl (RG-50.244*0146). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about more than 370 Monor natives and ghetto inmates. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. CNI card for Georg Hilvert, Doc. No. 50563163.

2. CNI card for Marcel Pal, Doc. No. 50885173.

3. VHA #9209, Johanna Barta testimony, November 24, 1995.

4. VHA #1367, Anna Carmon testimony, March 17, 1995.

5. VHA #9209.

MUNKÁCS

Munkács (Czech: Mukačevo; Ukrainian: Mukachevo) in Bereg Megye (County) of Subcarpathian Rus' (today: Zakarpats'ka oblast' in western Ukraine), was home to almost 13,500 Jews in 1941, nearly half of the town's population at the time. Located 292 kilometers (181 miles) northeast of Budapest and 185 kilometers (115 miles) southwest of Lviv, Munkács came under Hungarian occupation in November 1938 after the First Vienna Award. Although Hungarian rule brought with it severe anti-Jewish measures, including economic persecution, plunder, violence, forced labor in the Hungarian labor battalions, and partial deportations, the annihilation of the town's Jewish community took place only after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944.

The German authorities set up the first Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) in town, headed by the former community leader, Dr. Péter Zoltán, an assimilated Jew. The Germans soon deposed two members of this first council, due to disobedience, and placed another leading figure, Dr. Sándor Steiner, as head of a second Jewish Council. A person by the name of Siegelstein served as liaison with the German authorities. The members of the second Jewish Council included Oszkár Klein, Ferenc Áron, János Morvai, and Mendel Eisenstätter. Jewish police helped maintain order inside the ghettos.

The members of the Jewish Council met with much abuse by the German authorities, but nevertheless strove to meet the many demands of the German and Hungarian authorities. For every task accomplished, numerous other exigencies filled their days: having to satisfy endless material demands mixed with the robbery of Jews, forced labor quotas, and a flow of decrees that turned the lives of Jews into a series of endless restrictions. Indeed, anticipating decrees from Budapest, the Hungarian authorities in Munkács, under the newly appointed mayor, István Engelbrecht, decided that Jews must wear a round yellow patch on their clothes

even before the regime issued its decree of April 5, 1944, that stipulated wearing the yellow star.

During the first month of the German occupation of Subcarpathian Rus', the Hungarian authorities deported Jews from the small towns and villages surrounding Munkács—20,000 women, men, and children—to the Kallus and Sajovits brick-yards at the outskirts of the town. Those imprisoned Jews suffered from acute overcrowding, robbery, torture, humiliation, and the lack of sanitation, food, and water.

A special meeting convened in Munkács on April 12 dealt with the details of ghettoization in Subcarpathian Rus'. Immediately after Passover, on April 18, street placards issued in the name of the Jewish Council announced the creation of three ghetto areas in Munkács.[1] In response to requests by local residents, the ghetto area was modified to consist of only two small areas, housing just over 8,500 people. On the first Saturday in the ghettos, the German authorities, together with Hungarian gendarmes, forced many Jews to destroy the local synagogues and Jewish study houses in what became known as "the Black Sabbath." Ghetto life entailed further hardships: overcrowding, filth, and food shortages. A typhus epidemic that broke out during the first days of the ghettos' existence exacerbated these horrendous conditions.

Despite this situation, very few Jews tried to escape from the ghettos and brickyards or go into hiding, but not for a lack of opportunity. On the contrary, many survivors described the possibilities open to those seeking to flee, and the many instances of food smuggled into the ghettos show that they were not sealed. Three factors explain why most Jews chose not to flee. First, most people refused to leave behind relatives unable to make it beyond the ghettos' walls. Second, rather than believe the stories of mass murder, people clung to hopes about the imminent arrival of the Red Army and to rumors about deportation to labor camps in Hungary. Unfortunately, there were no plans for using Jewish labor in Hungary at the time, and the Red Army entered Munkács only in October 1944. Finally, survival outside the ghettos depended on non-Jewish assistance, usually in exchange for payment. Jews had little reason to expect much assistance from their erstwhile neighbors, and most Jews at this stage had little to offer in return. A few people, however, did try to flee in the

direction of Budapest, Romania, and Slovakia, where survival seemed more feasible at the time.

Guards check identification papers at the entrance to the ghetto in Munkács, 1944. USHMM WS #74260, COURTESY OF BEIT LOHAMEI HAGHETAOT (GHETTO FIGHTERS' HOUSE MUSEUM).

The brief existence of the ghettos and the harsh daily life in them explain why Jewish public life did not develop. However, Jews and non-Jews smuggled food into the ghettos and brickyards, and some Jews also destroyed their valuables instead of handing them over to the German and Hungarian authorities. In view of the obsessive and violent campaign in Hungary to rob Jews of their possessions, such acts could be considered within the framework of defiance.

The non-Jewish population of Munkács responded to the destruction of the Jewish community in various ways. The Magyar and German residents for the most part rejoiced at the prospect of Munkács without Jews. Although most Carpatho-Ruthenians did not express such jubilation, and many provided food to Jews in the ghettos and brickyards, they remained indifferent to the daily and very public violence that marked the demise of Jewish life in Munkács.

The Hungarian gendarmes enthusiastically implemented the deportations in Munkács. The Nazi SS contingent in town—a

small force of 8 officers and 40 soldiers—had good collaborators in these gendarmes. The expulsions, as was "the Black Sabbath," were public acts of cruelty, humiliation, and killing. The deportations of Jews from the brickyards to Auschwitz II-Birkenau began on May 11, as part of Deportation Zone I, Gendarmerie District VIII.[2] In one week the Hungarian authorities sent 20,000 people in six trains to their deaths. On May 15, Hungarian gendarmes began to expel the Jews in the town's ghettos to the brickyards. On the way, they beat and heaped scorn on the victims, as non-Jews looked on. Several people lay dead along that path by the end of the day. More agony awaited the deportees in the brickyards, as the Hungarian authorities robbed the Jews of their few remaining possessions before deportation. Two hundred years of Jewish life in Munkács came to a horrible end between May 19 and May 23.

A list of expellees who returned to Munkács in the summer of 1945 included more than 1,500 Jews who had originally lived in the town.[3] However, not all survivors returned to Munkács, and some of those who arrived in the town preferred not to register with local authorities and relief organizations. Possibly as many as 2,000 Jews from Munkács survived the Holocaust.

In an affidavit at the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg, Rudolf (Rezső) Kasztner, one of the leaders of the Zionist Aid and Rescue Committee in Budapest (*Va'adat ha-'ezrah veha-hatsalah be-Budapesht*, Vaada) during World War II, claimed that an uprising took place in the Munkács ghetto. He further asserted that the German authorities put it down by murdering 27 resisters, including all of the community's leaders. However, such an event, although it has been incorporated into subsequent scholarship, did not leave any traces in other sources of Jews, Germans, and Hungarians.[4] Not one Munkács ghetto survivor recounted any acts of active resistance, and certainly not a large-scale uprising.

Two postwar trials mentioned the Munkács ghetto: the Yugoslav war crimes trial of Százados Márton Zöldi and a brief testimony by Ze'ev Sapir at the trial of SS-Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann.[5] A Hungarian gendarme who played a central part in the deportations from Subcarpathian Rus' in the spring of 1944, Zöldi was executed for participation in mass murder

perpetrated by Hungarian-occupied Yugoslav territory in the spring of 1941. Sapir's testimony on Eichmann's visit to Munkács demonstrated that Eichmann hardly acted as a "desk murderer."

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghettos and brickyards at Munkács are Raz Segal, *Yeme hurban: Ha-merkaz ha-Yehudi be-Munḳats' bi-tekufat ha-sho'ah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2011); Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Ilana Rosen, *Be-Oshvits takanu ba-shofar: Yotse Karpatoros mesaprim 'al ha-sho'ah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and the Hebrew University, 2004); Ilana Rosen, *Ma'aśeh she-hayah—Ha-siporet ha-'amamit shel Yehude Karpatorus* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1999); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 178–186. On Zöldi, see Eugene Levai, "The War Crimes Trials Relating to Hungary," in Randolph L. Braham ed., *Hungarian-Jewish Studies*, 3 vols. (New York: World Federation of Hungarian Jews, 1966–1973), 2: 275, 289.

Primary sources on the ghettos and brickyards at Munkács can be found in YVA, under collections O.3, O.33, O.15H, and M.52. MA and DEGOB hold additional testimonies. Other Munkács-related documentation can be found in HJM and PIA. Translated Hungarian police reports on Munkács from PIA can be found in Mária Schmidt, "Provincial Police Reports: New Insights into Hungarian Jewish History, 1941–1944," *YVS* 19 (1988): 233–267. VHA holds 627 oral history interviews that mention the Munkács ghetto. Published testimonies on Munkács include Gabriella Ausptiz Labson, *My Righteous Gentile: Lord Wedgwood and Other Memories* (Jersey City, NJ: KTAV Publishing House, 2004); Valerie Jakober Furth, *Cabbages and Geraniums: Memories of the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989); Naomi Kramer and Ronald Headland, *The Fallacy of Race and the Shoah* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press,

1998); Mel Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone: The Story of A-4685* (Los Angeles: Crescent Publications, 1979); and László Gerend, "Expelled from Our Town," in Andrew Handler, ed., *The Holocaust in Hungary: An Anthology of Jewish Response* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1982), pp. 91–109.

Raz Segal

NOTES

1. For a copy of the ghetto order, see HJM, H.472.00031.
2. Munkács gendarmerie report, May 1944, PIA, 641.f.2/1941–1944, 651.f.2/1941-7-6000, quoted in Schmidt, "Provincial Police Reports," p. 264.
3. YVA, M.52/571.
4. Kasztner testimony, 2605-PS, MA A. 1378.
5. Testimony of Ze'ev Sapir, Eichmann trial, YVA, TR.3/1052.

NAGYBÁNYA

Nagybánya (Romanian: Baia-Mare) is a mining and industrial town in the Transylvanian region of Romania that was part of Hungary until 1918 and between 1940 and 1944. Located nearly 408 kilometers (254 miles) northwest of Bucharest and about 337 kilometers (209 miles) east of Budapest, it was part of Szatmár County under Hungarian rule. The Jewish population numbered 3,623 in 1941, out of 21,399 inhabitants. At the time of the Holocaust, the community was under the leadership of Rabbi Moses Aaron Krausz (1886–1944). Between 1941 and 1944, the headquarters of Labor Service Battalion No. 10—the recruitment center for many of the Jewish men of military age in Northern Transylvania—was in Nagybánya. The labor service companies that were established as part of this battalion were deployed both within Hungary and along the frontlines in Ukraine. From 1943, the battalion was under the command of Alezredes Imre Reviczky, a decent Hungarian officer. During the German occupation he ordered the recruitment for labor service of Jewish males who were already in the ghettos, thereby saving them from deportation. In recognition of his rescue activities, supported by many of the labor servicemen he saved, Reviczky was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Among the Nations in 1962.

The anti-Jewish drive in Nagybánya and in the other communities in Szatmár County was based on guidelines adopted by officials involved in the "Final Solution" at a conference held in Szatmárnémeti on April 26, 1944.[1] The ghettoization and deportation took place under the auspices of Deportation Zone II, Gendarmerie District IX. The specifics of the drive in Nagybánya were worked out at a meeting held at the local headquarters of the Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) Party. The meeting was reportedly attended by László Endre, the State Secretary for Jewish Affairs at the Interior Ministry and one of the leading architects of the "Final Solution" in Hungary. The city was at first represented by Károly Tamás, the deputy mayor, but he was soon replaced by István

Rosner, an assistant police chief, who proved more pliable. Among the others present were Jenö Nagy, the police chief; Sándor Vajai, the former secretary general of the mayor's office; Tibor Várhelyi, the commander of the local gendarmerie unit; Gyula Gergely, the head of the Arrow Cross in Northern Transylvania; and József Haracsek, the president of the Baross Association, the antisemitic association of Christian businessmen. Overall responsibility for the administration of Szatmár County at the time rested with Barnabás Endrödi, who had been appointed prefect on April 25, 1944.

Members of a Hungarian labor battalion in Nagybánya, 1943.
USHMM WS #99677, COURTESY OF LIVIU VANAU.

The Jews of Nagybánya were rounded up by the Hungarian authorities in the early morning hours of May 3, 1944, and placed into one of the two ghettos set up in and nearby the town. The roundup and expropriation of the Jews took place under the command of Nagy and Gergely, with the involvement of SS-Hauptsturmführer Franz Abromeit. The ghetto for the Jews of Nagybánya was originally supposed to be established in the vacant lots of the König Glass Factory, but instead was located in the Bernáth Iron and Metal Works. At its peak, it held approximately 3,500 Jews. The approximately 2,000 Jews who were rounded up in the various communities in the districts of Nagybánya, Nagysomkút, and Kápolnokmonostor, including Alsóferenezely, Hagymáslápos, Kapnikbánya, Láposbánya, Misztófalu, Nagysikárló, Tomány, and Zazár, were concentrated in and around

a stable and a barn in Borpatak (Romanian: Valea Burcutului) at the outskirts of the city.[2] Only 200 of these Jews could be accommodated within the stable and the barn; the others had to be quartered outdoors.

The commander of the ghettos was Várhelyi. The Jews in the ghettos of Nagybánya were subjected to interrogation and torture. Among those involved in the investigations conducted under the leadership of Nagy and Várhelyi were Károly Balogh and László Berentes, employees of the Phőnix Factory of Nagybánya, as well as Haracsek, Péter Czeisberger, Zoltán Osváth, and police detectives József Orgoványi, Imre Vajai, and István Bertalan.[3] The 5,917 Jews concentrated in the two ghettos in Nagybánya were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau in two transports between May 31 and June 5, 1944.

The first survivors to return to the city were labor servicemen liberated by the Red Army and the Romanian Army in the fall of 1944; they were followed by survivors of concentration camps, who returned in the spring and summer of 1945.

SOURCES The following secondary sources describe the ghetto at Nagybánya: Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 941–946; and Ichák Joszéf Kohén, ed., *Emlékkönyv: Nagybánya, Felsőbánya, Kápolnok Monostor és környéke zsidóságának tragédiájáról* (Herzlia: Irgun Jocze Baia Mare, 1996).

Primary sources on the Nagybánya ghetto can be found in Minierul Afacerilor Interne, Dosar No. 40029, Ancheta Abraham Josif şi alţii, as cited in Braham, *Genocide and Retribution*. USHMMA holds the Jewish Community of Baia Mare collection,

which consists of religious artifacts from the Baia Mare synagogue (Acc. No. 2000.530). USHMMPA also holds a collection of more than 400 studio portraits of Jews from Baia Mare, 1935 to 1940 (Courtesy of Liviu Vanau). There are 49 VHA testimonies on the Nagybánya ghetto, listed under its Romanian name. A published testimony from the Nagybánya ghetto is Ioan Gottlieb, *Euch werde ich's noch zeigen: vom Ghetto Baia Mare durch Auschwitz, Mauthausen, Melk und zurück: 1929–1945*, edited by Erhard Roy Wiehn, translated by Sigrun Andree (Constance: Hartung-Gorre, 2006). The memoir by rescuer Adam Reviczky is *Wars Lost, Battles Won*, translated by Jerry Payne (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1992).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTES

1. Szatmárnémeti conference summarized in Nagybánya mayor's office to Interior Ministry, Doc. 30/44, cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: 652 n. 4.

2. VHA #22502, Friderica David testimony, February 4, 1997.

3. On Nagybánya, see the judgment in Minierul Afacerilor Interne, Dosar No. 40029, Ancheta Abraham Josif şi alţii, reproduced in Braham, *Genocide and Retribution*, pp. 113–123.

NAGYKANIZSA

A city in Zala County and the seat of the Nagykanizsa District, Nagykanizsa is located in southwestern Hungary, some 44 kilometers (27 miles) south of the county capital Zalaegerszeg and 193 kilometers (approximately 120 miles) southwest of Budapest. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the city's Jewish population was 2,091, representing 6.8 percent of the total of 30,792. There were also 250 converts or Christians who were identified as Jews under the racial laws then in effect. Among the rabbis serving the Neolog community was Ernő Winkler (1919–1944).

The situation of the Jews of Nagykanizsa began to deteriorate in 1938 following the adoption of a series of anti-Jewish laws that adversely affected their livelihood. Men of military age were drafted into labor service, and many among them died or were killed along the frontlines in Ukraine and Serbia either by their overseers or by the crossfire. In 1942, the central authorities established a major detention camp in Nagykanizsa. Designed to hold political prisoners, the camp also included a large number of Jews arrested in all parts of Hungary. These Jews were among the first to be deported to Auschwitz in late April 1944. The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, marked the beginning of the end of the once flourishing Jewish community of Nagykanizsa. According to data collected by the Central Jewish Council of Budapest, the local community at the time had 1,830 members, led by President Jenő Halphen and Rabbi Winkler.

The drive against the Jews of Nagykanizsa began earlier than in most other parts of Hungary because the city and its adjacent areas bordered Serbia—an area in which Serb partisans were waging a relentless struggle against the Nazi occupiers. Shortly after the area was identified as a military operational zone in early April 1944, the German and Hungarian authorities launched a concerted drive to first relocate and then deport the Jews. In accordance with a decision made by the authorities on April 19, the Jews of

Nagykanizsa were rounded up on April 26 in an operation assisted by policemen brought in for this purpose from Szombathely. In addition to the Jews of Nagykanizsa, the roundup also targeted the Jews of the Muraköz area and of the districts of Alsólendva, Csáktornya, Délsomogy, Nagykanizsa, and Perlak—a total of 8,740 Jews. The anti-Jewish operations took place under the command of an SS officer named Hörnicke and of several local and county officials, including Deputy Mayor Lajos Hegyi, Police Chief Jenő Bükky, Deputy Prefect László Hunyadi, and a gendarme named Berténi. The Nagykanizsa ghetto was part of Deportation Zone V, Gendarmerie District III.

The ghetto of Nagykanizsa was established in and around the synagogue and the communal buildings. The Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) was headed by Halphen. There were two mass deportations from the city. The first, which took place on April 28–29, deported approximately 800 Jewish detainees from the local internment camp, most of whom were able-bodied men aged 16 to 60. The second mass deportation affected the Jews in the local ghetto. They were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau on May 17 and 18, 1944.

The exact number of survivors from the community cannot be determined.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Nagykanizsa are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1258–1263; and Noemi Munkácsi, "A nagykanizsai gettó története," *Hatikva* (Buenos Aires), September 1, 1950, and September 15, 1950.

Primary sources on the ghetto at Nagykanizsa can be found in ZAML and MOL. The local press (*Zalai Közlöny*) regularly published anti-Jewish decrees and information on the disposal of Jewish property. VHA holds 19 testimonies by survivors of the

Nagykanizsa ghetto. A published testimony is Elizabeth Jaranyi, *The Flowers from My Mother's Garden* (Glenwood Springs, CO: self-published, 1989).

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NAGYKANIZSA/INTERNMENT CAMP

Nagykanizsa is the seat of the Nagykanizsa District in Zala County. It is located in southwestern Hungary, some 44 kilometers (27 miles) south of the county capital Zalaegerszeg and 193 kilometers (120 miles) southwest of Budapest. In 1941, the town had a native population of 30,792, including 2,091 Jews.

In 1939, the Hungarian authorities established a prisoner of war (POW) and refugee camp for Poles in Nagykanizsa. Up to 3,000 military detainees and their families were registered there. By October 1939, nearly 100 of the camp's children were receiving instruction by camp inmates at a local school. Eventually, the Polish civilian detainees were transferred from Nagykanizsa to Dunamocs, where they also ran their own school.

Nagykanizsa was also the site of an internment camp for resident aliens, political prisoners, Jews without Hungarian citizenship papers, and individuals accused of economic transgressions such as black marketeering. Some authors refer to two sites, Nagykanizsa I and Nagykanizsa II, as being operational in the spring of 1944. It is not clear whether they are referring to two internment camps or one internment camp and the town's ghetto. Postwar documentation from the CNI of the ITS frequently refers to the site as an "internment camp" or simply "camp."[1] It is possible that the camp was located on the grounds of a brick factory.[2] Several records also refer to a labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ) in Nagykanizsa.[3] There are also indications that Jehovah's Witnesses rounded up in Budapest as early as 1939 were interned at Nagykanizsa. It is similarly unclear whether they were held at two separate internment camps or at a single camp and the ghetto in the town.

On April 29, 1944, the local SS unit conducted a se lection of inmates of the Nagykanizsa ghetto and the internment camp. Men between the ages of 16 and 60 were deported to Auschwitz where they arrived on May 2, 1944. Among those likely onboard this transport was Alexandre Hirsch, who was deported from a "camp"

in Nagykanizsa to Auschwitz in April 1944.[4] Other inmates may have been deported subsequently, possibly in conjunction with the liquidation of the ghetto of Nagykanizsa in May 1944.[5]

SOURCES The history of the Nagykanizsa internment camp is relatively undocumented and under-researched. See, especially, these secondary sources: Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager,* vol. 9: *Arbeitserziehungslager, Ghettos, Jugendschutzlager, Polizeihaftlager, Sonderlager, Zigeunerlager, Zwangsarbeiterlager* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2008); Gerhard Besier, ed., *Zwischen "nationaler Revolution" und militärischer Aggression: Transformation in Kirche und Gesellschaft während der konsolidierten NS-Gewaltherrschaft (1934–1939)* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2001); and Károly Kapronczay, *Refugees in Hungary: Shelter from the Storm during World War II* (Toronto: Matthias Corvinus Publishing, 1999). See also Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1261–1262; Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977); and Elek Karsai, ed., *Fegyvertelen álltak az aknamezökön: Dokumentumok a mundaszolgá lat történetéhez Magyarországon*, 2 vols. (Budapest: Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete, 1962).

Relevant primary documentation can be found in the following collections: MOL (Z 936), available in microform at USHMMA as Records of the 8th Gendarmerie District, Kassa, Hungary 1944–1945 (RG-39.005M, reel 6); and Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956 (RG-39.013, reel 6) available at USHMMA. VHA has six testimonies indexed for the Nagykanizsa internment camp, including Irene Berkowitz, May 22, 1996 (#15450); Gizela Eisner, July 16, 1996 (#17690); and Franziska Heuberger, March 23, 1997 (#29166). The CNI of the ITS

contains inquiries about Hungarian and foreign Jews registered at an internment camp or concentration camp in Nagykanizsa. The cards document various paths of persecution and are available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Jicchak Moskovicz, Doc. No. 52067203; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Alexandre Hirsch, Doc. No. 52641867. Fewer CNI cards refer to the site as a concentration camp (e.g., ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Herta Laufer, Doc. No. 53002768).

2. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Kornelia Kasztl, Doc. No. 5275166; CNI card for Hary Laufer, Doc. No. 53159820.

3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Menachim Lorber, Doc. No. 53087968; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Benjamin Vogel, Doc. No. 53002299.

4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Alexandre Hirsch.

5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Samuel Laufner, Doc. No. 5060318.

NAGYSURÁNY

Nagysurány (Slovak: Šurany) was a ghetto in the town of Nagysurány and a railroad hub in the Nové Zámky (Érsekújvár) District, Nyitra and Pozrom County, in present-day southern Slovakia. Nagysurány is located more than 93 kilometers (58 miles) northwest of Budapest and almost 80 kilometers (over 49 miles) due east of Bratislava. The town of Nagysurány was part of Hungary until 1920 and again from 1938 to 1945 as a consequence of the First Vienna Award. According to the Hungarian census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, of the 6,273 inhabitants of Nagysurány there were 563 Jews and 18 other people of Jewish origin, comprising approximately 9 percent of the population.

At the end of May 1944 a ghetto at Nagysurány was set up a good distance from the town's train station in the neighborhood of the synagogue and the Jewish school. The ghetto held some 1,115 Jews from Nagysurány, as well as Jewish residents of villages in the Érsekújvár District. Marta Mess-ingerova and her family were originally detained in the Kolta synagogue and from there sent to Nagysurány, where they stayed for three weeks. While living in the ghetto they were put to work on a nearby sugar beet field that belonged to the sugar refinery. At the same time, all of their belongings were taken away.[1]

The emptying of the Nagysurány ghetto took place on June 10, 1944, when the inmates were dispatched to the entrainment center, the Kurzweil brickyard (Érsekújvár District). From there they were deported to the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp on June 14, 1944.

There were a variety of persecution paths taken by the residents of the Nagysurány ghetto, who were interned for quite different amounts of time. Eva Gregusova was only held at the Nagysurány ghetto for one night—between being discovered hiding in Ungvar (Uzhhorod, Ukraine) and then being deported with the Jews of Komárom from the military camp at the Monostori Fortress

directly to Auschwitz.[2] Many perished there, although some were transferred from Auschwitz to other camps, notably Bergen-Belsen and Theresienstadt.

SOURCES Secondary source material about the Nagysurány ghetto in Hungary can be found in "Nagysurány," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 715–716.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Nagysurány Jews can be found at USHMMA. VHA holds 11 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Nagysurány ghetto. The testimonies featured here are Eva Gregusova, March 15, 1997 (#29177) and Marta Messingerova, May 7, 1997 (#31005). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Nagysurány ghetto; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA #31005, Marta Messingerova testimony, May 7, 1997.
2. VHA #29177, Eva Gregusova testimony, March 15, 1997.

NAGYSZŐLLŐS

Nagyszőllős (or Nagyszőlős, Ukrainian: Vynohradiv; Czech: Sevluš; Slovak: Vinohradov; Romanian: Seleuşu Mare) is located in the Transcarpathian region (today: Ukraine, Zakarpats'ka oblast' in Ugocsa County). Until the end of World War I, the town was part of Hungary, and the Jews of Nagyszőllős simply called the town Szelis. The region has historically been a multicultural cosmos, characterized by acceptance and absorbing tens of thousands of immigrants from the West and East, including Jews escaping pogroms. There were at least five different religions and religious denominations in Transcarpathia: Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Reformed (Presbyterian), Ukrainian Orthodox, and Jewish. Several languages were spoken: Rusyn, spoken by the majority Rusyn population, in addition to Hungarian, Yiddish, Russian, Slovak, Polish, Romanian, and German. The immigrants learned each other's languages and alphabets.

In 1920, the region became part of the newly formed state of Czechoslovakia. In 1939, Nagyszőllős once again became part of Hungary through the First Vienna Award. As such, Nagyszőllős's local Jewish community was subjected to anti-Jewish legislation. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the Jewish community of Nagyszőllős numbered 4,264 of the total population of 13,334, or roughly one-third of the town.

On March 19, 1944, the German Army occupied Hungary. Adolf Eichmann arrived in Budapest to take charge of the "Final Solution." Soon afterward, Jews in Hungary were ordered to wear the yellow star, and Jewish Councils were formed in each community.

The ghettoization of the Jews of the Transcarpathian region began on April 16, 1944, when the orders were given by a German officer, but implemented by Hungarian gendarmes. The ghetto in Nagyszőllős was created by cordoning off five streets around the synagogue, a neighborhood called the Magyar Sor. This ghetto

held the Jews in Ugocsa County and its smaller towns and villages, including Avaspatak, Fancsika, Feketepatak, Mátéfalva, Salánk, Szőllősvégardó, Tekeháza, Tiszaújlak, and Verbőc. The order to pack up and leave was given with little notice. Jewish families were allowed to bring only 30 kilograms (66 pounds) of personal belongings. The entire process usually took place in a very short time, all under the watchful eye of the gendarmes. Whether Jews were decorated veterans of World War I, deemed essential to the war effort, or had converted to Christianity, they were all, in the end, herded off to the ghetto. All the exemptions that had previously been accepted were to no avail.

By the time the Jews from the neighboring communities were gathered at the synagogue in Nagyszőllős, there were more than 12,000 Jews crammed into the ghetto. The houses were terribly overcrowded, with three to four families in each room. There were no beds or furniture, so people slept on the floor.

The local authorities provided only bread for those held captive in the ghetto. When Baron Zsigmond Perényi, the president of the Upper House of Parliament who owned a nearby estate, learned of the miserable conditions in the ghetto, his family sent cartloads of food.[1] Tibor Schroeder, in charge of the yeast concession in town, sent supplies of yeast and flour. Schroeder, a Christian, who was in love with Hedy Weisz, a Jewish woman, paid off the night guards so that he could spirit her out of the ghetto. After one night away from her family, however, Hedy Weisz decided she could not leave her family behind to their certain death and returned to the hardships of the ghetto.

The community attempted to create some sense of normality, especially for the children. The teachers in the ghetto organized classes. On Friday evenings, women and girls did the traditional lighting of candles. Dr. Leszmann cared for the sick and the injured; his home became the temporary hospital inside the ghetto. The SS ordered that a 24-member Jewish police force be established to maintain order.

The German and Hungarian search for personal valuables was ceaseless. In early May the Gestapo set up a torture chamber in the synagogue on Király Street. The Gestapo and the gendarmes rounded up the wealthiest members of the community, believing

that torture would make them reveal any secret trove of valuables they had buried. The gendarmes' brutality and greed are common themes in survivor testimony. Sara Adler testified that she was beaten "black and blue" by policemen immediately after her arrival at the site.[2] Esther Basch recalled gendarmes violently rifling through people's possessions, ripping and shredding bedding in the search of hidden valuables. According to her testimony, the gendarmes also delighted in humiliating their victims. Her father was traumatized when gendarmes cut off his beard, for example.[3]

Beginning on May 19, 1944, the Jews in the Nagyszőllős ghetto were deported to Auschwitz in three transports as part of Deportation Zone I. Sándor Weisz, who was 14 at the time, remembers that they were told they were going to a place with the pleasant name of Waldsee. The name, meaning "forest" and "sea," evoked an image of calm beauty.[4]

But the real destination was the killing center: Auschwitz II-Birkenau. On the first transport, 3,500 Jews were crammed into train cars; the final such load of human cargo departed on June 3. Seventy to eighty people were forced into each rail car and were given one bucket of water and one empty bucket for human waste. Sándor Weisz remembered that there was hardly any room to sit, let alone lie down, and there was no fresh air in the foul-smelling car. The trip took more than three days, due to long waits when the train stood for interminable hours on the tracks. Several elderly individuals in the car in which he was traveling died en route.

By the end of May and early June, some 86,000 Jews from Transcarpathia had been deported to the Auschwitz killing center. Sándor Weisz was among the few to return home. He and two sisters survived, but his father and younger sister Icuka were killed. When he returned to Nagyszőllős in July 1945, Weisz was given a card documenting that he was the 145th Jew to return to the town.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Nagyszőllős ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in

association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1099–1103; Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Csilla Fedinec and Mikola Vehesh, eds., *Kárpátalja: 1919–2009: Történelem, politika, kultura* (Budapest: Argumentum, 2010); Viktoria Bányai, Csilla Fedinec, and Szonja Ráhel Komoróczy, eds., *Zsidók Kárpátalján: Történelem és Örökség: A Dualizmus Korától Napjainkig* (Budapest: Aposztrof, 2013); and Susan M. Papp, *Outcasts: A Love Story* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009).

Primary sources documenting the Nagyszőllős ghetto include USHMMA, "Kehilot Salish," Acc. No. 2005.262; and USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 6 (box D 8/1), reel 7 (box D 5/1), reel 57 (box I 1/1), and reel 68 (box L 4/2). VHA has indexed 173 testimonies for the Nagyszőllős ghetto, including Sara Adler, February 15, 1995 (#1010); Judith Auerbacher, November 27, 1996 (#23414); Esther Basch, February 19, 1996 (#12236); Judith Berg, May 29, 1996 (#14238); and Kornelie Berger, September 8, 1995 (#4338). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several dozen Nagyszőlős natives, ghetto inmates, and forced laborers stationed there. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse and Susan M. Papp

NOTES

1. VHA #23414, Judith Auerbacher testimony, November 27, 1996.
2. VHA #1010, Sara Adler testimony, February 15, 1995.
3. VHA #12236, Esther Basch testimony, February 19, 1996.
4. Weisz testimony summarized in Papp, *Outcasts*, p. 148.

NAGYVÁRAD

The seat of Bihar County, Nagyvárad was in the central part of Greater Hungary, in the annexed territory of Northern Transylvania (today: Oradea, Romania). Situated along the banks of the Körös River (Romanian: Crişu Repede), it lies 132 kilometers (82 miles) northwest of Cluj-Napoca and 223 kilometers (139 miles) east-southeast of Budapest. Nagyvárad was part of Hungary until the end of World War I and then part of Greater Romania until 1940 (under the name Oradea or Oradea Mare); the city was reannexed to Hungary as a result of the Second Vienna Award in August 30, 1940. According to the 1941 Hungarian census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 21,333 Jews, representing 22.95 percent of the total population of 92,942, in Nagyvárad.

The Jewish community of Nagyvárad consisted of both Orthodox (including Hasidic) and Reform (Neolog) Jews, each group having its respective large synagogues and social and educational centers. The community suffered persecution under the Romanian regime in the interwar years, beginning with the attack by the Christian National Student Association (*Asociaţia Naţională a Studenţilor Creştini*, ANSC) on its synagogues and Jewish businesses in 1927. A number of anti-Jewish measures were introduced in the late 1930s that restricted employment for Jews and the practice of Jewish life; for example, the kosher butchering of animals was banned in 1938 and the official observance of the Jewish Sabbath in 1939. The regime of Miklós Horthy that controlled Nagyvárad from 1940 to 1944 not only maintained these restrictions but also added a few more, among them the banning of all Jewish newspapers, the abolition of Jewish athletic clubs and organizations, and the introduction of a *numerus clausus* at the secondary school level. Many institutions of higher learning introduced *numerus nullus* (none allowed) for Jewish students.

In the summer of 1941, 500 “alien” Jews (namely, Jews whose

Hungarian citizenship was questioned and revoked) were deported to Kamenets-Podolsk, in Reichskommissariat Ukraine (RKU), and handed over to the German authorities. The Nazi SS shot them all in August 1941. Miraculously a few Jews survived the shooting, among them Rabbi Rabinovits of Munkács, who returned to Nagyvárad and spoke about the murder of his fellow Jews. Beginning in 1942, Jewish men of military age were recruited for forced labor battalions. Five hundred Jews were conscripted into the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője,* KMOF), Company No. 110/66, based in Nagyvárad; they came from the city as well as its immediate surroundings.[1] This company and its subcompanies were gradually sent eastward for work, first to the territory controlled by Hungary and then (from 1943 onward) crossing into the area under RKU's control. After being moved to the Eastern Front to support the German and Hungarian armies, many labor servicemen died of hunger, exposure, and wounds; some were taken prisoner, along with regular soldiers, and held in Soviet camps as prisoners of war (POWs).[2]

Shortly after the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, pro-German Hungarian representatives marched into Nagyvárad and instituted a much stricter anti-Jewish regime. Many valuable Jewish properties and institutions (the Jewish hospital, for example) were immediately expropriated by the Gestapo SS-Hauptsturmführer Erich Wennholz, and only a few days later, the Hungarian Army officials joined in the seizure of Jewish property. The mandatory wearing of a yellow star was introduced on April 5, 1944. Secretly informed of the plan to deport Hungary's Jews, the local Hungarian authorities set up two fenced-in ghettos in Nagyvárad, beginning on May 3, 1944. This was a day after the arrival in the city of a large Hungarian gendarmerie unit brought from the Trans-Danubian region. That unit was notorious for its cruel treatment of civilians.

The larger of the two ghettos encompassed a number of streets in the city's Jewish quarter near to and including the Great (Orthodox) Synagogue. The first to be ghettoized were the city's Jews, nearly 27,000 people in total. The second and smaller ghetto was near the Mezey Lumberyard. An additional 8,000 Jews from Bihar County's towns and rural communities were brought to this

second ghetto. These people came from the towns of Nogyszalonta (Romanian: Salonta), Margitta (Romanian: Marghita), Szalárd (Romanian: Sălard), Érmihályfalva (Romanian: Valea lui Mihai), and many other villages in between and around these towns (including Bihardiószeg, Székelyhíd, and Élesd). Police Councilor Imre Németh commanded the larger ghetto, whereas Police Captain István Kovács-Nagy commanded the second ghetto.

A Jewish member of the Hungarian labor service poses on a street in Nagyvárad with his two sisters, c. 1940–1945. USHMM WS #14259, COURTESY OF IRENE BRYKS.

Life inside the ghetto in the Jewish quarter was characterized by overcrowding and insanitary living conditions. Jews were allowed to take into the ghetto only what they could carry, which mostly consisted of food, clothes, and valuables. A black market supplied additional food items. Although a curfew was introduced in the ghetto at nighttime, people were free to move about within the ghetto limits during the day. Sneaking in and out of the ghetto was very risky, because the gendarmes and the police guarding the ghettos were instructed to shoot anyone caught trying to escape.[3] A Jewish Council was formed to coordinate the organization of the ghettoized community, and various social institutions were created, including a ghetto hospital that was set up in the Orthodox synagogue.[4] A Jewish police force maintained order in the ghetto.[5] The task of "unearthing" Jewish wealth was assigned to a group of gendarmes who established a torture facility in the Dreher-Haggenmacher brewery adjacent to the ghetto. Survivors vividly remember hearing unbearable screaming covered by music played and amplified through a megaphone.[6] The news about the beginning of deportations (which were described by the authorities as "relocation" for labor or to protect against aerial bombing) led to panic among some of the ghetto residents; a few committed suicide by drinking concentrated nicotine extracted from tobacco.[7]

The deportations began on May 22 (or 23) and continued regularly until June 27. A handful obtained permission to remain in Nagyvárad, and another small number of Jews faked symptoms of typhus fever and were quarantined in the ghetto; a few other small groups were able to escape from the ghetto and crossed illegally into Romania (among them the Hayyim Meir Hager, the Vizhnitzer rabbi), thanks to the efforts of charitable non-Jews who aided them.

Embarkation took place in the industrial train station, located in the Rhédey Garden, as opposed to the city's main train station. The Jews were loaded onto freight cars, up to 90 people in a car, receiving only a bucket of water per car. After days of travel through Hungary, trains exited the country at Kassa (today: Košice, Slovakia), heading to the Auschwitz concentration camp, where a large proportion of the deportees perished.

Nagyvárad's ghettos were dismantled in July 1944. The city was captured by the Red Army and its allied Romanian Army on

October 12, 1944. A fraction of the deported Jews survived the war, and about 3,000 returned to Nagyvárad after 1945. Beginning in 1946, the People's Tribunal in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) tried many of the city's civilian and military officials responsible for the cruel abuses committed against the city's Jews before and during their ghettoization and deportation.

SOURCES Secondary source material about the fate of Nagyvárad's Jews during the Holocaust in Hungary can be found in the following publications: "Oradea Mare," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2:940–943; "Nagyvárad," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 233–245; Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983); Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Zoltán Vági, László Czősz, and Gábor Kádár, eds., *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press in association with USHMM, 2013); Moshe Carmilly-Weinberg, *Istoria Evreilor din Transilvania, 1623–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1944); and Tim Cole, *Traces of the Holocaust: Journeying in and out of the Ghettos* (London: Continuum, 2011).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Nagyvárad's Jews are available at USHMMA, records SRI (RG-25.004M); Randolph Braham Collection (RG-52.003M); Records of the WJC-R (RG-25.051M and RG-68.028M), Selected Records of the Hungarian Ministry of Internal Affairs (RG-39.010M), Records of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Political Department (MOL K63) (RG-39.012M); Records related to the Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956 (RG-39.013M); and ANR-Bi (RG-25.042M). Under RG-50, USHMMA also holds a number of

oral history interviews with witnesses to the Nagyvárad ghetto. VHA holds 609 testimonies (in 15 languages) from Jewish survivors and rescuers of Jews from the Nagyvárad ghetto. The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Nagyvárad ghettos. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. The following publications contain personal recollections about the Jewish community of Nagyvárad and of neighboring communities: Téreza Mózes, *Evreii din Oradea* (Bucharest: Hasefer, 1997) and by the same author, *Decalog Însângerat* (Bucharest: Editura Ara, 1995); Téreza Mózes, *Staying Human throughout the Holocaust* (Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press); and Eva Heyman, *The Diary of Éva Heyman*, edited by Ágnes Zsolt and translated by Moshe M. Kohn (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1974).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See photos of Jews in KMOF in Nagyvárad, USHMMPA, WS #14259 and WS #66089.
2. VHA #50189, Ioan Fazekas testimony, August 20, 1990; VHA #49959, Ladislau Blum testimony, June 4, 1999.
3. USHMMA, RG-50.106*0011, Anna Vollner, oral history interview, December 18, 1994.
4. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0070, Barbara Marton Farkas, oral history interview, April 27, 1990.
5. VHA #49772, Vasile Dan testimony, April 18, 1999.
6. VHA #49497, Gheorghe Ene testimony, February 21, 1999.
7. USHMMA, RG-50.583*0196, Hedvig Hunter, oral history interview, April 24, 1990.

NYÍREGYHÁZA AND VARJÚLAPOS

The capital of Szabolcs County, Nyíregyháza, is located in the eastern part of Hungary, just over 207 kilometers (more than 129 miles) northeast of Budapest. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the city had a Jewish population of 4,993, representing 8.4 percent of the total of 59,156.

Following the adoption of a series of anti-Jewish measures starting in 1938, the Jews in Nyíregyháza were deprived of many of their economic and civic rights. Those unable to prove their Hungarian citizenship to the satisfaction of the authorities were rounded up in the summer of 1941 and deported to Kamenets-Podolsk, in German-occupied Ukraine, where most were murdered in August. Jewish males of military age were recruited into special labor service units, many of which were deployed along the frontlines in the Soviet Union.

The status of the Jews changed drastically after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944. According to reports prepared by the Jewish leadership in April 1944, the Nyíregyháza Jewish community at the time consisted of 2,125 Jews who belonged to the Orthodox congregation led by President Sándor Németi and Rabbis Shulem Wider and Náthán Wider. The Status Quo Ante congregation had 2,628 members; it was led by President Gábor Fischbein and Rabbis Béla Bern stein, Aladár Wax, and Károly Jólesz.

The Jews were compelled to wear the yellow star on April 5. Between April 23 and 29, they were placed in a ghetto located in the Jewish section of the city. The anti-Jewish drive was led by Pál Nyíregyházy, the rabidly antisemitic mayor of the city. He was assisted by SS-Hauptsturmführer Siegfried Seidl, Gendarmerie Alezredes István Nagy, and Dr. Vastagh. The Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) was established on April 15; it was headed by Fischbein and included Ignác Böhm, Zsigmond Freund, Ernő Landau, Ernő Láng, Kálmám Rosenwasser, Béla Ungár, Samu

Weinstock, and Mór Weisz as members. Supreme police command over the ghetto was exercised by Zoltán Horváth. Internal order within the ghetto was maintained by a 92-member Jewish police led by Béla Faragó.

In addition to the ghetto for its local Jews, a second ghetto was set up in Nyíregyháza for Jews brought in from the many smaller neighboring communities, including Apagy, Báj, Balkány, Balsa, Büdszentmihály, Buj, Csobaj, Demecser, Gelse, Ibrány, Kék, Kiskálló, Nyiracsád, Nyirbátor, Nyirbogát, Polgar, Prügy, Rakamaz, Tét, Tiszaeszlár, Tiszaladány, Újfehértó, and Vencsellö. By May 10, the ghetto population of the city had swelled to 17,500, of whom close to 5,000 were from the city itself. Starting on May 5, in preparation for their deportation, the Jews were transferred to three nearby deserted areas (*puszta*): Sima, Nyirjes, and Harangod. Most of the Jews from Nyíregyháza proper were sent to Harangod. In the deserted areas, as well as in the two ghettos in Nyíregyháza, many of the wealthier Jews were subjected to physical torture by a special squad led by József Trencsényi that was searching for hidden valuables. Some of the Jews, including Sándor Németi and Béla Bern stein died as a result of this torture.

A temporary ghetto operated at the Dessewffy Estate, a former tobacco plant in Varjúlapos, only 16 kilometers (10 miles) northwest of Nyíregyháza. The site opened on April 16, 1944, as the first Jewish detention center in the area and well ahead of the Interior Ministry's Ghettoization Decree 1610/1944. It was guarded by SS and Hungarian gendarmes. According to survivor testimony, some 200 people were crammed into a barn intended for drying tobacco leaves.[1] By April 20, 1944, the detainees at Varjúlapos were left without food and even basic provisions. Beginning in late April and May 1944, most were deported from Dessewffy Estate to the Nyíregyháza ghetto, although some were deported directly to Auschwitz. The ghetto at Varjúlapos closed in late May 1944.

As part of Deportation Zone I, Gendarmerie Járás VIII, the deportations from Szabolcs County began on May 17, with the entrainment at Nyíregyháza of the first transport from Nyirjes. This was followed by a transport from Harangod on May 23, and a third from Sima on May 25. The fourth and fifth transports were

from Nyirjes on May 26 and June 4. Some of the Jews left from the railway station in neighboring Nagy-kálló. About two weeks after the deportations, approximately 160 exempted Jews, including those who had converted decades earlier, were also rounded up and taken to an unknown destination; none of them returned.

The survivors reestablished communal life under the leadership of József Kádár. In 1946, the community consisted of 1,210 Jews, including those who moved into the city from the neighboring smaller communities.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Nyíregyháza are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols. 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geograph i cal Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 890–895; Aladár Király, *A nyíregyházi gettó története* (Nyíregyháza: self-published, 1946); Sándor Gervai, *Nyíregyháza zsidósága élete* (Jerusalem, 1963); and Tim Cole, *Traces of the Holocaust: Journeying in and out of the Ghettos* (London: Continuum, 2011).

Primary sources on the ghetto at Nyíregyháza can be found in SZSZBML and MOL. Several relevant MOL collections are available at USHMMA, including MOL Z 53 (RG-39.020M), MOL K 150 (RG-39.008M), MOL Z 91–93 (RG-39.026M), and MOL Z 936 (RG-39.005M). Two published testimonies are Rivke Lea Bleier-Leitner, *15 éves voltam: A Nácik poklában* (B'nei B'rak: Lipe Friedman, 1990); and Ebi Gabor, *The Blood Tattoo* (Dallas, TX: Monument Press, 1987). VHA has 150 oral testimonies indexed for Nyíregyháza and Varjú lapos. See among others the testimonies of Eva Adams, June 19, 1995 (#3359); Clara Adler, April 25, 1997 (#28439); and Gisella Barabas, November 27, 1996 (#23649). See the VHA testimony of Gabor Altmann, March 10, 1997 (#26994), who was detained at Varjúlapos. The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about detainees of the

Nyíregyháza and Varjú lapos ghettos that document different paths of persecution. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Randolph L. Braham

NOTE

1. VHA #26994, Gabor Altmann testimony, March 10, 1997.

PAKS

Paks (Tolna County), a ghetto and entrainment center for the Jews of the town and the surrounding villages in central Hungary, was located nearly 98 kilometers (approximately 61 miles) due south of Budapest and more than 124 kilometers (over 77 miles) due east of Keszthely. According to the 1941 Hungarian census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 730 Jews in Paks.

The Germans arrived in March 1944 and institutionalized the persecution of the Jews and the expropriation of their property. A closed ghetto was set up at the start of May and initially included 756 Jews from Paks and 125 from various villages in Tolna County (excluding Nagydorog), making a total of 881. The Jews of Fadd were transferred to Paks on May 22, as were a number of Jews from the county seat of Szekszárd on June 9. Just before the liquidation of the ghetto, it held a total of 1,082 Jews, including an unknown number from Tolna County.

The ghetto was set up in existing houses. The conditions were bearable: there was food to eat, and the children were able to play games, such as chess. The parents had to work in the fields. The Jews in the ghetto were searched for gold and some were tortured. Before being deported by train they were transferred to a local school.[1]

The entrainment of the ghetto's Jews took place on July 7, 1944, as part of Deportation Zone V. All of the Jews in the Paks ghetto were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. From Auschwitz some were dispatched to other camps. For example, Paks inmate Nathan Kramer was transferred from Auschwitz to Buchenwald/Magdeburg-Rothensee and was liberated at Theresienstadt.[2]

SOURCES Secondary source material about the Paks ghetto can be found in "Paks," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geograph i cal Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by

Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1058–1060; and "Paks," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 964.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Paks Jews can be found at USHMMA, RG-39.013M, Records relating to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956, including box D 8/3, an undated list of deportees. VHA holds nine testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Paks ghetto. The testimony featured here is Elizabeth Haas, March 27, 1995 (#1591). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Paks ghetto; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA #1591, Elizabeth Haas testimony, March 27, 1995.
2. See ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Nathan Kramer, Doc. No. 53874941.

PÁPA

Pápa (Veszprém County), a ghetto and entrainment center in northwestern Hungary, was located 123 kilometers (over 76 miles) west of Budapest and 65 kilometers (more than 40 miles) northeast of Keszthely. According to the 1941 Hungarian census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 2,613 Jews living in Pápa. By this time Pápa was already a mobilization point for the forced labor of Jews.

The German authorities arrived in the town in March 1944 and institutionalized the persecution of the Jews and the expropriation of their property. By June 1, 1944, the Jews of Pápa were confined under the threat of force to a ghetto, along with another 2,800 Jews from neighboring villages. The stay for most ghetto inhabitants lasted one month. The ghetto was guarded by Hungarian gendarmes and the local police. Survivor Teresa Birnbaum recalled that the chief of police was a nice person and that he claimed he would quit as soon as he could no longer stand what was going on. Some professionals were allowed to complete their daily work outside the ghetto, such as the baker who was escorted daily to his bakery in town.[1] Before the ghetto inhabitants were deported, midwives searched the bodily cavities of interned women for hidden jewelry.[2]

Members of a Jewish labor battalion unit in Pápa. USHMM WS #97500, COURTESY OF THE CENTRE DE DOCUMENTATION JUIVE CONTEMPORAINE.

The ghetto was liquidated between June 30 and July 4, 1944, as part of Deportation Zone V. A train transported 2,565 Jews from the Pápa ghetto to Auschwitz II-Birkenau along the Budapest–Hatvan–Kassa (Kosiče) route. Auschwitz was not the final destination for all the Jews: some from the Pápa ghetto were sent from there to Dachau, Dachau/Mühldorf, and one of the Stutthof/Thorn subcamps, among other detention sites.[3]

SOURCES Secondary source material about the Pápa ghetto can be found in "Pápa," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geograph i cal Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1220–1224; and "Pápa," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 967.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Pápa Jews can be found at USHMMA, RG-39.013M, Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956, including box E 7/2 (Documents of the Pápa Jewish Community). VHA holds 18 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Pápa ghetto. The

testimonies featured here are Teresa Birnbaum, January 2, 1996 (#10634), and Erzsébet Groszmann, April 17, 2000 (#50910). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Pápa ghetto; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA #10634, Teresa Birnbaum testimony, January 2, 1996.
2. VHA #50910, Erzsébet Groszmann testimony, April 17, 2000.
3. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Emil Grosz, Doc. No. 50993673; and Trude Gertrude Friedmann, Doc. No. 53044953.

PÉCS

Pécs is located approximately 173 kilometers (104 miles) southwest of Budapest. In 1941, it was the largest city in Baranya County with a population of 72,625, including 3,486 Jews and 534 Christians of Jewish descent. It was the seat of Pécs District, which had a total population of 40,794, including an additional 64 Jews. Pécs was the site of a major ghetto and entrainment center that operated in conjunction with the ghettos at Mohács between May and June 1944.

After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, the German authorities established their headquarters in a Jewish retirement home in Pécs. The Hungarian authorities also participated in anti-Jewish campaigns, including the arrest of wealthy local Jews who were detained at the police headquarters in Pécs and subsequently deported to Mauthausen in Austria. Beginning on April 26, 1944, Hungarian authorities began a large-scale "cleansing campaign" targeting Jews living near Hungary's southern border. First they temporarily detained many of the Jews of southern Baranya County at the Unió Mill in Barcs. Next, Hungarian authorities opened two large ghettos for the detention of several thousand remaining Jews in the county. The ghetto at Pécs housed Jews from the city and from the villages of the surrounding district. Jews from the town of Mohács and from the districts of Mohács, Hegyhát, Pécsvárad, and Szentlőrinc were detained in two ghettos in Mohács.

Officials in Pécs designated an area between Báró Bánffy, Dezső, Kassa, Ispitaalja, and Vas Gereben Streets for the ghetto. According to survivor Emmy Collin, the area was located in the blue-collar district of Pécs. It included at least 50 detached houses and 90 apartments owned by the Hungarian State Railway. On May 9, 1944, Police Chief Borbola issued the official ghettoization order, giving local Jews three days to comply. After several deadline extensions, the ghetto was closed on May 20, 1944, with Jewish men of the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü*

Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője, KMOF), Company No. 104/301, building a fence around the site. According to Emmy Collin, the ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire, but traffic of people and goods continued across the fence. Locals brought food and other goods to alleviate the plight of the inmates who suffered from overcrowding and hunger. Collin was among a group of inmates selected for forced labor on the farms surrounding Pécs. She welcomed the opportunity to leave the ghetto during the days and earn an extra meal.[1] Survivor Jeanne Fabian, who also worked on one of the farms, recalled her nerve-wracking efforts to smuggle vegetables into the ghetto.[2]

A group of Hungarian Jews, some wearing the yellow star, pose on the steps of a building in Pécs, 1944. USHMM WS #41288, COURTESY OF SUZAN DEVAI DOCZI (ZSUZSA DEUTSCH).

In late June 1944, Hungarian authorities began preparing for the deportation of Jews from the area. The Lakits military barracks at Pécs were designated a concentration and entrainment center for the operation. The liquidation of the Mohács ghettos proceeded between June 28 and June 29, 1944. Captain Ferenc Declava led a

special detachment of gendarmes to transfer the Jews from Mohács to Pécs. Between June 29 and 30, 1944, the Jews of Pécs ghetto were also transferred to the Lakits military barracks. Finally, Jews from the ghetto at Bonyhád arrived there between July 1 and 2, 1944.

Thousands of people were crowded in the barracks and horse stables under unbearable conditions. Officials from different authorities, health care workers, and police collaborated in a final search for valuables. Gendarmes abused and tortured Jews to force them to divulge locations of hidden possessions. For example, Emmy Collin's uncle suffered brutal beatings to the soles of his feet.[3] Women endured particularly humiliating body searches for hidden valuables. Survivor Vera Brent testified that a female nurse or midwife conducted her "examination," which left her bleeding and traumatized. She recalled her mother hysterically crying after the ordeal. The following day, the family boarded cattle cars.[4] Shortly before the departure of the transports, the gendarmes also brought Jewish patients from hospitals to the train station. The first train was filled almost entirely with Jews from Pécs and left the station on July 4, 1944. A second train departed Pécs for Auschwitz on July 6, 1944. Both trains briefly stopped at Kassa, where the German authorities took over. According to estimates, altogether nearly 5,000 Jews were deported from Pécs.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Pécs ghetto and entrainment center include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 84–89.

For important primary documentation see the following collections: USHMMA, RG-68.064M and RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 7 (box D 5/1) and reel 28 (box D 5/6). USHMMPA contains relevant images, including images of several of the George Mandel-Mantello El Salvadoran certificates issued

to Jews who were registered at Pécs; see among others: WS #88187, #88816, and #91633. Forty VHA testimonies are indexed for the "Pécs ghetto," including Livia Frim, September 18, 1996 (#19935); Vera Brent, March 23, 2001 (#51535); Emmy Collin, March 20, 1998 (#39700); and Jeanne Fabian, April 12, 1995 (#19540). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Pécs natives and ghetto inmates. They are available in digital format at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #39700, Emmy Collin testimony, March 20, 1998.
2. VHA #19540, Jeanne Fabian testimony, April 12, 1995.
3. VHA #39700.
4. VHA #51535, Vera Brent testimony, March 23, 2001.

PESTSZENTERZSÉBET

Pestszenterzsébet was a city 5.4 kilometers (3.4 miles) southeast of Budapest (today: Budapest District XX). From 1900 to 1950, the Jewish community was under the leadership of Rabbi B. Krishaber. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the city had a Jewish population of 3,978, representing 5.2 percent of the city's total population. In addition there were 650 (0.8%) converts or Christians who were identified as Jews under the racial laws then in effect. A Jewish elementary school operated in the city between 1922 and 1944.

After the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, approximately 4,600 Jews in the city were subjected to increasingly harsh anti-Jewish measures, issued by the officials of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, including Prefect László Mérey and Deputy Prefect József Sági. The Jews were ordered into a ghetto under a decree issued on May 12 over the signature of András Géczy, the county's chief notary.[1] The local ghetto consisted of several noncontiguous buildings guarded by Hungarian police and was part of Deportation Zone VI, Gendarmerie District I. On July 1, the Jews were transferred to the Monor concentration and entrainment center, from which they were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau between July 6 and July 8, 1944. The deportation of the Jews of Pestszenterzsébet took place two days after Miklós Horthy, Hungary's head of state, had ordered the halting of the deportations.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Pestszenterzsébet are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013),

2: 788–789.

Primary sources on the Pestszenterzsébet can be found in MOL and MZSL (DEGOB collection). VHA holds 12 testimonies by survivors of the Pestszenterzsébet ghetto.

Randolph L. Braham

NOTE

1. 27409/1944.Kig.

RICSE

The village of Ricse was located in the Bodrogköz District of Zemplén County near the Hungary-Czechoslovakia border. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, Ricse had a native population of 3,441. It included a small Jewish community, the target of repeated antisemitic campaigns and attacks, including a series of vicious assaults and robberies in 1939. After the German annexation of Austria, the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, and the invasion of Poland, Hungary became the destination of thousands of refugees escaping from Nazi persecution. Aliens entering Hungary had to register with the National Central Alien Control Office (*Külföldieket Ellenőrző Országos Központi Hatóság*, KEOKH), and many of them were interned in camps established by the Hungarian Interior Ministry.

The camp at Ricse became Zemplén County's largest internment camp. Prisoners included Hungarian, Polish, Slovak, Austrian, and other refugees rounded up by the Hungarian authorities. Political prisoners and Jews who were unable to prove their Hungarian citizenship were also interned there. The inmates included men, women, and children. The Welfare Bureau of Hungarian Jews (*Magyar Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája*, MIPI), the Benevolent Society of Hungarian Jews, and the Protestants of Jewish Origin of the Good Shepherd Committee (*Jó Pásztor Bizottság*) provided food and other aid to the inmates. In the summer of 1941, most of the internees were transferred from Ricse to Kőrösmező and then to Kamenets-Podolsk in German-occupied Ukraine, where they were murdered at the end of August 1941.

Fred Baron, a Jewish refugee from Austria, arrived at the Ricse camp in mid-1941. He remained until the end of 1943, when he was transferred to Garany. According to his description, the site consisted of military barracks containing sleeping quarters with cots and blankets. The camp was fenced in and guarded by armed Hungarians, possibly soldiers. However, inmates frequently

managed to escape, and others moved around town freely. They were sometimes made to work for local businesses or farmers, but day-to-day life was also marked by idleness and boredom.[1] Olga Bleier, a survivor, was also interned at Ricse in August 1941. She was able to secure a position working for a local pharmacist, which allowed her to earn extra food to supplement the camp's sparse rations. According to her postwar testimony, Bleier and her mother were released from Ricse at the end of 1941.[2] This is corroborated by the testimony of survivor Anton Davidovics. He also spent six months at Ricse before being released in late 1941.[3] According to survivor Oscar Kirshner, Risce was emptied of young people at that time to make room for families and new groups of refugees.[4]

Ricse's native Jewish community was nearly decimated over the course of the war. Sixteen of the younger men are known to have been drafted into the Hungarian labor service. The rest were rounded up on April 16, 1944, and moved to the Sátoraljaújhely ghetto, the transfer point for some 15,000 Jews of Zemplén County. From there, they were deported to Auschwitz on transports leaving on May 16, May 22, and May 25, 1944.

SOURCES The history of the Ricse internment camp is detailed in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1297–1298; and Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994).

Important primary sources can be found in the following collections: MOL (Z 936), available in microform at USHMMA as Records of the 8th Gendarmerie District, Kassa, Hungary, 1944–1945 (RG-39.005M, reel 5); and the Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities, 1944–1956 (RG-39.013M, reel 58, box I 1/3, and reel 69, box A 5/1) at USHMMA. VHA has 27 testimonies indexed for the Ricse internment camp, including Fred Baron, February 18, 1996 (#12162); Olga Bleier, May 5, 1995 (#2472); Magda Bloom, August 4, 1998 (#44439); Anton

Davidovics, March 20, 1996 (#13337); Samuel Falk, August 27, 1996 (#19022); and Oscar Kirshner, August 17, 1995 (#5574). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about more than 100 Ricse camp inmates and village residents.

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NOTES

1. VHA #12162, Fred Baron testimony, February 18, 1996.
2. VHA #2472, Olga Bleier testimony, May 5, 1995.
3. VHA #13337, Anton Davidovics testimony, March 20, 1996.
4. VHA #5574, Oscar Kirshner testimony, August 17, 1995.

SÁRVÁR

Sárvár (Vas County) is located in western Hungary, some 26 kilometers (16 miles) east of Szombathely and 163 kilometers (101 miles) west of Budapest. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the town had a population of 11,678, including 780 Jews. Between 1941 and 1944, Sárvár was the site of a major internment camp and assembly center. Sárvár also contained a large ghetto in 1944. By one estimate, some 10,000 victims were deported from Sárvár to Auschwitz in the spring and summer of 1944.

The Sárvár internment camp housed prisoners of war (POWs), political prisoners, and other "undesirables." They were detained in buildings belonging to the Sárvár synthetic silk plant and possibly other industrial structures. Many of the able-bodied inmates were conscripted into the labor service. Beginning in May 1944, Police Inspector György Gribovszky also used the site as an auxiliary detention camp. In addition to political prisoners, "delinquent" Jews were detained there. Their offenses ranged from hoarding to loafing to failure to wear the yellow star. Men, women, and even children were among the inmates.[1] Children were particularly adversely affected by the very difficult conditions at the camp. Outside organizations such as the Serbian Orthodox Church tried to alleviate their suffering by providing extra rations. Survivor Bogdan Krajnović, who was eight years old when he arrived in Sárvár in the winter of 1941, recalled later that many of the Serbian children interned with him died of cold and hunger before the church managed to negotiate their release.[2]

The inmate population was in constant flux and ranged from about 800 to 2,500.

Prisoners of this internment camp were deported on two separate transports leaving Sárvár on May 19 and June 26, 1944. After Regent Miklós Horthy's suspension of deportations on July 7, 1944, German authorities abducted Sárvár prisoners in a clandestine operation similar to the one that took place at Kistarcsa

on July 19, 1944. Two transports with some 3,000 abducted prisoners left Sárvár on July 24 and August 4, 1944.

The Sárvár internment camp continued operating in a reduced capacity after the deportations. Some 100 prisoners, Jews and political detainees, were registered before their transfer to Parád on October 7, 1944. By early March 1945, 509 Dobrovolyatz refugees were still interned at the silk plant alongside 123 Jews from Zala County. At the end of the month, with Soviet forces approaching Sárvár, the Jewish inmates were driven on a forced march toward Austria.

Inmates in the camp at Sárvár, 1941–1944. USHMM WS #85793, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

On May 9, 1944, the chief sheriff of Sárvár ordered the ghettoization of Jews in the area in accordance with Interior Ministry Decree 1610/1944. The initial process was completed by May 12, when at least 650 Jews from Sárvár and the surrounding district were forced to move into the Sárvár ghetto. The site spanned the synagogue, the rabbi's residence, and other Jewish residences and community buildings. The ghetto was subsequently expanded to include the workers' quarters of the local sugar factory. The site was fenced in and guarded by Hungarian police, although inmates had to provide the necessary materials and build the fence themselves. There was a gate near the sugar plant at Rákoczi Street and another at Deák Ferenc Street. The ghetto

contained a maternity ward, an infirmary, and a quarantine room. Guards enforced a 7 P.M. curfew. Initially, the inmates were allowed to leave the ghetto during certain daytime hours, but after June 10, 1944, they needed special permits to leave. Survivor Joseph Kovesi later recalled that inmates suffered from hunger and exhaustion as they were made to work very hard in ghetto maintenance. They also routinely endured physical beatings and verbal abuse by the guards.[3] On June 12, 1944, many of the able-bodied men were formally conscripted for labor service.

The Sárvár ghetto was liquidated on June 29, 1944. In preparation for the deportation proceedings, Hungarian authorities transferred hundreds of additional Jews into the area in accordance with a plan developed by Gendarmerie Alezredes László Ferenczy. According to Ferenczy's estimates, some 5,621 Jews were registered at Sárvár by the beginning of the deportations. On June 1944, they were subjected to thorough body searches. Survivor Ben Halpert later recalled how, during this search, he lost his most treasured possession, a watch that had been a Bar Mitzvah gift from his parents. Joseph Kovesi also recalled that inmates were robbed of all their money and even clothing at this point.[4] The following day they had to surrender their identity papers.[5] The Jews of the Sárvár ghetto were deported to Auschwitz on July 4 and July 6, 1944. Subsequently, Hungarian authorities found a number of Jewish infants and children hidden in the ghetto, whom they turned over to the Germans. After the end of the war 120 survivors returned to Sárvár.[6]

SOURCES The history of the Sárvár internment camp and ghetto is extensively covered in the following publications: Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, 3 vols. (Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1192–1197; Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and especially Zvonimir Golubović, *Šarvarska golgota: Proterivanje I logorisanje Srba Bačke I Baranje, 1941–1945* (Novy Sad: Matica srpska, 1995).

Important primary documentation is available in the following locations: VAML, IV: 1/k; IV: 405/3, 2272/2/1944; VI: 2, b, 1162/1944; VI: 3, 2. D.; and XXIV: 101, 144/1945. The CNI of the ITS contains more than 1,300 inquiries about the fate of inmates of the Sárvár internment camp and ghetto, as well as Sárvár residents. VHA contains 20 testimonies indexed for the Sárvár internment camp, including Judith Ein-horn, May 26, 1996 (#14548), and Shulamit Lack, May 15, 1997 (#28885). VHA also holds 22 testimonies indexed for the Sárvár ghetto, including Alice Craig, August 20, 1998 (#44258); Ben Halpert, May 4, 1996 (#40823); Joseph Kovesi, September 29, 1996 (#20277); Steve Laufer, January 10, 1995 (#00535); and Magda Linden, July 13, 1997 (#32985). Additional testimonies are available at USHMMA, including time-coded interview notes for some: Bogdan Krajnović, July 28, 2006, (RG-50.585*0003); Elizabeth Lubell, March 2, 1992, RG-50.233*0077; oral history interview with Mira Aršinov, July 28, 2006, (RG-50.585*0001); and Magda Malik, July 3, 1990 (RG-50.583*0094). See also Records relating to Hungarian Jewish communities, 1944–1956 (RG-39.013), reel 6, box D8/1.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Vojin Vukobratović (Doc. No. 50761890), who was seven years old when he was admitted to the camp in May 1941.
2. RG-50.585*0003, USHMMA, Bogdan Krajnović, oral history interview, July 28, 2006.
3. VHA #20277, Joseph Kovesi testimony, September 29, 1996.
4. Ibid.
5. VHA #40823, Ben Halpert testimony, May 4, 1996.
6. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 2: 1196.

SÁTORALJAÚJHELY

The capital of Zemplén County, Sátoraljaújhely is located in northeastern Hungary, almost 217 kilometers (approximately 135 miles) northeast of Budapest. During the interwar period the city was led by Mayor Reichard Salamon, a Jewish lawyer. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust, Sátoraljaújhely had a Jewish population of 4,160, representing 22.57 percent of the city's 18,427 inhabitants.

During the late 1930s, a relatively large number of Jewish refugees from Poland and Slovakia found refuge in Sátoraljaújhely, strengthening the small Sephardic congregation. Approximately 90 of these refugees were rounded up in the summer of 1941 and deported to near Kamenets-Podolsk, in German-occupied Ukraine, where they were murdered in August. A similar fate awaited the other Jews following the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944. The Jews of Sátoraljaújhely were isolated into ghettos. The anti-Jewish drive in the city was led by Mayor Indár Váró and his deputy, Pál Szentandrássy.

The ghetto was established in the slums of the Roma ("Gypsy") quarter. It held not only the local Jews but also those brought in from the neighboring communities, including Bekecs, Bodrogkeresztúr, Cigánd, Erdöbénye, Gesztely, Mád, Olaszliszka, Sárospatak, Tállya, Tarcal, Tiszalúc, Tokaj, and Tolcsva. The Jews of these localities were rounded up by gendarmes and other law enforcement authorities under the leadership of Miklós Bornemissza, the deputy prefect of Zemplén County. At its peak, the ghetto, which was surrounded by boards and barbed wire, was inhabited by approximately 15,000 Jews. They were nominally under the leadership of the Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) headed by Lajos Rosenberg, with Sándor Glück, Sámuel Eisenberger, Henrik Szmuck, and Mór Szofer serving as members. Before entrainment, the Jews were taken to the main synagogue of the Status Quo Ante congregation and robbed of their last valuables.

The deportation began on May 16; the next three transports left on May 22, May 25, and June 3.

The survivors reestablished the community, organizing a number of religious, social, and educational institutions—all lasting only a relatively short period of time due to anti-Jewish incidents in the late 1940s.

Indár Váró was sentenced to death in connection with the persecution of Jews in Sátoraljaújhely.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Sátoraljaújhely are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geograph i cal Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1299–1301; and Meir Sas, ed., *Vanished Communities in Hungary: The History and Tragic Fate of Jews in Újhely and Zemplén County* (Willowdale, Ontario: Memorial Book Committee, 1986).

Primary sources on the Sátoraljaújhely ghetto can be found in MOL. USHMMA holds several accounts and testimonies related to the Sátoraljaújhely ghetto: Magda Haluska, "A memoir relating to experiences in Sátoraljaújhely and Auschwitz" (Acc. No. 1995.A.789); Miklosne Sipos, oral history interview, Acc. January 2001 (RG-50.536*0001); and Zipora Vardy, oral history interview, February 11, 1992 (RG-50.120*0161). VHA holds 198 interviews by survivors of the Sátoraljaújhely ghetto. Two published testimonies are Lily Glück Lerner, *The Silence* (Secaucus, NJ: Lyle Stuart, 1980); and Theodore Fendrich, *So Goes* (self-published, 1997).

Randolph L. Braham

SEPSISZENTGYÖRGY

Sepsiszentgyörgy (or Szentgyörgy; Romanian: Sfântu Gheorghe) was a transit center and ghetto and the capital of Covasna County, in the eastern part of Hungary in the annexed territory of Northern Transylvania. The city is more than 195 kilometers (121 miles) southeast of Cluj-Napoca (Hungarian: Kolozsvár). According to the 1941 Hungarian census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 400 Jews living in Sepsiszentgyörgy or just under 3 percent of the population.

The roundup of the Sepsiszentgyörgy Jews began on May 3, 1944.[1] The ghetto, located in an abandoned school, held the local Jewish community as well as the Jews from the nearby districts of Ciuc, Trei Scaune, and Odorhei. In the ghetto the 700 to 900 Jews were treated inhumanely: they lacked food and were forced to live in poor accommodations. They were also subjected to harsh discipline from members of the gendarmerie, who conducted excessively intrusive searches of women's bodies, including cavity searches, for hidden valuables.[2]

The Jews interned at Sepsiszentgyörgy were transferred on May 10 to the Szászrégen ghetto. Fifteen-year-old Hainalca Cristea of Zăbala believed that the local population of Sepsiszentgyörgy was sympathetic to the Jews when they were initially imprisoned. She saw people crying as the authorities took her and her community's Jews to the train station. The children never knew where they were going at any step of the journey and were ultimately lied to by their parents, who had reason to believe that the final destination was Auschwitz.[3]

Only a handful of survivors returned to Sepsiszentgyörgy after the war ended, and none settled there. Those responsible for the ghettoization of Sepsiszentgyörgy's Jews were tried at the 1946 Kolozsvár People's Tribunal. The list of those accused of perpetrating crimes in the Sepsiszentgyörgy ghetto included Gabril Szentivanyi, Andrei Barabas, Andrei Viranyi, Stefan Vincze, and Alzreda Bella.[4] On March 23, 1946, the tribunal ordered the

release of prisoner Gabril Szentivanyi.[5]

SOURCES Secondary source material about the Sepsiszentgyörgy ghetto in Hungary can be found in the following publications: "Sfântul Gheorghe," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1166; "Sepsiszentgyörgy," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 441–444; and Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983).

A primary source documenting the fate of Sepsiszentgyörgy's Jews is available digitally at SRI, in USHMMA as RG-25.004M, reel 89. VHA holds three testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Sepsiszentgyörgy ghetto. The testimony featured here is Hainalca Cristea, November 25, 1998 (#47778). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Sepsiszentgyörgy ghetto. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Edith Feder, Doc. No. 51209669.
2. "Sipos Desideriu, Procès-Verbal," September 11, 1945, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI) reel 89, fond 40029, vol. 7, pp. 1–3.
3. VHA #47778, Hainalca Cristea testimony, November 25, 1998.
4. "Lista acusatilor din dosarul ghetoului Sft. Gheorghe," n.d., USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 89, fond 40029, vol. 7, n.p.
5. "Domnule Administrator," March 23, 1946, USHMMA,

RG-25.004M, reel 89, fond 40029, vol. 7, n.p.

SIKLÓS

Siklós is located near Hungary's southern border, approximately 195 kilometers (120 miles) southwest of Budapest. It served as the seat of the Siklós District in Baranya County. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the Siklós District had a total population of 38,537, which included 412 Jews. The town had a population of 5,927, including 266 Jews.

In the prewar era, Siklós was a thriving country town with weekly peasant markets and a small, vibrant Jewish community.[1] Rabbi Henry Kraus successfully maintained Jewish religious and cultural life in the town, even after the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944.[2] On April 19, 1944, the Hungarian Interior Ministry instructed the police and administrative authorities in southern Hungary to implement a "cleansing campaign" against Jews residing in the border areas. Gendarmerie Ezredes László Hajnácskőy commanded the gendarmes from Mágocs, who swiftly rounded up Jews from the southern districts of Baranya County. Altogether approximately 800 Jews from the Siklós, Szentlőrinc, and Villány Districts were concentrated in a seed storage facility on the outskirts of Siklós between April 26 and April 28, 1944. The German authorities supervised the site. On May 12, 1944, the inmates were transferred from Siklós to the Unió Mill in Barcs. On May 27, they were deported from Barcs to Auschwitz alongside most of the Jews from southern Baranya County. Yet even after the liquidation of the Siklós ghetto, at least one battalion of the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) remained stationed in town through October 1944.[3]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Siklós ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed.,

The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 93–94.

For important primary documentation see USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 28 (box D 5/6) and reel 113 (box TA 10/4/2). Nine VHA testimonies are indexed for Siklós, including Susan King, July 13, 1995 (#3938); Tibor Kleinmann, January 17, 1995 (#657); Magda Morgenstern, December 7, 1995 (#9785); and Henry Kraus, January 17, 1995 (#674). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Siklós natives and ghetto inmates. They are available in digital format at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #3938, Susan King testimony, July 13, 1995.
2. VHA #674, Henry Kraus testimony, January 17, 1995.
3. VHA #657, Tibor Kleinmann testimony, January 17, 1995.

SOPRON

The capital of Sopron County (today: Győr-Moson-Sopron County), Sopron is located in western Hungary, 187 kilometers (116 miles) west of Budapest. Given its close proximity to the Austrian border, Sopron was once known by its German name, Ödenburg. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the Jewish population numbered 1,861, representing 4.4 percent of the total of 42,255.

The Sopron Jewish community was subjected to ever harsher anti-Jewish measures starting in 1938. Many Jewish men of military age were recruited into the forced labor service system, and an unidentified number among them were killed along the Soviet frontlines between 1942 and 1944.

After the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, the Jews were deprived of their property, marked with the yellow star, placed in a ghetto, and deported. The anti-Jewish drive was led by Prefect Antal Rupprecht, Deputy Prefect József Czillinger, Mayor Árpád Kamenszky, police officer Lajos Zolyomi, and the top administrative officers of the districts. The Jewish communities in town were dissolved on April 7, and the Jews were placed under the leadership of a Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) consisting of Zsigmond Rosenheim (president) and these members: Salamon Paschkusz, Sándor Goldschmied, Viktor Krammer, Béla Krausz, Manó Léderer, József Rosenberg, and Emil Steiner. The Jewish converts to Christianity were represented by Béla Hacker. As part of Deportation Zone V, Gendarmerie District III, the ghettoization drive in Sopron began on June 1. The nearly 1,900 local Jews were concentrated in three locations. Some were placed in a ghetto established on Új Street in the medieval Jewish quarter of Sopron. Others were taken to a ghetto set up in the Paprét area; this site was surrounded by wooden planks. A third group was concentrated in the Jakobi factory. On June 13 to 14, a number of Jewish males considered fit for labor service were recruited into the labor service system and thereby saved from imminent

deportation.

Hungarian workmen wall up the entrance to a building in the Sopron ghetto, 1944. USHMM WS #68675, COURTESY OF MAGYAR NEMZETI MUZEUM TORTENETI FENYKEPTAR.

On the orders of Prefect Rupprecht, the Jews concentrated in the district seats of Csepreg, Csorna, and Kapuvár were transferred to Sopron and placed in the residence halls of the Evangelical Teacher-Training Institute (*Evangelikus Tanitóképzö Intézet*), near the southern railway station of the city.[1] On June 29, 1944, the local Jews were transferred to the half-completed student canteen facilities of the technical university. The combined number of Jews concentrated in these locations was 3,305. Among them were the Jews of Ágfalva, Beled, Csepreg, Csorna, Fertöszentmiklós, Kapuvár, Lövö, Nemeskér, Parád, and Sorponbánfalva.

The ghetto dwellers suffered from inadequate food and sanitary facilities, and many of the wealthier Jews were subjected to torture by Hungarian gendarmes and other officials during the search for

hidden valuables. The Jews concentrated in the ghetto of Sopron were entrained and deported under the command of Gendarmerie Szásados Béla Drégelyi on July 5, 1944. The transport arrived in Auschwitz II-Birkenau three days later. Sopron was also the scene of many atrocities committed against Jewish labor servicemen in late March 1945.

In 1946, 274 surviving Jews returned to the city. Among them were 42 who had been included in the Kasztner transport and an indeterminant number who moved there from other parts of the country.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Sopron are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 846–851; and Johannes Reiss and Katalin G. Szende, *Jüdisches Eisenstadt: Jüdisches Sopron/Ödenburg; Ein Exkursionsführer* (Linz: Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1997).

Primary sources on the ghetto at Sopron can be found in MOL. The *Sopron Press*, *SHí*, also provides some documentation for the persecution and ghettoization of Sopron's Jews. USHMMA has a testimony by survivor Helen Lowinger (RG-50.583*0092, May 13, 1992); and USHMMPA has an extensive photographic collection relating to the Sopron ghetto, including WS #68676 (Courtesy of MNZ-TF), which shows a walled-up entrance to the ghetto. VHA holds 28 testimonies by survivors from Sopron. A published testimony is Rachel Joel, *Ze be'emet haya* (Jerusalem: self-published, 1998).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTE

1. Rupprecht order, June 15, 1944, Decree #68/eln. 1944, as cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 770.

SZÁSZRÉGEN

Located in Maros-Torda County (Romanian: Mureş District), Szászrégen (Romanian: Reghin) was a transit center located in the eastern part of Hungary in the annexed territory of Northern Transylvania. The city is nearly 84 kilometers (52 miles) due east of Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár). According to the 1941 Hungarian census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 1,635 Jews, who comprised just over 16 percent of the city's population of 10,179.

The roundup of the city's Jews began on the night of May 2, 1944, when the Jews were first gathered in the local school. By May 4, 4,000 Jews, including those from the Topolita and Csik Districts, were forced into the Szászrégen ghetto in the brickyard on the town's outskirts.[1] The Jews were subjected to vicious treatment by the Hungarian gendarmes, including cavity searches, torture, and other violence. Exceptions occurred when the guards recognized an inmate. Such was the case for Helen Salamon of Topolita, who was not beaten at Szászrégen.[2] Teresa Malek of Gyergyószentmiklós recalled that some Jews took care of the ghetto's children, reading books to them and singing songs.[3]

Dr. Alexandru Belteki, the head doctor of Szászrégen, was appointed the doctor of the ghetto.[4] Blanka Hersko of Gyergyószentmiklós recalled that several prisoners set up a makeshift hospital to care for those tortured. When the day of deportation came, the prisoners were lied to and told they would be transferred to work in a factory at Kenyermezo.[5] On June 4, 1944, 3,149 Jews (all of the remaining Jews in the ghetto) were deported to Auschwitz.

Those responsible for the persecution of Szászrégen's Jews were tried at the 1946 Kolozsvár People's Tribunal. Mayor Imre Schmidt testified that he knew of the brutal treatment of the Jews in the ghetto (including the body cavity searches performed by midwives) and that he had unsuccessfully lobbied for improved conditions.[6] Yet regarding Schmidt's culpability in the horror,

Bodor Ignat testified that he had said to him, "All those [Jews] who marry a Christian deserve to be exterminated."[7]

SOURCES Secondary source material about the fate of Szászrégen's Jews during the Holocaust in Hungary can be found in the following publications: "Reghin," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 1067; and "Szászrégen," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 668–674.

A primary source documenting the fate of Szászrégen's Jews is at SRI, available at USHMMA as RG-25.004M, reel 89. The following unpublished memoir contains personal recollections about the Jewish community of Szászrégen: "Laszlo Eros Memoir 1940–1945," USHMMA, RG-10.253. VHA holds 68 testimonies from Jewish survivors and rescuers of Jews from the Szászrégen ghetto. The testimonies featured here are Helen Salamon, February 15, 1995 (#1004), and Teresa Malek, November 5, 1998 (#48160). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Szászrégen ghetto; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. "Irina Szmuk, Procès-Verbal," February 5, 1946, USHMMA, RG25.004M (SRI), fond 40029, vol. 7, reel 89, p. 1.
2. VHA #1004, Helen Salamon testimony, February 15, 1995.
3. VHA #48160, Teresa Malek testimony, November 5, 1998.
4. "Alexandru Belteki, Procès-Verbal," January 31, 1946, RG-25.004M, fond 40029, vol. 7, reel 89, n.p.
5. "Szászrégen," in "Laszlo Eros Memoir 1940–1945," USHMMA, RG-10.253, pp. 1–2.

6. “Imre Schmidt, Procès-Verbal,” January 30, 1946, USHMMA, RG-25.004M, fond 40029, vol. 7, reel 89, p. 5.

7. “Declaratie,” April 5, 1946, USHMMA, RG-25.004M, fond 40029, vol. 7, reel 89, n.p.

SZATMÁRNÉMETI

Szatmárnémeti (Romanian: Satu Mare), a ghetto and deportation center, was located in eastern Hungary in the annexed territory of Northern Transylvania, 180 kilometers (112 miles) northwest of Cluj-Napoca, Romania (Kolozsvár), and approximately 326 kilometers (almost 203 miles) southeast of Budapest. According to the 1941 Hungarian census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, Szatmárnémeti had 12,960 Jews.

At the end of April 1944, roughly 19,000 Jewish inhabitants of Szatmárnémeti and refugees from the Szatmárnémeti district (Szatmár County) were placed in the city's ghetto. The inhabitants were tricked into thinking they were moving to bigger quarters by gendarmes, who asked each day for volunteers to measure the existing rooms in the ghetto.[1] The Szatmárné-meti ghetto was liquidated with the deportation of the Jews to Auschwitz II-Birkenau between May 19 and June 3, 1944, in six transports.

Those responsible for the ghettoization of Szatmárnémeti Jews were tried at the 1946 Kolozsvár People's Tribunal. Among those convicted and sentenced were László Szoka, mayor of Szatmárnémeti, who was imprisoned for life at hard labor; Ernő Pirkler, Szatmárnémeti's secretary general, who received 10 years' imprisonment; and Zoltán Rogozi Papp, the deputy mayor of Szatmárnémeti, who was imprisoned for life at hard labor.

SOURCES Relevant secondary source material about the Szatmárnémeti ghetto in Hungary can be found in the following publications: "Satu Mare," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigodor, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 1143–1144; and "Szatmárnémeti," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press published in association with

USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 958–966.

A primary source documenting the fate of Szatmárné-meti's Jews is available at USHMMA, RG-25.043M (ANR), "Selected records from collections of the Satu Mare branch of the Romanian National Archives"; RG-25.021M (ANR), "Selected records relating to the Holocaust in Romania; and RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 89. VHA holds 189 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Szatmárnémeti ghetto. The testimony featured here is Elizabeth Frank, July 19, 1995 (#4129). Another primary source available at USHMMA is Joseph Fischer's memoir, "My Life Story" (Acc. Nr. 2006.177). Two published testimonies are Eva Olsson, *Unlocking the Doors: A Woman's Struggle against Intolerance* (Bracebridge, Ontario: self-published, 2001); and Rose Farkas, *Ruchele: Sixty Years from Szatmar to Los Angeles* (Santa Barbara, CA: Fithian Press, 1998).

Cristina Bejan

NOTE

1. VHA #4129, Elizabeth Frank testimony, July 19, 1995.

SZÉCSÉNY

Szécsény is located approximately 78 kilometers (48 miles) northeast of Budapest. The seat of the Szécsény District in Nógrád County, the town had a population of 3,912, including 280 Jews in 1941. Between early May and early June 1944, Szécsény was the site of one of the major ghettos operating in Nógrád County.

The drive to create ghettos in Nógrád County began after Deputy Prefect Sándor Horváth briefed the mayors and sheriffs of his county on May 2, 1944. The county officials designated Salgótarján, Balassagyarmat, and Losonc as the main concentration centers. Originally, Jews from the Losonc and Szécsény Districts were slated for ghettoization in Losonc. However, when Szécsény's Jews were rounded up between May 5 and May 10, 1944, they were detained in Szécsény instead.

The Szécsény ghetto extended over a small area located between two streets near the synagogue. The site immediately became overcrowded. Survivor Katherine Bleier recalled that her family rode in a horse carriage to the ghetto, where they were crammed into a single room.[1] Others had to share a room with several families, and some rooms held up to 20 occupants. The ghetto was surrounded by a wooden fence and guarded by gendarmes. According to survivor Rosie Ungar, inmates were only allowed to leave the ghetto accompanied by gendarmes to buy food or to complete forced labor assignments. Ungar and several other younger women were conscripted to clean buildings.[2] Jewish labor battalions of the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) had been stationed in and around Szécsény for much of the duration of the war.[3] In late May and early June 1944, KMOF drafted most able-bodied men from the Szécsény ghetto, leaving predominantly women, children, and the elderly to be deported from there.

As part of Gendarmerie District VII, Nógrád County was included in Deportation Zone III. In early June 1944, the area's

Jews were transferred from ghettos to the four concentration centers. According to survivor Katalin Loffler, the gendarmes woke up the residents of the Szécsény ghetto one morning in the predawn hours and forced them out of their houses and into the streets. They locked up the buildings to prevent the residents from returning. While they waited for hours, inmates were subjected to brutal and humiliating searches for valuables.[4] Midwives and gendarmes conducted full body searches for hidden jewelry on women.[5] This round of searches followed the ongoing house and body searches, interrogations, and torture that the inmates had endured during their stay in the ghetto. Survivor Laszlo Sokoly testified that the gendarmes had set up an interrogation center in the ghetto, where they devised sadistic methods to force inmates to divulge the locations of their hidden valuables. He knew of gendarmes beating inmates and torturing them with hot irons and other instruments. According to Sokoly, the gendarmes wanted to secure all assets and prevent them from leaving the country when the Jews were deported.[6]

After concluding the final searches, gendarmes marched the inmates to the railway station. The local population lined the streets of Szécsény, some of them clapping and cheering as the Jews left town.[7] They were first transported to the Velics farmstead on the outskirts of Szécsény. Postwar testimony and some documentation also suggest the possibility that Jews were transferred from Szécsény to Illéspuszta, the concentration center on the outskirts of Balassagyarmat.[8] According to Katalin Loffler, the inmates of Szécsény ghetto stayed at a farm for several days. Many of the younger people did fieldwork during this period, earning a few extra rations.[9] After several days at the farm, the Jews of Szécsény were loaded onto train cars between June 10 and June 12, 1944, and their transports joined the deportation transports dispatched from Balassagyarmat to Auschwitz.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Szécsény ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL:

Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 697–698.

For important primary documentation see the following collections: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 7 (box D 5/1) and reel 135 (box TC/512). Seven VHA testimonies are indexed for the Szécsény ghetto, including Katherine Bleier, December 8, 1997 (#38036); Katalin Loffler, September 22, 1997 (#35910); Laszlo Sokoly, May 18, 1997 (#29155); and Rosie Ungar, September 9, 1997 (#33430). At USHMMA, see also oral history interviews with Rozália Kelemen Csábi (RG-50.670*0085) and Tibor Kolosi (RG-50.670*0084). Unpublished and published testimonies are Dina Davidovich De Unikel, "Return to Life" (USHMMA, RG-02.128); and Irén Ács, *Keep It Safe: Jewish Life in a Hungarian Town* (Oxford: Boulevard, 2004). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Szécsény natives, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed there. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #38036, Katherine Bleier testimony, December 8, 1997.
2. VHA #33430, Rosie Ungar testimony, September 9, 1997.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Shimon Iczkovits, Doc. No. 51479324; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Zalman Rezmüves, Doc. No. 5237512.
4. VHA #35910, Katalin Loffler testimony, September 22, 1997.
5. VHA #33430.
6. VHA #29155, Laszlo Sokoly testimony, May 18, 1997.
7. VHA #35910.
8. VHA #38036; see also, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Edith Friedmann, Doc. No. 52417024.
9. VHA #35910.

SZEGED

Szeged (Csongrád County) was a town located in southwestern Hungary, approximately 161 kilometers (nearly 100 miles) southeast of Budapest and nearly 63 kilometers (39 miles) northeast of Bačka Topola, Serbia (Hungarian: Topolya). According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 4,161 Jews (3%) and 781 Christians of Jewish descent (0.6%) living in Szeged. A ghetto was set up in Szeged.

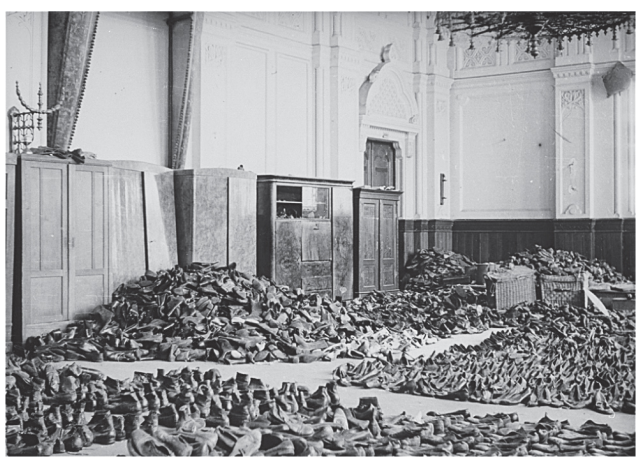
German troops occupied Szeged in March 1944. Between April 3 and 22, 170 prominent Jews and suspected communists from Szeged were interned in the Topolya camp. Preparations for the establishment of the Szeged ghetto began at the start of May 1944, and the ghettoization of Szeged's Jews took place on May 31. Some 3,827 Jews and 500 Christians of Jewish descent were ordered to move into the ghetto. The Catholic Church managed to save approximately 200 Szeged Jews from ghettoization. Four to five families lived in each apartment. A Jewish Council and a ghetto police force were set up to ensure order in the ghetto.

The ghetto was located around the famous Szeged Synagogue, encircled by a high fence made up of wooden planks. In the ghetto every family got one room. Survivor Judit Balkányi was only 11 years old when she learned that she and her family had to move into the Szeged ghetto. The Balkányi family had two beds for the four family members. They spent only a few days in the ghetto when they were told they had to go. According to Judit they were under so much pressure to leave that no one felt that they could say, "I am not going."[1]

The Szeged ghetto was active for only two weeks, because every ghetto across Hungary was forced to close by June 16. At this point the Jews were herded into the synagogue where they were subjected to body searches for gold and jewelry; some Jews were beaten.[2] Then the 3,095 Jews were transferred to the assembly camp established at the athletic fields of the Szeged

Railway Athletic Association. Hungarian Jewish survivor Zoltán Hirsch reports that he and his family were transferred to the Szeged assembly camp from the Mako ghetto by Hungarian gendarmes.[3] From the assembly camp all prisoners were transferred to the Szeged brickyard for entrainment.

The deportation of the Szeged ghetto prisoners took place on June 25–28, 1944, in three train transports. Most were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau.[4] Others were bound for the Strasshof camp outside Vienna, and from there many were sent to Theresienstadt.[5] Transfer to Strasshof was part of the "Blood for Goods" agreement between SS-Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann and the leaders of the Relief and Rescue Committee of Budapest established in mid-June 1944. In at least one case the victim was transferred from Szeged to Bergen-Belsen and then to Theresienstadt.[6] Sixty-six Jews from the final freight car of the third transport were taken to the Budapest ghetto located in the Arenai Street synagogue.



The shoes of the Jewish community of Szeged fill a room in the city synagogue. Troops of the Red Army discovered them there after liberating the city, 1945. USHMM WS #18749, COURTESY OF BELA LIEBMANN.

Szeged's 2,519 Holocaust victims represented 50 percent of the local Jewish population.

SOURCES Relevant secondary source material about the Szeged ghetto can be found in "Szeged," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 329–335; "Szeged," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1277–1278; and Tim Cole, *Traces of the Holocaust: Journeying in and out of the Ghettos* (London: Continuum, 2011).

Primary source material documenting the fate of Szeged Jews can be found in hard copy at USHMMA, RG-52.006M (Randolph Braham collection); and RG-14.101M (ZdL). VHA holds 70 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Szeged ghetto. The testimonies featured here are Judit Balkányi, October 9, 2001 (#51810), and Zoltán Hirsch, May 31, 2000 (#50959). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Szeged ghetto. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA #51810, Judit Balkányi testimony, October 9, 2001.
2. VHA #50959, Zoltán Hirsch testimony, May 31, 2000.
3. Ibid.
4. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Schoechana Blaier, Doc. No. 51964038.
5. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Susan Braver, Doc. No. 52703000; and ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Theresa Braver, Doc. No. 52192666.
6. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Eva A. Adler, Doc. No. 52566997.

SZÉKESFEHÉRVÁR

The city of Székesfehérvár is located in Fejér County in central Hungary, approximately 65 kilometers (40 miles) southwest of Budapest. In 1941, the city had a total population of 47,968, including 2,075 Jews, and Székesfehérvár District had a total population of 59,929, including an additional 461 Jews. The Jewish residents of the city proper and of surrounding communities were detained in a large ghetto that operated in Székesfehérvár between late May and early June 1944. Documentation suggests that 2,743 Jews were deported from Székesfehérvár to Auschwitz on June 14, 1944.

The ghetto at Székesfehérvár was one of eight large detention centers operating in Fejér County in May and June 1944. The Jews of Fejér County were rounded up between May 16 and May 20, 1944, and the Jews of the city of Székesfehérvár several days later. In an attempt to minimize the displacement of non-Jewish house holds, Székesfehérvár's Mayor Lajos Ker-ekes ordered numerous houses in town to be marked with a yellow star. According to survivor Vera Kovesi, her family received official notice of impending resettlement in late May 1944. They packed some belongings and moved into a designated house nearby.[1] Designated buildings were located on Horthy Miklós and Ferenc József Squares and on Távírda, Ősz, Sütő, Palotai, Ybl Miklós, Kígyó Ally, Jókai, Kígyó, Basa, Lövölde, and Simor Streets. Local police guarded the houses. Survivor George Keller, who was conscripted into the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF), testified that he was able to visit his parents in Székesfehérvár. Their house was designated as part of the ghetto, and some 10 to 12 families lived there in addition to his parents.[2]

Preparations for deportations began almost immediately after the Jews' ghettoization. Gendarmes repeatedly searched the designated houses for valuables and conducted interrogations in the hope of uncovering hiding places. On June 6, 1944, the

gendarmerie was made responsible for all Jews in the area. That same day, the ghetto inmates were rounded up and detained at so-called assembly houses located at Miklós Street, 9–13 Ősz Street, 9 Horthy Miklós Square, 21 Távírda Street, 10 Jókai Street, 18 Lövölde Street, and 10 József Square. Vera Kovesi recalled waiting outside in the rain while ghetto inmates endured yet another search for valuables. Midwives conducted body searches on women, looking for hidden valuables. The Jews of Székesfehérvár and surrounding communities were then moved to the Szabó Brickyard and the cavalry barracks on the outskirts of town. Kovesi remembered traveling to the site by truck.[3] Survivor Josef Brust, who recalled the city by its German name, Stuhlweissenburg, also traveled by truck, although most others marched in a column. According to Brust, locals lined the streets and spit at the Jews as they walked by. Conditions at the brickyard were catastrophic. The site lacked even basic hygienic facilities; there were no latrines. Most people slept on straw on the ground, exposed to the elements, and food was scarce. On June 14, 1944, the Jews were driven up the railway ramp at the site and loaded aboard freight cars headed for Auschwitz.[4]

Jewish labor battalions of the KMOF had been stationed in and around Székesfehérvár for much of the duration of the war, and some were stationed there as late as the fall of 1944.[5] Though the circumstances are not clear, a massacre of more than 10 Jewish labor servicemen occurred at Székesfehérvár after the Soviet Army retreated during its occupation of the city. Some records suggest that fewer than 300 Jews from Székesfehérvár survived the war.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Székesfehérvár ghetto include Anna Gergely, *A Szeìkesfeheìrvaìri eìs Fejeìr Megyei zsidoìsaìg trageìdiaìja (1938–1944)* (Budapest: Vince, 2003); Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 360–363.

For important primary documentation see the following collections: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 11 (box D 4/2) and reel 12 (box D 8/3); and RG-14.101M (B162/9582). Twenty-seven VHA testimonies are indexed for the Székesfehérvár ghetto, including Vera Kovesi, September 29, 1996 (#20275); George Keller, April 7, 1997 (#27886); Josef Brust, November 20, 1996 (#22937); Mary Elias, August 12, 1996 (#18504); Mary Gathy, February 21, 1996 (#10073); Eva Gross, February 9, 1995 (#836); and Ruth Hoffman, May 7, 1996 (#14969). At USHMMA, see also the oral history interviews with Attila Csernok (RG-50.670*0049), Margit Sinkáné Juhasz-Buday (RG-50.670*0058), and Nicholas Halmay (RG-50.583*0019). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Székesfehérvár natives, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed there. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #20275, Vera Kovesi testimony, September 29, 1996.
2. VHA #27886, George Keller testimony, April 7, 1997.
3. VHA #20275.
4. VHA #22937, Josef Brust testimony, November 20, 1996.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Eliahu Gatz, Doc. No. 50580608; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Sander Spitz, Doc. No. 50610053.

SZEKLENCE

The village of Szeklence (Slovak: Sekernice) was located approximately 380 kilometers (236 miles) northeast of Budapest. After World War I, it was part of the territory assigned to the newly formed Czechoslovakia. According to the stipulations of the First Vienna Award, Hungary reannexed the area in March 1939 as the Máramos Administrative Agency, with Huszt, located 14 kilometers (almost 9 miles) northwest of Szeklence, as its seat. Between April and May 1944, the village was the site of a ghetto.

In 1941, Szeklence had a Jewish population of 685. Local Jews and Jewish residents from small nearby communities were detained in its ghetto. Scarce documentation suggests the possibility that it housed several thousand inmates. According to survivor testimony, the Jews occupied numerous buildings in town, including a school.[1] The site was overcrowded, with three or four families crammed into every room. The ghetto lacked sufficient sanitary accommodations, forcing the inmates to dig holes in the ground for latrines.[2] Neither German nor Hungarian authorities provided food for the inmates, leaving the Jewish Council to organize a soup kitchen.[3] The ghetto was not fenced in, but armed Hungarian police guarded the site. In addition, a number of Jewish men served as ghetto police.[4] Survivor Harry Braun recalled slipping out of the ghetto with his brother to bring back extra food supplies from their home in a nearby village.[5] Both male and female inmates completed daytime forced labor assignments, which took them outside of the ghetto.

The gendarmes repeatedly subjected the inmates to brutal searches for valuables. The final search took place on May 15, 1944, when the ghetto population was rounded up at a school building before being marched to a railway station in nearby Száldobos. From there they were deported to Auschwitz.[6] In 1944 Szeklence was overrun by Soviet forces and was later integrated into Ukraine.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Szeklence ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 620–621.

For important primary documentation see the following collection: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 6 (box D 8/1), reel 7 (box D 5/1), and reel 69 (box A 5/1). Thirty-eight VHA testimonies are indexed for the Szeklence ghetto, including Rachel Abramovitz, February 20, 1996 (#12319); Jack Abramovitz, January 22, 2001 (#51371); Marton Adler, June 30, 1995 (#3703); and Harry Braun, March 21, 1995 (#1650). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Szeklence natives and ghetto inmates. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #12319, Rachel Abramovitz testimony, February 20, 1996.
2. VHA #51371, Jack Abramovitz testimony, January 22, 2001.
3. VHA #3703, Marton Adler testimony, June 30, 1995.
4. VHA #12319.
5. VHA #1650, Harry Braun testimony, March 21, 1995.
6. VHA #12319.

SZILÁGYSOMLYÓ AND SOMLYÓCSEHI

Szilágysomlyó (Romanian: Şimleul-Silvaniei) was the district seat of Szilágysomlyó District in Szilágy County in eastern Hungary in the annexed territory of Northern Transylvania. It is located approximately 360 kilometers (224 miles) southeast of Budapest. After the end of World War I, Szilágysomlyó was assigned to Romania. Hungary annexed the area under the terms of the Second Vienna Award of August 30, 1940. The town of Szilágysomlyó had 1,496 Jews, and the surrounding district included an additional 700. In May 1944, Szilágysomlyó briefly had a concentration and detention center for the town's Jews. Although Szilágysomlyó was originally planned as the location of the ghetto, the Jews were transferred from its detention center to the ghetto and entrainment center in the village of Somlyócsehi (Romanian: Cehei), located on the outskirts of Szilágysomlyó but within its administrative area.

The Jews of Szilágysomlyó were rounded up beginning on May 3, 1944. The operation was supervised by a German Gestapo officer and a German soldier, and it was carried out by the police chief of Szilágysomlyó, István Pethes, as well as by local police, gendarmes, and volunteers. They roused the Jews in the early morning hours without advance notice. Then they herded them to the Jewish school and to a distillery in Szi lágysomlyó. According to eyewitness testimony, the town's people cheered and clapped as Jews were removed from their homes. The following morning, armed gendarmes and police marched the Jews to the outskirts of Szilágysomlyó and from there to Somlyócsehi, approximately three kilometers (nearly two miles) northwest of town. They were detained in the brickyard of the Klein Brickworks alongside Jews from various small villages in the Szilágysomlyó District.[1] By May 6, 1944, some 7,200 Jews were crowded into the Somlyócsehi entrainment center, a number that soon rose to 8,500.

The site lacked even basic accommodations. Most people slept outdoors in makeshift tents that did not protect them from rain and

mud. They endured hunger, and many depended on the few rations that local Jews and others brought to the site.[2] The inmates also suffered abuse at the hands of the gendarmes, who searched for valuables and conducted brutal interrogations and even torture sessions.[3] Survivor Eta Berg recalled that gendarmes subjected inmates to cruel humiliations, such as cutting the men's beards. She also recalled that there were rumors of many rapes of young girls committed by the gendarmes.[4] The entrainment center at Somlyócsehi was liquidated after 7,851 detainees were deported to Auschwitz via Kassa on May 31, June 3, and June 6, 1944.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Szilágysomlyó ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1003–1007.

For important primary documentation see the following collection: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 7 (box D 5/1) and reel 135 (box TC/512). VHA has 56 oral testimonies indexed for the Cehei ghetto. See among others the testimonies of Sheva Berger, January 22, 1996 (#11307); Eta Berg, April 25, 1997 (#28441); and Ella Ehrmann, June 19, 1996 (#16398). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries from detainees of the ghetto at Szilágysomlyó. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #16398, Ella Ehrmann testimony, June 19, 1996.
2. VHA #28441, Eta Berg testimony, April 25, 1997.
3. VHA #11307, Sheva Berger testimony, January 22, 1996.
4. VHA #28441.

SZOLNOK

Szolnok is the seat of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County, located approximately 110 kilometers (68 miles) southeast of Budapest. In 1941, Szolnok had a total population of 42,011, including 2,590 Jews. Various Jewish labor battalions of the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) were stationed there between 1940 and 1944.[1] In addition, from April to June 1944, Szolnok was the site of a large ghetto and of one of four major entrainment centers in Deportation Zone IV, Gendarmerie District V.

The main Szolnok ghetto was located around the synagogue, Jewish school, and nearby Jewish community buildings and included buildings on Csarnok, Horávszky Nándor, and Pillangró Streets. On April 16, 1944, Hungarian authorities ordered local Jews to move into these buildings. Ghettoization was completed by May 22, 1944. The site was immediately overcrowded, holding more than 1,000 people. Another 150 local Jews were forced to move into the attic of a barn in Szandapuszta, a farmstead within the city limits. Some of the ghetto's inmates were conscripted for farmwork during this period. In addition to overcrowding, hunger, and disastrous sanitary conditions, the inmates endured repeated interrogations and searches for valuables, including brutal body searches.

In the early morning hours of June 16, 1944, Szolnok's ghetto population was transferred to the grounds of a local sugar factory and to the adjacent workers' quarters. At the same time, the ghetto inhabitants of more than 16 ghettos in neighboring communities were also transferred to the factory. Survivor Paul Arato testified that the sugar factory was located right next to a brick factory. He recalled the site as hot and overcrowded. Many people did not have a place to rest or seek shelter from the rain. According to him, several of the older inmates died or committed suicide.[2] Survivor Kathleen Barber also testified that, when she arrived at the site, she saw numerous dead people lying on the ground.

According to her, some of them had swallowed poison to avoid the impending deportations. Barber, Arato, and other eyewitnesses testified that German soldiers were among those guarding the site and abusing the inmates. Hungarian gendarmes also terrorized the inmates during their searches for valuables.[3] Survivor Mordechai Berkowitz testified that members of the Hungarian Arrow Cross tormented the inmates as well. He witnessed them torturing a young boy who was repeatedly strung up by his hands until he passed out.[4]

Barber testified that Jewish leaders in the camp were forced to make a se lection in preparation for the deportations. Group One consisted predominantly of the healthy, able-bodied, and wealthy Jews. Group Two consisted predominantly of the old, the sick, and children.[5] According to Berkowitz, the se lection led to harrowing scenes as families were split up and children were separated from their parents.[6] Scarce official documentation suggests that 4,666 Jews were registered at the Szolnok entrainment center when deportations began on June 25, 1944. That day, a transport with 2,567 Jews left Szolnok for Strasshof in Austria, as part of Rudolf (Rezső) Kasztner's negotiations with SS-Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann. The train contained inmates selected for Group One, Barber among them, who were then funneled into Austrian labor camps.[7] The other transport with the remaining Jews left Szolnok on June 28, 1944, for Auschwitz. Approximately 800 returned after the end of the war.[8]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Szolnok ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 489–490.

For important primary documentation see the following collection: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 6 (box D 8/1) and reel 7 (box D 5/11). Sixty-one VHA testimonies are indexed for the Szolnok ghetto, including Oscar Arato, June

26, 1995 (#3451); Paul Arato, July 20, 1995 (#4220); Kathleen Barber, March 23, 1995 (#1682); Clara Berger, February 12, 1996 (#11938); and Mordechai Berkowitz, November 22, 1998 (#48204). See also USHMMA oral history interviews with Mária Sárközi (RG-50.670*0023) and Yehuda Adam (RG-50.106*0062) and the memoirs of Márta Balázs (RG-10.207). The CNI of the ITS contains more than 1,000 inquiries about Szolnok natives, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed there. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Zwie Lebovitz, Doc. No. 50605137; and for Pal Schwarz, Doc. No. 50611871.
2. VHA #4220, Paul Arato testimony, July 20, 1995.
3. VHA #11938, Clara Berger testimony, February 12, 1996.
4. VHA #48204, Mordechai Berkowitz testimony, November 22, 1998.
5. VHA #1682, Kathleen Barber testimony, March 23, 1995.
6. VHA #48204.
7. See also ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Tibor Ritter, Doc. No. 50541955.
8. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 490.

SZOMBATHELY

Szombathely is located approximately 240 kilometers (149 miles) southwest of Budapest near the Austrian-Hungarian border, where it served as the administrative seat of Szombathely District and Vas County. In 1941, the county town (*megyeváros*) of Szombathely had a population of 3,088 Jews, and an additional 101 Jews lived in the Szombathely District. Szombathely was the site of a ghetto and entrainment center that operated between May 12 and July 4, 1944. Approximately 3,600 Jews were deported from Szombathely to Auschwitz.

After the German occupation of Szombathely by a Nazi SS regiment on March 19, 1944, the German and Hungarian authorities immediately escalated Jewish persecution and concentration efforts. Beginning on May 3, 1944, the Jews were put under a strict police curfew and were forbidden from leaving the town. On May 8, 1944, Hugó Mészáros, the mayor of Szombathely, ordered the establishment of a ghetto for the detention of the Jewish population of the town and district. The Szombathely ghetto extended over several city blocks around Thököly and Rákóczi Ferenc II Streets. It included the town's synagogues and other Jewish community buildings and nearly 2,000 rooms in 780 apartments hastily vacated by town residents. Survivor Maida Pollock recalled that her aunt owned a big house in the part of the town assigned to the ghetto. When her family received notice to vacate their home, the family members moved into the aunt's house along with several other Jewish families.[1]

Parts of the ghetto were enclosed by walls and others by a high wooden fence. Several guarded gates served as entrance points. The Jewish Council was tasked with moving nearly 1,200 families into the ghetto, which became immediately overcrowded. The inmates lacked basic supplies and food; these shortages became more severe after tax agents repeatedly raided the site and confiscated goods, valuables, and even food. The inmates were also subject to repeated brutal searches for valuables at the hands

of the gendarmes. The ghetto population was in constant flux as inmates were transferred to and from other ghettos in the vicinity. Able-bodied male inmates were conscripted into battalions of the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF). The female inmates were drafted to perform heavy menial labor in and around Szombathely.

In preparation for deportations from Vas County, the Hungarian administration and the Nazi SS organized a mass transfer of Jews from ghettos in Körmend, Kőszeg, Szentgotthárd, Vasvár, and Beled to an entrainment center set up in the Mayer Machine Works in Szombathely.[2] The transfer began on June 29 and ended on July 3, 1944. In the early morning hours of June 29, Gendarmerie Alezredes Ferenc Zsidegh, Gendarmerie Százados József Csáki, and Police Chief Kálmán Fördős led armed units consisting of several dozen gendarmes and policemen to begin the liquidation of the Szombathely ghetto. The inmates were told to pack a few belongings before being escorted to checkpoints, where their parcels were searched for valuables. Survivor Margareth Benedig testified that the gendarmes tortured people with hot irons on their bare feet to force them to divulge the hiding places of their valuables. She also recalled the screams and cries of women who underwent brutal and humiliating body searches at the hands of midwives.[3] The Jews of Szombathely were then marched to the Mayer Machine Works on the outskirts of town.

Jews with bundles and bags walk along the streets of Szombathely

under guard, June 30, 1944. USHMM WS #79109, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM PHOTO ARCHIVES.

The site lacked even basic facilities, but had a railway connection. There were no provisions, and catastrophic conditions prevailed as thousands of people were crammed onto the factory grounds. Most people slept outside without protection from the elements.[4] On July 3, 1944, the first group of 400 to 500 Jews was deported from Szombathely to Auschwitz via Sopron. The remaining Jews were deported to Auschwitz via Kassa (Slovak: Kosiče) on July 4, 1944.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Szombathely ghetto and entrainment center include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1198–1206.

For important primary documentation see the following collection: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 7 (box D 5/1), reel 11 (box D 4/3), and reel 27 (box D 10/6). Twenty-six VHA testimonies are indexed for the Szombathely ghetto, including Margareth Benedig, June 2, 1998 (#42429); Sari Baron, November 5, 1996 (#22391); Morris Buchinger, June 29, 1998 (#46147); Trude Levi, December 7, 1996 (#7093); and Maida Pollock, December 19, 1996 (#24261). At USHMMA, see also the oral history interview with Avraham Blubshtein, June 1, 1995 (RG-50.120*0236). USHMMPA contains images documenting Jewish detention in the Szombathely ghetto and deportation including WS #98990. The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Szombathely natives, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed there. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #24261, Maida Pollock testimony, December 19, 1996.
2. For the evacuation of Jews in Körmend to Szombathely, see USHMMPA, WS #98990, "Jews march from the ghetto to the train station in Körmend, Hungary," 1944 (Courtesy of YVA).
3. VHA #42429, Margareth Benedig testimony, June 2, 1998.
4. VHA #24261.

TÉCSŐ

Técső (Ukrainian: Tiachiv; Slovak: Tacovo or Tyachovo; Romanian: Teceu Mare) is located approximately 400 kilometers (249 miles) northeast of Budapest. After World War I, it was part of an area of Carpathian Ruthenia assigned to the newly formed Czechoslovakia. In March 1939, Hungary annexed the area according to the stipulations of the First Vienna Award and reestablished Técső as the seat of the Técső and Taravölgy Districts in Máramaros County. In 1941, the Técső District had 4,080 Jews, and the Tara-völgy District had 12,096 Jews. The city of Técső was home to 2,150 Jews of its district. Técső was the site of two major ghettos that were in operation between mid-April 1944 and late May 1944. Nearly 10,000 Jewish residents of Técső and of communities in the Técső and Taravölgy Districts were deported from these ghettos to Auschwitz.

On April 16, 1944, Hungarian authorities began concentrating Técső's Jewish population in the predominantly Jewish part of town near the synagogue. In addition, they opened a camp on the outskirts of town for the detention of Jews from neighboring communities. Both sites were overcrowded, and the inmates endured catastrophic conditions.[1] The ghetto's communal kitchen could not alleviate the mass starvation in Técső. The Hungarian authorities often assigned ghetto inmates to humiliating menial labor. Furthermore, inmates suffered abuse and torture at the hands of gendarmes searching for valuables.

The ghettos of Técső were liquidated after the inmates were deported to Auschwitz in two transports. The first transport departed either on May 22 or May 24, 1944, carrying mostly provincial Jews. The second transport departed on May 26, carrying Técső's local Jewish population.[2] Soviet forces liberated Técső in the fall of 1944. The town then briefly came under joint Soviet-Czech administration before being assigned to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghettos at Técső include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 625–627.

Babo Batren, a Jewish woman from Técső, leans against the deportation train in Auschwitz II-Birkenau before being taken to the gas chambers, May 1944. USHMM WS #77338, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM (PUBLIC DOMAIN).

Important primary documentation includes the following collection: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 6 (box D 8/1) and reel 7 (box D 5/1). For relevant photos documenting Jewish life in Técső before and during the Holocaust, see, among others at USHMMPA, WS #49444, WS #71906, WS #14839, and WS #98982. Seventy-one VHA testimonies are indexed for the Técső ghettos, including Martin Aaron, April 27, 1997 (#28325); Phillip Basch, October 28, 1996 (#21773); and Rose Bohm, May 8, 1996 (#14960). See also the oral history interview with Esther Moses, RG-50.701*0001 at USHMM. The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Técső residents, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed there.

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NOTES

1. VHA #21773, Phillip Basch testimony, October 28, 1996.
2. VHA #28325, Martin Aaron testimony, April 27, 1997.

TOPOLYA

The town of Topolya was located 34 kilometers (21 miles) south of Szabadka (today: Subotica, Serbia) in Bács-Bodrog County. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, it was home to a population of 60,710, including 455 Jews. Originally under Austro-Hungarian administration, the region around Topolya became part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia between 1918 and 1941. Hungary occupied the area in 1941, operating an internment camp for political prisoners and others deemed "unreliable" in Topolya between May 1941 and March 1944. Subsequently, under German command, the site became a major deportation center for Jews from March until May 1944. The administration and inmate composition of the Topolya camp changed frequently over the more than four years of its existence. Altogether more than 6,000 people were incarcerated at the site between 1941 and 1944.

On May 19, 1941, Hungarian military authorities opened the "mobile assembly and distribution camp No. 101" (*101-es Mozgó, Gyűtjő és Elosztó Tábor*) in Topolya. It operated as part of a network of six such sites established around the same time. Topolya was originally intended to be Camp No. 107, but due to a clerical error, all official documentation subsequently referred to it as Camp No. 101. The five other sites in this network were located at Bačka Palanka (No. 101), Sombor (No. 105), Stari Bečej (No. 105), Novi Sad (No. 106), and Subotica (No. 108). The camp network also included a large number of subcamps, including those at Begeč, Odžaki, Apatin, Bezdan, Bački Monoštor, Beli Manastir, Čarug, the Novi Sad airfield, Stari Vrabas, Stara Kanjižz, and Senta. The sites had a combined capacity for more than 20,000 prisoners.[1]

The Topolya camp was located at Bajšar Road on the outskirts of town. It extended over an area of about two hectares (five acres) on both sides of the road to Bajšar. One side of the camp contained facilities for guards and camp personnel. On the other side the

prisoners inhabited barracks in an area fenced in with barbed wire. The site lacked the most rudimentary facilities and accommodations. Prisoners had to sleep on straw on concrete floors. Washing and toilet facilities were lacking, and so hygienic conditions were catastrophic from the beginning.

From May 19 until October 5, 1941, the site operated under the military command of a Százados Farkasc; his deputy, Hadnagy Djuri7ić; several noncommissioned officers (NCOs); and Hungarian reservists who acted as guards and who enforced order and discipline by beating and abusing prisoners for even small transgressions. In addition, a counterespionage unit headed by Gendarmerie Főhadnagy Egete intercepted prisoners' mail. Prisoners suspected of communist ties were isolated and interrogated using torture and beatings.

Civilian administrators assumed control of the camp from October 5, 1941, until October 7, 1942. The site was officially termed the "Royal-Hungarian Transport Firm" (*A.M. Kir. Rednörseg topolyai kisegitötonchàza*) during this period.[2] A police inspector by the name of Arpad Zsari acted as camp commander. His treatment of inmates was marked by cruelty and abuse. At the same time, he initiated the release of several hundred prisoners during his tenure. A report generated by the Hungarian General Staff during this time lists 124 prisoners specifically identified as "unreliable" individuals at Topolya as of March 24, 1942. They were part of a contingent of some 14,300 people in Hungary deemed a threat to national security and slated for punitive labor service.[3]

Beginning on October 7, 1942, a retired officer by the name of Kezsmarki assumed command of the camp at Topolya. The average capacity of the site during this period was approximately 300. By April 1943 only 100 prisoners remained, although several thousand prisoners had already passed through the site. They included hundreds of communists (Serbs, Hungarians, and Jews), people suspected of aiding communists, active members of the Yugoslav People's Liberation Movement (*Narodnooslohodilacky pokret*, NOP) and suspected sympathizers, members of the Hungarian Commune of 1919, union leaders, Social Demo crats, Serbian World War I volunteers,

and Serbs suspected of belonging to the Četnik movement. Other, smaller groups of persecuted people interned at Topolya included Jehovah's Witnesses, Roma, vagabonds, prostitutes, and smugglers. In addition, beginning in the summer of 1943, larger contingents of women prisoners from all these categories began to arrive at Topolya.[4] Overall, the size of the prisoner population dropped precipitously, however, as prisoners were released or transferred to other camps. By the time of Germany's occupation of Hungary in March 1944, the camp was nearly empty.

On occupying the area, the German authorities assumed control of Bács-Bodrog County. They dispatched Alfred Rosendal as camp commander, Anton Miller as his deputy, and other SS personnel and guards to staff the Topolya (what they now called the Backa Topola) camp in April 1944. The camp now served as an SS deportation center for Jews. Small groups of Hungarian Jews and Jewish refugees from Germany, Austria, Poland, and Czechoslovakia had been among the prisoners incarcerated at Topolya since 1941, and the local Jewish synagogue had intermittently organized collections on their behalf. But in 1944, Jews were systematically rounded up from Sombor, Subotica, and Novi Sad, among other places. Many of the Jews from Novi Sad passed through internment Camp No. 1 located at the Upper Bácska Mill before their transfer to Topolya.

Next to Kistarcsa, Topolya was the largest deportation center during this period. Conditions at the site were marked by overcrowding, squalor, and abuse. According to some estimates, altogether 3,000 Jewish inmates were deported from Topolya. In addition, 266 Jewish residents of the town of Topolya are also known to have been deported.[5] The first two transports with approximately 2,000 Jewish prisoners left Topolya on April 30, 1944. By early July 1944, hardly any Jews remained at the Topolya camp, but then there was a new influx of political prisoners, including members of NOP. They suffered abuse, torture, and neglect. By September 1944, conditions at the camp had deteriorated dramatically, and the remaining 300 prisoners were starving. On October 8, 1944, the camp was emptied when the prisoners were transported to Nagykanizsa. From there they were moved to Komárom and then to various German camps.[6] The camp was closed after the restoration of Yugoslav administration

to the area in late 1944. In 1945, nine Jews were registered in Topolya.[7]

SOURCES The history of the Topolya internment camp and deportation center is described in Mladen Vrtunski, *Kuća užasa: Hronika logora u Bačkoj Topoli 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Savez udruženja boraca narodnooslobodilačkog rata SR Srbije i Novinsko-izdavačka ustanova "Četvrti jul," 1970). The volume contains detailed information on the camp site and prisoner composition. See also Mladen Vrtunski, *Usmene no-vine logoraša u Bačkoj Topoli, 1941–1944* (Novi Sad, Serbia: Uređivački odbor bivših političkih zatvorenika, interniraca i deportiraca logora u Bačkoj Topoli, 1969); Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 53–54; Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977); Gábor Kádár and Zoltán Vági, "Ungarn," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nation-alsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9: 359–361; and Zvonimir Golubovic, *Šarvarska golgota: Proterivanje i logorisanje Srba Bačke i Baranje, 1941–1945* (Novi Sad, Serbia: Matica srpska, 1995).

Important primary documentation includes the CNI of the ITS, which contains inquiries about several dozen Topolya inmates. A useful report on the Topolya camp is also available in ITS: Pero Damjanović, "Das Lager Bačka Topola" (Belgrade: Institut Za Savrementu Istoriju, April 23, 1976), available at ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Persecution action in Serbia), fol. 7, Doc. Nos. 82205099–82205112. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. Other primary documentation includes VHA testimony of Helen Berkovitz, July 17, 1996 (#17469); Leon Blat, March 16, 1996 (#12137); Andrija Darvas, April 27, 1998 (#47162); and Gizela Eisner, July 16, 1996 (#17690).

NOTES

1. ITS, 1.2.7.23, fol. 7, Doc. No. 82205100.
2. Ibid., Doc. No. 82205101.
3. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System*, pp. 28–29, 127.
4. ITS, 1.2.7.23, fol. 7, Doc. Nos. 82205103–82205108.
5. Ibid., Doc. No. 82205109.
6. Ibid., Doc. No. 82205111.
7. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 54.

ÚJVIDÉK

Újvidék (Serbian: Novi Sad) is located approximately 280 kilometers (174 miles) southeast of Budapest. The port town on the left bank of the Danube River in the southern Pannonian Plain originally belonged to Austria-Hungary. After the end of World War I, it was awarded to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, subsequently known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. During this period, Újvidék served as the seat of the Voidvodina province and was home to the country's most important Jewish congregation outside of Belgrade. In 1941, the municipality of Újvidék had 3,621 Jews.

After the 1941 invasion and partition of Yugoslavia by the Axis Powers, Hungary annexed its northern territories, including Újvidék in Bács-Bodrog County. The Hungarian authorities drafted more than 400 men living in Újvidék into the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) as early as May 1941, and Jewish labor battalions were stationed in and around town for much of the war.[1]

Hungarian occupation policy was extremely violent and marked by raids and massacres targeting Serbs, Jews, and others. In one of the most infamous occurrences, Hungarian police killed more than 1,246 civilians, including an estimated 800 Jews, and dumped their bodies into the Danube during the so-called Újvidék Massacre (also known as the Novi Sad Raid) in January 1942. Olga Alpar and her family were among those rounded up and taken to the Danube. She testified that while members of her extended family were killed and thrown into the river, her immediate family was spared because of the intervention of an unknown Hungarian official who called an end to the killings. Olga and others were herded to a city gymnasium, where all their papers were confiscated. After waiting for many hours, they were released to their homes without explanation.[2]

On April 26, 1944, Hungarian authorities put the Jewish

residents of Újvidék under house arrest and began rounding them up for detention. The Hotel Szabadság served as a prison for several hundred Jews deemed particularly dangerous. Most others were detained in the town's synagogue and other buildings of the Jewish community.

Jews are assembled in the desecrated synagogue in Újvidék before being transported to a concentration camp, 1944. USHMM WS #12892, COURTESY OF MOSHE AND MALKA LOVY.

Jews from the Újvidék and Titel Districts were also transferred to these sites. Olga Alpar was among those detained at the synagogue, where she befriended a pair of elderly sisters. According to her postwar testimony, the women were terrified at the prospect of deportation and committed suicide that night by swallowing poison. Olga stayed at the synagogue for about 24 hours before being deported to the Topolya (Serbian: Bačka Topola) internment camp.[3]

By April 28, 1944, most Jews of Újvidék had been rounded up. Many were briefly detained at Internment Camp No. 1 at the Upper Bácska Mill. They endured overcrowding and catastrophic conditions, and several people died at the site. The remaining inmates were transferred to the Szeged ghetto and several smaller sites alongside thousands of Jews from the Southern Region. On May 28, 1944, most Jews originally detained at Újvidék were

deported from Baja to Auschwitz and to a number of German and Austrian labor camps. The majority perished at Auschwitz. After the end of the war, the congregation of Újvidék reorganized in Yugoslavia and is still active.[4]

SOURCES Important secondary sources about Újvidék include Aleksandar Veljić, *Genocide Revealed: New Light on the Massacre of Serbs and Jews under Hungarian Occupation* (Madison, WI: Something or Other Publishing, 2012); Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 54–58.

For important primary documentation about Újvidék see the following collections. One hundred and fifty-nine VHA testimonies are indexed under Novi Sad, including Sonja Alaimo, June 27, 1995 (#3543); Olga Alpar, February 5, 1997 (#27186); Andras Barta, October 22, 1995 (#7843); Miriam Basdov, April 15, 1996 (#14270); and Marianne Biro, November 15, 1995 (#5771). See also these two oral history interviews at USHMMA: Ljubomir Bugarin, October 13, 2006 (RG-50.585*0019) and Rodoljub Malenčić, September 28, 2007 (RG-50.585*0022). USHMMPA contains numerous images documenting Jewish life in Újvidék before and during the Holocaust, as well as images documenting crimes against civilians, including Jews, in Újvidék. See, among others, images #46680, #32025, and #85772. The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about town natives, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed there. See also ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Persecution Action in Serbia). These documents are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #5771, Marianne Biro testimony, November 15, 1995;

ITS, 1.2.7.23, Doc. No. 82205078.

2. VHA #27186, Olga Alpar testimony, February 5, 1997.

3. Ibid.

4. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 58.

UNGVÁR

Ungvár (Slovak: Užhorod) is located approximately 315 kilometers (196 miles) northeast of Budapest. Originally belonging to Austria-Hungary, it was part of the territory awarded to the newly formed Czechoslovakia at the end of World War I. Hungary reincorporated the city as the seat of the Ung Administrative District (*Ungi Közigazgatási Kirendeltség*) and Ung County in accordance with the provisions of the First Vienna Award of November 1938. In 1941, the city of Ungvár had 9,576 Jews and 123 Christians of Jewish origin (with 1,895 additional Jews living in the district). Between April 16 and May 31, 1944, Ungvár was the site of two large ghettos. More than 18,000 Jewish residents of the city and of the surrounding county were deported from Ungvár to Auschwitz.

In 1944, the Ung County and Administrative District were part of Gendarmerie District VIII (Kassa). After the German invasion of Hungary in March 1944, this territory was assigned to Deportation Zone I, the first area in Hungary to be cleared of Jewish residents. On April 12, 1944, the Council of Ministers retroactively declared Carpatho-Ruthenia and Northern Transylvania military operational zones as of April 1, 1944. Gendarmes began rounding up the Jews of Ung County on April 16, 1944. Survivor Benjamin Amikam recalls that his family received notice to leave their home by 8:00 A.M. shortly after the arrival of the Germans in the area. The family was among the approximately 18,000 people detained at the Moskovits brickworks on the outskirts of Ungvár.

The ghetto at the Moskovits brickworks was partially fenced in. Gendarmes and police served as guards. The site immediately became overcrowded, forcing people to sleep outdoors on the ground, unprotected from the elements. Amikam's family tried to retain some sense of privacy and protection by stacking suitcases on the floor to delineate a small sleeping area.[1] The complete lack of sanitary facilities caused catastrophic hygienic conditions and

fostered the rampant spread of diseases among inmates. The Jewish Council's soup kitchen could barely stave off the inmates' chronic hunger. Able-bodied women and men were regularly taken to forced labor assignments during the days; this allowed some to earn extra food.[2] The inmates were also forced to build several barracks at the site. One of them served as a prison and punishment center for communists and others deemed guilty of various offenses. Prisoners from this barrack were among the first to be deported to Auschwitz.

The roundup of the Jewish residents of Ungvár proper began on April 20, 1944, and lasted approximately one week. The gendarmes cleared Jewish homes street by street, herding people onto the streets or into courtyards, where they conducted brutal and humiliating body searches for valuables. Survivor Erna Anolik testified that her family learned of the impending ghettoization, scheduled for April 24, from placards posted in towns. The family members vacated their home and reported to an assembly point, where they were then transferred to the ghetto at the Glück lumberyard in town.[3] Up to 2,000 inmates occupied this site. Because of overcrowding and the lack of basic facilities, the conditions here were similar to those prevailing at the Moskovits brickyard. Inmates had insufficient shelter and suffered from poor hygienic conditions. They had no water and little food. Some inmates earned extra rations by completing a variety of forced labor assignments.[4] For instance, survivor Francis Adler testified that she sorted clothing and shoes confiscated from the ghetto inmates.[5]

Over the course of their internment at the two Ungvár ghettos, the inmates were subjected to brutal treatment. Many were tortured by gendarmes trying to extract information about hidden valuables. To prevent Jews from transporting any possessions outside of Hungary, the final search usually took place just before the ghetto inmates were forced onto the train freight cars to Auschwitz. The Jews of the Ungvár ghettos were deported to Auschwitz in five transports between May 17 and May 31, 1944. Ungvár was liberated by Soviet troops in late 1944. It came briefly under joint Soviet-Czechoslovak administration before being incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1945.

SOURCES There are several relevant secondary sources for the Ungvár ghetto. See, among others, Dov Dinur, ed., *Sho'at Yehude Rusyah ha-Ḳarpaṭit-Uz'horod* (Jerusalem: ha-Mador le-ḥeḳer ha-Sho'ah, ha-Makhon le-Yahadut zemanenu, ha-Universiṭah ha-'Ivrit, 1983); Anita Lebowitz Stieglitz, *The Joy and the Sorrow: The Jews of Ungvár-Uzhorod and Vicinity, 1492–1944* (Denver: Cyrano Publications, 1996); Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1160–1164.

For important primary documentation about ghettos at Ungvár see the many small family collections containing memoirs and photos of Jewish life in Ungvár before and during the Holocaust, which are held at USHMMA. See, among others, Helen Freibrun memoir and photograph (RG-02-068*01); Diane Lewis papers (Acc. No. 2005.430.1); and Sam and Susan Weiss collection (Acc. No. 2011.127.1) For relevant photos see, among others at USHMMPA, WS #49651, WS #09823, WS #26721, WS #17165, and WS #60170. Three hundred and forty-five VHA testimonies are indexed for the Ungvár ghettos, including Francis Adler, April 26, 1996 (#13953); Edith Ales, October 2, 1996 (#20422); Flora Altman, May 25, 1995 (#2831); Benjamin Amikam, August 4, 1995 (#5204); and Erna Anolik, November 10, 1996 (#22586). See also the memoir by Alice Neumann Schoenfeld, *From Ungvár to Beverly Hills: One Survivor's Journey* (Amherst, MA: Small Batch Books, 2012). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several thousand residents, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed in Ungvár. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #5204, Benjamin Amikam testimony, August 4, 1995.

2. VHA #20422, Edith Ales testimony, October 2, 1996.

3. VHA #22586, Erna Anolik testimony, November 10, 1996.

4. VHA #2831, Flora Altman testimony, May 25, 1995.

5. VHA #13953, Francis Adler testimony, April 26, 1996.

VEREBÉLY

Verebély (Slovak: Vráble) is located approximately 120 kilometers (75 miles) northwest of Budapest. Originally part of Austria-Hungary, the town was awarded to Czechoslovakia after the end of World War I. In accordance with the provisions of the First Vienna Accord of November 1938, Hungary incorporated the town as district seat of Verebély District in Bars and Hont County. In 1941, the district had 539 Jews. The town of Verebély had 223 Jews and 5 Christians of Jewish descent.

Beginning on May 9, 1944, the Hungarian authorities detained the local Jewish population and Jews from surrounding communities in a ghetto at the Schück Steam Mill in Verebély.[1] Approximately 500 people were registered at the site. Among them was Alice Ruda, who grew up in Verebély. Two days after the family moved to the ghetto, her mother was subjected to a brutal interrogation and torture session at the hands of gendarmes. According to Ruda's postwar testimony, her mother refused to reveal the location of their hidden valuables and jewelry. When she finally returned, "she had been beaten beyond recognition."[2] Some of the younger ghetto inmates were conscripted to do forced labor during the day. The ghetto of Verebély was liquidated after most of the inmates were transferred to the entrainment center of Léva on June 10, 1944.[3]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Verebély ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 127–129.

For important primary documentation see the following

collection: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 7 (box D 5/1). Three VHA testimonies are indexed for the ghetto at Verebély: Jolana Herczegová, September 26, 1997 (#36367); Veronika Schlesingerová, March 17, 1997 (#29219); and Alice Ruda, November 16, 1995 (#8911). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Verebély natives and ghetto inmates. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. See ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Judith Blumenthal, Doc. No. 52285297.
2. VHA #8911, Alice Ruda testimony, November 16, 1995.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Harry Fried, Doc. No. 52432694.

VESZPRÉM

Veszprém is located near the northwestern tip of Lake Balaton in Hungary, about 96 kilometers (59 miles) southwest of Budapest. The social and economic status of the Veszprém's Jews declined in the wake of the anti-Jewish measures that were enacted beginning in 1938. It became precarious after the start of World War II, when many of the Jewish men were recruited into the forced labor service system.

The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, marked the beginning of the end of the once flourishing Jewish community. According to the late April 1944 report prepared by the local Jewish leaders at the request of the German and Hungarian authorities, the city then had a Jewish population of 650. The Jews were compelled to wear a yellow star on their clothing starting on April 5. On June 4, they were ordered into a ghetto, which was established around the synagogue and other Jewish communal buildings and was surrounded by a wooden fence. Another ghetto was established in the Komakut barracks for Jews brought in from the neighboring communities in the districts of Veszprém and Enying, including Balatonalmádi, Berhida, Enying, Herend, Lepsény, Mezöszila, Nagyvázsony, Siófok Szentgál, and Várpalota. The Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) was headed by Rabbi Lajos Kun.

As part of Deportation Zone V, Gendarmerie Districts III and IV, the ghettoization drive was carried out under the command of Mayor László Nagy and his successor Miklós Hornyák, Deputy Mayor Lajos Tekeres, Gendarmerie Alezredes Ernö Tóth, Police Counselor István Simon, and County Prefect István Buda. The ghettos were liquidated on June 19 with the deportation of the Jews to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. After this deportation, Ferenc Schiberna, the leader of the local Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) party and an Obersturmführer in the Nazi SS, ordered church leaders to offer a prayer of thanksgiving for the city having been cleared of Jews.

The small number of survivors, including returning labor servicemen, reorganized the community after the war. In 1946 there were 106 Jews in the city, including those who moved in from neighboring smaller communities.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Veszprém are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1228–1232; and Tim Cole, *Traces of the Holocaust: Journeying in and out of the Ghettos* (London: Continuum, 2011). On anti-Jewish persecution at the county level, including the Veszprém ghetto, see Éva Máthé, ed., *Töredék: fejezetek a Veszprémi zsidó közösség történetből* (Veszprém: Veszprémi Zsidó Örökségi Alapítvány, 2001).

Primary sources on the ghetto at Veszprém can be found in MOL and VML. The local press (*VeVá* and *VeHí*) provided contemporaneous documentation of anti-Jewish persecution during the time of the Veszprém ghetto. VHA holds one survivor's testimony from Veszprém.

Randolph L. Braham

ZALAEGERSZEG

Zalaegerszeg (Croatian: Jegersek; Slovene: Jageršek; German: Egersee) was the administrative center of Zala County in western Hungary. A ghetto was established in Zalaegerszeg, which is located more than 184 kilometers (almost 115 miles) southwest of Budapest and almost 133 kilometers (over 82 miles) northeast of Zagreb.

According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, Zalaegerszeg had a total population of 13,967, of whom 873 were Jews. The Zalaegerszeg ghetto came into being on May 16, 1944, and held nearly the town's entire Jewish population, including Jews who had recently converted from Catholicism.[1] Jews from various provincial ghettos, cities and villages (such as Keszthely and Tapolca) were gradually transferred to Zalaegerszeg by June 20.

There were very rare exceptions, such as Eva Baik and her family, who were not forced to move into the ghetto, but still had to wear the yellow star. The Baiks were exempted because her stepfather, Dr. Jambor Laszlor, was the best dentist in town and his services were needed. Mrs. Baik was able to go into the ghetto and help those interned there. According to Mrs. Baik, the ghetto was located in the poorest part of the city; the houses were only on one level and accommodated one family per room. The hygienic conditions were very poor, but access to food was more than sufficient.[2] Despite the fact that Dr. Laszlor had converted to Christianity before the war, his entire family was still deported to Auschwitz.

Before the final transport, the ghetto's inhabitants were forced to leave their houses and stay in the brick factory in town for a few days, before being put on a train with no idea where they were going. At the factory they had to sit on the bare floor and were guarded by Hungarian gendarmes. The women were subject to cavity searches as the gendarmes looked for gold and jewelry. Men and women were beaten as the gendarmes forced them to

confess that they had hidden gold.[3]

The transport containing approximately 2,900 Jews from the Zalaegerszeg ghetto left on July 5 and arrived in Auschwitz on July 7, 1944. The emptied ghetto was liquidated in mid-July of that year. From Auschwitz, the Zalaegerszeg ghetto victims had diverse paths of persecution, being sent to Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen, Bremen, and Gross-Rosen, among other camps.

The Red Army liberated Zalaegerszeg on March 28, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary source material about the Zalaegerszeg ghetto in Hungary can be found in "Zalaegerszeg," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1276–1283; and "Zalaegerszeg," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1485–1486.

A man and a young boy at the entrance to the ghetto in Zalaegerszeg. The sign in Hungarian reads “Jewish quarter. Christians are forbidden to enter.” July 1944. USHMM WS #68666, COURTESY OF MAGYAR NEMZETI MUZEUM TORTENETI FENYKEPTAR.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Zalaegerszeg Jews can be found at USHMMA. VHA holds 14 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Zalaegerszeg ghetto. The testimonies featured here are Eva Baik, February 15, 2000 (#50620), and Margit Berkes, July 6, 1999 (#50247). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Zalaegerszeg ghetto. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

NOTES

1. VHA #50247, Margit Berkes testimony, July 6, 1999.
2. VHA #50620, Eva Baik testimony, February 15, 2000.
3. VHA #50247.

ZOMBOR

Zombor (Serbian: Sombor) is located approximately 275 kilometers (171 miles) south of Budapest. Originally part of Austria-Hungary, it was awarded to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, subsequently known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, after World War I. Following the 1941 invasion and partition of Yugoslavia by the Axis Powers, Hungary annexed Zombor as the seat of Zombor District in Bács-Bodrog County. In 1941, Zombor had 1,011 Jews, and the outlying district held an additional 304 Jews. Most of the Jewish men of Zombor were drafted into the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) in the spring of 1941. Although many returned home by the summer of 1941, they were subsequently conscripted again and stationed at the Russian and Ukrainian fronts, where many perished.[1]

A Zombor silk factory served as a temporary ghetto and detention center for Zombor's Jews between April 26 and early May 1944. The inmates were moved from there to Baja in several transports. They were then deported to Auschwitz in May or June 1944. Subsequently, various Jewish battalions of the KMOF were marched through Zombor during the Hungarian evacuation of the Balkans in September and October 1944. From Zombor, they continued to Mohács and then Szentkirályszabadja, where the remaining internees were deported to Nazi Germany.[2] More than 141 survivors returned after the end of the war.[3]

SOURCES Important secondary sources for Zombor include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary,* 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 60–61; and Randolph L.

Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977).

Primary sources documenting the Zombor ghetto include VHA, which indexes 62 testimonies for the site (under Sombor), including Zoltan Erenyi, February 27, 1997 (#26615); Greta Berry, December 3, 1998 (#48405); Zlata Birman, November 7, 1995 (#8396); and Miklos Blum, December 18, 1995 (#8833). At USHMMA, see also oral history interviews with Mira Aršimov (RG-50.585*0001) and Eva Cavcic (RG-50.459*0013). USHMMA and USHMMPA contain several small family collections and images documenting Jewish life in Zombor before and after the Holocaust. See, among others, "Postcard dated May 15, 1944, from the detention center at Zombor" (Acc. No. 1997.16.153) and the Steven Lazar Basic family collection (RG-02.116). The ITS contains a few references to Zombor residents, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed in Zombor. This documentation is available in digital format at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #8833, Miklos Blum testimony, December 18, 1995.
2. VHA #26615, Zoltan Erenyi testimony, February 27, 1997.
3. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 60.

The barbed-wire fence and a guard tower at Fossoli di Carpi, the main transit camp in Italy for Jews to be deported to Auschwitz.
USHMM WS #63819, COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVIO NOMADELFIA, GROSSET (COPYRIGHT UNKNOWN).

ITALY

During World War II, Italian concentration camps held persons of Italian and non-Italian citizenship. It was not until Italy entered the war on June 10, 1940, that the Fascist government established a system of concentration camps to hold those who opposed it. Before that, antifascists and those thought to be dangerous to the regime were sent into internal exile (*confino*), the most effective weapon that the Fascist regime could then use against potential troublemakers. It was established with the Single Text of Public Security (*Testo Unico di Pubblica Sicurezza*), which was enacted by the Italian Fascist government under Benito Mussolini as leader (*Duce*) in November 1926. Communists, anarchists, and other real or potential enemies wound up mostly on remote islands or sometimes in small, isolated towns. Approximately 17,000

suffered this internal exile.

The planning of a system of concentration camps began in 1936, when war seemed imminent. In that year, the War Ministry set up general criteria for the construction of concentration camps and indicated the categories of those to be defined as internees (*internati*): opponents of fascism to be silenced, political "criminals" already sent to the *confino* under the Single Text, and confirmed spies. The Interior Ministry was put in charge of the organization of the camps. Before the war, the only purpose-built concentration camp existed at Pisticci in the province of Matera in 1939. At Pisticci, the internees lived together in huge barracks, under police surveillance, and worked on land reclamation projects in the surrounding areas.

Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler stand together on a reviewing stand during an official visit to occupied Yugoslavia. USHMM WS #89908, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

The Royal Decree (*Regio decreto*) of July 8, 1938, No. 1415, established the norms for the internment of civilian foreigners. The Interior Ministry and all police prefects were given the power to "arrange the internment of foreign subjects who intend, or who are able, to undertake activities harmful to the state." In September 1939, the Interior Ministry also began to take action against Jews present on Italian national territory. On May 26, 1940, the undersecretary of the Interior Ministry, Guido Buffarini Guidi, indicated to the chief of police, the *capo della polizia*, Arturo Bocchini, Mussolini's wish to create concentration camps for Jews in case of war. Mussolini did not distinguish between Italian and foreign Jews and neither were described as enemy aliens or stateless persons, because the Kingdom of Italy did not officially consider Jews as enemies of the state. Although the machinery of the state oppressed the Jews and the police maintained checks and controls on Italian-resident Jews of any nationality, this policy was not done in accordance with any explicit law mandating their confinements in camps, but rather because fascist ideology itself considered Jews to be potential enemies of the Axis dictatorships.

Italian law did, however, discriminate against Jews even before the war began. Racial distinctions (including membership in the "Jewish race") were introduced with the Racial Laws of 1938. Through these laws, native populations in the Italian colonies, but also Italian Jews, lost many of their rights. The first Racial Laws were introduced in the territories of the Italian Empire in 1937 to block mixed marriages between Italians and Ethiopians.

On June 1, 1940, the Interior Ministry ordered local prefects to arrest "very dangerous persons," foreign or Italian, of any race, as soon as war was declared. A week later, on June 8, 1940, the Interior Ministry distributed Circular No. 442/12267, under the heading "Prescription for Concentration Camps and for Places of Internment," which established the way in which the camps would be run. An officer of the *Pubblica Sicurezza*, the police, or the mayor of the town (*podestà*), was to be made camp head with the

title of director, *Direttore del Campo*. His duties comprised enforcing the regulations of the camp, which included the obligation to remain within the camp's perimeter and attend three roll calls a day.

Each detainee was to receive a daily stipend from the government of 6.50 lire (0.33 USD in 1940 value) with which to buy meals from local civilians; wealthy prisoners were allowed to use their own money. The Interior Ministry was to pay for medical costs. To clarify these rather vague regulations, another circular went out on June 25, 1940 (No. 442/14178) that denied prisoners their passports and that forbade them from possessing sums greater than 100 lire (5 USD), jewels or other valuables, weapons, or radios. Also forbidden were political activities and the reading of foreign books or newspapers without authorization; packages and letters were to be closely examined.

Up to this point, the laws were not directed specifically against Jews, but against any potential enemy of the Italian state. The first direct action taken to isolate and arrest Jews came with a circular of June 15, 1940, of the Interior Ministry (No. 443/45626), in which Jews "belonging to states with active racial laws"—that is, Nazi Germany and other countries under German influence—were to be arrested and interned "as soon as space becomes available in the prisons." The idea was to identify Jews as enemies of the state, and thereby to intern them under the existing laws. On September 4, 1940, Mussolini decreed that citizens of enemy states, including Jews, could be held in special concentration camps or be forced to reside in predetermined areas.

From the autumn of 1940 until 1943, the Interior Ministry opened and ran more than 50 concentration camps, almost all of them scattered across central-southern Italy, in isolated areas far from any important military or civilian sites. The great majority of the camps were set up in preexisting buildings, among them convents, schools, and private villas; these buildings were generally large edifices with a courtyard or walled garden. Few camps were constructed from the ground up; those that were newly created consisted of barracks surrounded by barbed-wire fences and guard towers. One such camp was the Jewish concentration camp at Ferramonti, in the province of Cosenza, which could hold more than 1,000 people. The smaller camps were established

based on the assumption that the war would be over quickly and therefore larger purpose-built camps would not be necessary; when it became clear that the war would continue for some time, larger camps began to be contemplated.

On average, a little more than 5,000 internees were held each year in the camps under the control of the Interior Ministry. (Many more internees were held in the camps run by the Italian Army in the Balkans.) One report, from December 31, 1942, gave the number of prisoners as 5,284, of whom 2,139 were "Jews" and 3,145 were "Aryans." The camps mainly held Italian and foreign Jews, Britons, French, Greeks, "ex-Yugoslavs," Roma and Sinti ("Gypsies"), and some Chinese, in addition to Italians deemed dangerous to the regime.

Daily life in the camps was characterized by bad food, lack of heat in the winter, and lack of sanitation year-round, and, above all, boredom. Given the decline in food stocks across the country, hunger and cold were felt in the camps long before the onset of the first winter of the war. In some camps the inmates were permitted to run the canteen themselves, buying food from local merchants, whereas in others the camp director controlled the food supply. In all cases, however, complaints about the lack of food and its bad quality were constant. To make up for the lack of food and the insufficient subsidy of 6.50 lire a day, from July 1942 on, the detainees were permitted to work outside the camps, doing manual labor in the fields or on construction sites. However, the prisoners could only rarely find work or other ways to keep themselves busy. In the winter of 1942, the food situation worsened dramatically, and illnesses stemming from malnutrition became particularly widespread. Only in the spring of 1943 did the situation improve slightly.

The unhealthy conditions of the camps and the general lack of maintenance often made life in the camps even more difficult. The number of toilets was almost always insufficient, and it was rare to find a camp with showers or baths. Medical care was given by an on-site doctor in the smaller camps, whereas infirmaries were the rule in the larger camps. Prisoners with serious illnesses or in need of an operation were transferred to the local hospital. In all the camps, priests from the region provided religious services.

Discipline was not particularly strict, and the guards generally followed the regulations set down by the Interior Ministry. In almost all the camps the director was a police functionary, a commissioner or vice commissioner (*commissario* or *vice-commissario*); the mayor of the local town directed the smaller camps. The guards were policemen or the carabinieri, the gendarmerie. In some cases, as at Ferramonti, guard service was also provided by the Volunteer Militia for National Security (*Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN), better known as the *Camicie Nere*, the Blackshirts. There are almost no records of particular mistreatment of prisoners. That there were only very few documented examples of violence may be because the camps were regularly visited by representatives of the Italian Red Cross and the International Committee of the Red Cross or by high-ranking Catholic prelates. The Italian Red Cross sent many reports about the conditions in the camps to their central office in Rome and to the Interior Ministry. If cases of mistreatment were verified, the Interior Ministry acted promptly, removing the official involved. Much more frequent were cases of corruption and attempts by the guards to extort money from inmates; however, in these cases, too, the ministry was swift to intervene. There were no special restrictions on Jews, who were treated like other internees and who could continue to follow their religious practices. The Roma, in contrast, were treated much more harshly. Whole families were put into the camps and received a much lower subsidy (5.50 lire a day for each head of the family, plus 1 lira a day for each family member), as they were considered to be used to misery. Because of this discrimination, and despite the goodwill of various camp directors, the prison conditions for Roma were particularly difficult.

Like the Roma, "ex-Yugoslavs" or *allogeni* (Italian citizens of Slavic language or ethnicity) received treatment that was worse than that offered other detainees. After the German and Italian attack on Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941, and the annexation of some areas of Slovenia and Croatia, Italy faced a particularly grueling partisan war. To crush the Yugoslav resistance, General Mario Roatta, commander of the Italian Second Army, issued Circular No. 3C (March 1, 1942), which spelled out the disposition of members of the public in the occupied territories who might

provide aid to the resistance. In the camps for "ex-Yugoslavs," which were normally run by the army but sometimes by the Interior Ministry, living conditions were extremely arduous. They were tent cities, as on the island of Arbe (Rab), where overpopulation, illness, malnutrition, and mistreatment resulted in a high death rate. According to the Red Cross, the Italian state succeeded in arresting or imprisoning more than 100,000 "ex-Yugoslavs," of whom thousands died. The most recent studies in the Balkans find that 149,639 people were interned one or more times and 92,092 other people were imprisoned.

In addition to the camps in Yugoslavia, the Italians set up detention sites in other lands they occupied. (For maps of the camps in Italian-controlled regions, see pages 394–398.) In Albania, Greece, southeastern France, and Libya, the Italians held a mix of political opponents, resistance fighters, Jews, enemy aliens, hostages, prisoners of war, criminals, and refugees. The prisoners comprised many different ethnic and national groups, including French, Greeks, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, Kosovars, Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Americans, British, Belgians, and expatriate Italians. The Italian Army created and ran most of these camps. Some of the prisoners, such as the Libyan Jews, had to perform forced labor.

Overall, although the camps in Italy were not places where inmates were brutalized or in danger of systemized extermination, the overcrowding, the almost nonexistent hygiene, the lack of any kind of mental distraction or occupation, and, above all, the hunger and cold made the living conditions of the prisoners extremely harsh.

After the fall of the Fascist regime on July 25, 1943, the camp system underwent a drastic change, and many internees were gradually freed. The first to be released were Italian antifascists, excluding anarchists and communists; then Italian Jews; and finally the communists and anarchists. On September 10, 1943, two days after the Armistice was signed by Italy with the United Nations, the new head of the police, Carmine Senise, ordered the release of foreign inmates. However, by that point the Germans had occupied all of central-southern Italy and had taken control of all the organs of state.

With the German occupation of Italy, the vast majority of Italian concentration camps came under direct German military rule. However, the de facto administration and daily surveillance of many camps fell to the Italian authorities, either the provincial police or the Blackshirts. In addition, with the Germans technically in power, the former internment facilities were transformed into individual transit camps, with the subjected internees—largely citizens of "enemy nations" and people identified as Jews—now facing the threat of deportation to the Reich.

The Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), the state created by Mussolini on September 12, 1943, to continue the war as a German ally, formally revoked the release of internees on November 4, 1943, although, as mentioned, the camps had already been either occupied by the Germans or abandoned. From November 1943 the RSI resumed control over some of the camps. At the end of November 1943, 12 camps were still functioning, of which 6 held 320 inmates. We have only minimal details about the camps run by the RSI because of the dispersion of the relevant archives and the lack of historiographical work on the subject.

On December 1, 1943, Guido Buffarini Guidi, then the RSI interior minister, issued Police Order No. 5, which prescribed the internment of all Jews present on Italian soil, native born or foreign, in special provincial camps. On December 10, Buffarini Guidi issued another order that excluded from internment all Jews older than 70 years, Jews who were gravely ill, and Jews defined as "mixed-race" under Italian law. This second order created great confusion, particularly because the Germans held necessary the deportation of all Jews, even those protected under Italian law.

Given the difficulty of carrying out the order to intern the Jews, some prefects replied that they were not capable of building camps in their provinces. However, in December 1943, 15 prefectures requested internment for a total of 1,652 Jews. On December 5, 1943, the Fossoli concentration camp in the Modena province reopened, having been constructed the year before to house prisoners of war (POWs) and then been occupied by the Germans between September 8 and 9, 1943, when the Italian officials were arrested. The RSI reused part of the camp to contain Jews, in fulfillment of Police Order No. 5. On December 27, 97 Jews

entered the compound. In March 1944 the Fossoli camp came under direct German control. It was evacuated on August 1, 1944, in anticipation of the Allied armies advancing from the south. A new camp was set up in the north, near Bolzano.

Living conditions in the RSI camps were practically identical to those in the camps before the Armistice of September 8, 1943. Jewish prisoners could still exchange letters and receive visitors from the outside. The most obvious difference was the fact that the Jews were interned in groups that included whole families. Moreover, there was a new terror: the prospect of deportation to Germany. The danger was real: Jews captured and imprisoned under the auspices of the RSI were handed over to the Germans, who sent them to the extermination camps. There were, however, no formal accords between the RSI authorities and the Germans regarding such deportations. One may only suppose that the provincial camps must have been created as transit camps or that they must have been constructed with the specific intention of collecting the Jews together with the goal of deporting them later to the extermination centers. The behavior of even high RSI officials was ambiguous, and it is therefore difficult to clarify exactly what were the RSI's intentions. Buffarini Guidi's orders were in part contradictory, as described earlier, and they were interpreted in different ways by different officials of the RSI.

With the current state of research, it is impossible to know what ordinary Italians of the time knew of the Holocaust; we do know, however, that Mussolini and those in the higher levels of the RSI had a profound knowledge of the facts. We also know that Italians searched for, arrested, and interned Jews, with the deportations organized by the German authorities, which took over control of the Jews gathered in the provincial camps of the RSI. Recent studies suggest that none of the deportations could have happened without some type of agreement between Italian and German authorities.

Immediately after the war, the camps were closed. Most were abandoned, although some of them were transformed and reused. The camp at Fossoli was used as a collection camp for displaced persons (DPs) and then as an orphan colony set up by a priest. The Ferramonti camp was also used as a collection camp for DPs and in this capacity continued to function until September 6, 1945.

No Italian was tried or condemned for having worked in the concentration camps. The law that punished Fascist criminals (July 27, 1944) did not in any way mention crimes that occurred in the concentration camps: it affected only those Italians who had collaborated with the Germans or those who had played an important role in the establishment and consolidation of the Fascist regime. The amnesty promulgated by Justice Minister Palmiro Togliatti in June 1944 eliminated practically every trace of what had taken place.

In Yugoslavia, the commander of the Arbe camp was executed immediately after the Armistice on September 8, 1943, but he was one of the few to pay any sort of price for his crimes. Indeed, after the war, the Yugoslav request to try Italians accused of war crimes in their territory went against Italian postwar government policy not to send any real or presumed criminal to former enemy states. This policy prevented Italian citizens from being tried abroad for war crimes. At the same time, the restitution of property sequestered from the Jews under Fascism and compensation for the sufferings they had under gone took place with exasperating slowness. In 1955 the law of March 10, No. 96, acknowledged some "compensation" ("*provvidenze*") for persecuted antifascist politicians, those who suffered under the racial laws, and their family members. This compensation, although it served as a public gesture of repentance, had practically no cash value.

The camps set up under Fascism represent a mirror of the regime in two ways. First, categories of enemies in the camps were treated differently. If antifascists, Jews, and foreign enemies were treated in a humane manner, or at least according to precise rules, this was both because these categories of enemies did not represent a serious danger to the regime and because the Italians feared reprisals on Italians imprisoned in Britain and the United States if detained nationals of those countries were to suffer. Against the "ex-Yugoslavs," however, the Fascist regime exercised extreme brutality: it found in them an enemy that it both despised for racial reasons and feared, because the Yugoslav resistance was causing serious difficulties for the Italian Army in the Balkans. Second, the grave and systemic failure to provide food and basic maintenance to the camps reflects a fundamental feature of the Italian camp system during the entire course of World War II.

Whereas the running of the Italian state under the Fascist regime up to the fall of Mussolini was characterized by inefficiency and a certain sloppy and uneven moderation, the conduct of the RSI was quite different. Created with a clear antisemitic intent (Article 7 of the *Carta di Verona*, a kind of constitution of the RSI, defined the Jews as "enemies"), the RSI applied a rigid policy that anticipated the imprisonment of all Jews. The RSI police were given the responsibility for finding and detaining Jews present on Italian territory. Because of this policy, the German authorities in Italy were easily able to collect and deport thousands of Jews, of whom 8,529 lost their lives.

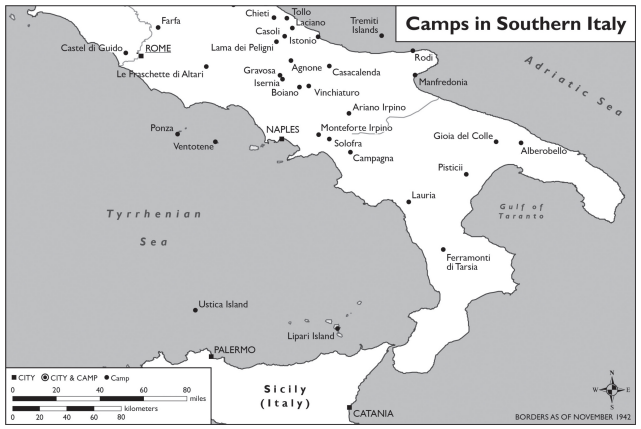
SOURCES There were no publications before the 1990s that dealt with the general history of the Italian concentration camps. From 1993 onward the following texts began to appear: Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, 2 vols. (1993; Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1996), 2; Constantino Di Sante, *I Campi di Concentramento in Italia: Dall'Internamento alla Deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi and Constantino Di Sante, "Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager im faschistischen Italien," in Sven Reichardt and Armin Nolzen, eds., *Faschismus in Italien und Deutschland: Studien zu Transfer und Vergleich* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005); and Luigi Reale, *Mussolini's Concentration Camps for Civilians: An Insight into the Nature of Fascist Racism* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2011). On the camps for "ex-Yugoslavs," see Tone Ferenc, *Rab-Arbe-Arbissima: Confinamenti—Rastrellamenti —Internamenti nella provincial di Lubiana 1941–1943: Documenti* (Ljubljana: NPB, 2000); Carlo Moos, *Ausgrenzung, Internie-rung, Deportation: Antisemitismus und Gewalt im späten italienischen Faschismus (1938–1945*) (Zu rich: Chronos, 2004); Dragan S. Nenezić, *Jugoslovenske Oblasti Pod Italijom 1941–1943* (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski Institut Vojske Jugoslavije, 1999); and Davide Rodogno, *Il nuove ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista*

in Europa (1940–1943) (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003). For the RSI, see Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della memoria: Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945*) (1991; Milan: Mursia, 2002), which addresses only the deportation system and describes the camp at Fossoli; and Giuseppe Mayda, *Storia della deportazione dall'Italia 1943–1945: Militari, ebrei e politici nei lager del Terzo Reich* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2002). For information on the system of repression under Fascism and on internment, the following works may be consulted: Gina Antoniani Persichilli, "Disposizioni e fonti per lo studio dell'internamento in Italia," *RAS* 38 (1978): 77–96; Paola Carucci, "Arturo Bocchini," in Ferdinando Cordova, ed., *Uomini e volti del fascismo* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1980), pp. 63–104; Simonetta Carolini, *Pericolosi nelle contingenze belliche: Gli internati dal 1940 al 1943* (Rome: Anpia, 1987); and Giovanna Tosatti, "Gli internati civili in Italia nei documenti dell'Archivio Centrale dello Stato," in *Una storia di tutti: Prigionieri, internati, deportati italiani nella seconda guerra mondiale* (Milan: Angeli, 1989), pp. 35–50.

The most important archival sources on central planning and policy and individual camps are in the Archivio Centrale dello Stato (Roma), Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione generale di Pubblica sicurezza, Categoria A4 bis, "Ufficio internati stranieri," which contains 11 folders of various documents relating to the camps and 373 folders of personal documentation about the internees. Also valuable is the archive of the Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione generale di Pubblica sicurezza, Divisione Affari Generali e Riservati, Categoria A5G (II Guerra mondiale), "Ufficio internati," and the series Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione generale di Pubblica sicurezza, Divisione Affari Generali e Riservati, Categoria "Massime M4."

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

Camps in Northern Italy
Germany
Switzerland
Italy
Aosta
TURIN
MILAN
Aravecchia
Asti
Sondrio
Aprica
Tonezza del Cimone
Vicenza
Verona
Mantua
Scipione
Fossoli
Montechiarugolo
San Tomaso della Fossa
BOLOGNA
Bazzano
Prignano sulla Secchia
Cairo Montenotte
Calvari di Chiavari
Borgo San Dalmazzo
GENOA
Bergeggi & Celle Ligure
Vallecrosia
Bagni di Lucca
Camugnano
Forlì
Colle di Compito
FLORENCE
Montalbano
Bagno a Ripoli
Civitella della Chiarra
Roccatederighi
Pietrafitta-Tavernelle
Elba Island
Lingurian Sea
Corsica (France)
VENICE
Chiesanuova
Vo' Vecchio
Monigo
Fossalon
Cighino
Poggio Terza Armata
Gonars
Visco
Castagnevizza
TRIESTE
Fiume
Laurana
Adriatic Sea
Senigallia
Sassoferrato
Scuola Santa Croce
Renicci di Anghiari
Fabriano
Treia
Pollenza
Urbisaglia
Sforzacosta
Petriolo
Servigliano
Colfiorito
Civitella del Tronto
Nereto
Corropoli
Tortoreto
Notaresco
Tossicia
Isola del Gran Sasso
Città Sant' Angelo
Chieti
Tollo
Farfa
CITY CITY & CAMP Camp
0 20 40 60 80 miles
0 20 40 60 80 kilometers
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942


Camps in Southern Italy
Farfa
Chieti
Tollo
Laciano
Casoli
Istonio
Tremiti Islands
Castel di Guido
ROME
Lama dei Peligni
Le Praschette di Altari
Gravosa
Agnone
Casacalenda
Isernia
Boiano
Vinchiaturo
Rodi
Manfredonia
Adriatic Sea
Ariano Irpino
Ponza
Ventotene
NAPLES
Monteforte Irpino
Solofra
Campagna
Gioia del Colle
Alberobello
Pisticii
Lauria
Gulf of Taranto
Tyrrhenian Sea
Ferramonti di Tarsia
Ustica Island
Lipari Island
PALERMO
Sicily (Italy)
CATANIA
CITY CITY & CAMP Camp
0 20 40 60 80 miles
0 20 40 60 80 kilometers
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

Italian Camps in Southeast Europe
Trebussa Inferiore
Cighino
Lubiana
ZAGREB
Hungary
TRIESTE
FIUME
Buccari
Porto Re
Arbe
Croatia
BELGRADE
Romania
Melada
Ugliano
SARAJEVO
Serbia
San Marino
Zlarino
Brazza Island
Montenegro
DUBROVNIK (GRAVOSA)
Lesina Island
Curzola Island
Cupari
Mamula
Pristina
Mezzo Island
Pejë
Bulgaria
Prevlaka
Puke
Fushë Arrëz
Antivari
Kukës
Italy
Villa Shiroka
German
Kruja
Kios
Albania
Preze
TIRANA
Kavajë
Peqin
Fier
Kolonjë
SALONIKA
KORCE
IOANNINA
LARISSA
Turkey
Corfu-Lazaretto
Trikala
Greece
Vonitsa
Katouna
Thebes
ATHENS
Aviano
Empoli/Ieio
Kalavryta
Kallithea
Akronafplia
Pholegandros
Anafi Island
CITY CITY & CAMP Camp
0 50 100 150 200 miles
0 50 100 150 200 kilometers
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

Italian Camps in North Africa
Malta
Crete (Greece)
Mediterranean Sea
Tunisia
ZUARA
Sidi Azaz
TRIPOLI
Giado
BENGHAZI
Buqbuq
Egypt
EL AGHEILA
Libya
CITY CITY & CAMP Camp
0 50 100 150 200 miles
0 50 100 150 200 kilometers
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

Italian Camps in Southeast France
Switzerland
Megève
Modane
France
Italy
Embrun
Sospello
Lynwood Villa
Vence
Mentone
Monaco
N
W
E
S
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942
France
Italy
CITY
CITY & CAMP
Camp
0 10 20 30 40
miles
kilometers
0 10 20 30 40

AGNONE

Agnone is about 156 kilometers (97 miles) east of Rome and is in the Campobasso province (Molise region). As with the majority of Italian concentration camps, Agnone was chosen as a detention site because of its isolation and distance from points of military interest. The Interior Ministry opened the concentration camp to intern foreign civilians in June 1940, according to the instructions of the Royal Decree (*Regio decreto*) of July 8, 1938, No. 1415, and the official letter (*Circolare*) of the Interior Ministry dated June 8, 1940, No. 442/12267.

The camp was established in the convent of San Bernardino at the time Italy entered the war. The convent had been used until then by the bishop of Triveneto as a summer residence. It was on a hill, 800 meters (875 yards) above sea level, and thus enjoyed, in the summer months, a particularly pleasant climate for the region. The convent was about one kilometer (0.6 miles) from the town. It was two stories high and contained about 20 rooms, 4 large halls, and a refectory; there were also service areas for guards and a cloister. The building had electricity and abundant running water. The site could hold about 150 internees; this number was reduced to 141 after the construction in August 1940 of an infirmary and a solitary confinement cell, perhaps the only example of such a cell in an Italian internment camp. The greatest problem this building faced was a lack of heating: indeed, the only two wood-burning stoves were in the refectory.

In July 1940 there were 40 inmates; the number quickly rose to 108 by the following month. A year later the number fell to 65, but rose again, with some fluctuations, to 151 in the summer of 1943. From June 1942, however, the overall number of internees never dropped below 116. The religious affiliation and nationalities of the internees varied. In February/March 1941 the majority were Jews (73 of 102 prisoners); however, by December 1942 the number of Jewish prisoners had declined to only 17. There were many Roma (Gypsies) in the Agnone camp, including 65 who

arrived in August 1941 from the camp in Boiano, which was closed on August 23. Some of the Roma knew the camp as Campobasso.[1] A list of names from May 3, 1943, gives 47 Croats, 25 Spaniards, 3 Dutch, 2 Germans, 2 Belgians, 1 Frenchman, and 1 Yugoslavian, all of whom were Roma.

Authority to run the camp was given, in August 1940, to Commissioner (*Commissario*) of Public Security Giuseppe Cecere, who was replaced in November 1940 by an official of comparable rank, Domenico Palermo. In January 1941, Cecere once again became camp director. From the fall of 1942 to May 1943, and presumably until August of that year, the director of the camp was Guglielmo Casale. Food service was provided, according to a document of August 1940, by a local business, at the price of 5.60 lire per person per day.

The arrival of the first Roma from Boiano on August 26, 1941, concerned Antonio Panariello, the Inspector General of Public Security, who was responsible for the area's concentration camps; worried about the new "guests," he urged the camp director to exercise the utmost "vigilance" and the "intensification of hygienic measures."[2] As in almost all the camps that the Fascists built in war time, many problems occurred because of retrofitting and poor maintenance of the buildings; for example, in July 1942, when the number of prisoners had risen to 123, the water pipes burst. Even the food could not have been very plentiful, as a subsequent letter of Panariello to the Interior Ministry reveals: it stated that a special delivery of beans and potatoes had to be sent to the camp. However, despite the shortage of food, the functionary concluded, "The life of the camp, insofar as it related to Gypsies, with their special customs and habits, takes place in groups, in some cases quite large groups, that are made up of a family, and that sometimes give way to conflicts, almost always caused by jealousy. Despite this, camp life leaves little to be desired, and all prisoners show themselves to be relatively disciplined, seeking to follow the rules imposed on them regarding cleaning."[3] Contradicting this description of the agreeableness of life in Agnone was the testimony of former Roma prisoners, in particular Zlato Levak, who recalled the great hunger in the camp and blamed the death of his eldest son on the poor camp conditions.[4]

Camp director Casale showed himself to be very efficient. In

November 1942, with the backing of Panariello, he requested an additional grant of funds from the Interior Ministry to buy warm clothes for the poorer internees. More than that, he ordered the local mayor (*podestà*) of Agnone to reconstruct various edifices that were apparently falling down. Finally, he suggested the creation of an elementary school (with meals) for more than 30 children in the camp. Lessons commenced on January 9, 1943, and took place four times a week. Panariello, who returned in April 1943 to inspect the camp, was able to give a very positive evaluation:

> The internee children's school, set up some time ago, as has already been mentioned in the communiqué of 8 November 1942, No. 309, is attended today by about twenty children, who show themselves to be very eager to learn to read and write, with the guidance, truly maternal, of Signorina Casola Bonanni, the local teacher. I found the camp of Agnone in perfect functioning order, and this must be attributed to the truly laudable work of the directing commissioner Guglielmo Casale, who, while taking a personal interest in improving the hygiene of the camp itself, and the cleaning of the different areas, has not failed, with his continual help, to persuade the heads of the families gathered there to amend their amoral habits, to take care of their personal cleanliness and that of their children, and to give up, at the same time, their wandering life, to take on honest work.[5]

Indeed, according to the available documentation, no particular disciplinary problems seem to have arisen in the camp. On April 25, 1942, a young inmate stole 4.5 kilos (nearly 10 pounds) of bread, and in the following September three internees succeeded in escaping, but only for a few days. Despite the efforts of the staff, a few cases of malaria were reported in the camp.

The camp remained open until August 1943. The carabinieri freed all the remaining 150 internees at Agnone after the Armistice of September 8, 1943. Agnone remained behind German lines until December 1943. Many former internees joined the partisans, but others were captured by the Germans and deployed as forced laborers to dig antitank trenches and to lay land mines.

SOURCES Only a few published secondary sources refer to the Agnone camp: Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945,* 2 vols., trans. Melissari Loredana (Scandizzi: La Nuova Italia, 1996), 2: 72; Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 205–206; Karola Fings, Herbert Heuss, and Frank Sparing, *In the Shadow of the Swastika: The Gypsies during the Second World War*, 3 vols., trans. Donald Ken-rick (Hatfield, UK: University of Hertfordshire Press, Gypsy Research Centre, 1999), 2: 23–24; Mirella Karpati, "Il genocido degli zingari," *LD*1 (1987): 16–34 (at p. 32); and Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, "Il fascismo e gli zingari," *GSC*, 6:1 (June 2004): 25–43 (at pp. 37–39).

The most important archival sources may be found in the ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 117; and Cat. A4, B. 9. A useful published testimony is by Zlato Levak, "La persecuzione degli zingari: Una testimonianza," *LD* 3 (1976): 2–3.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi and Joseph Robert White
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTES

1. See the testimony of former Roma prisoner, Levak, "La persecuzione degli zingari," pp. 2–3, for the alternate name.
2. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 117, Panariello to Ministry of Interior, August 26, 1941.
3. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 117, Panariello to Ministry of Interior, July 30, 1942.
4. Levak, "La persecuzione degli zingari," pp. 2–3.
5. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 117, Panariello to Ministry of Interior, April 23, 1943.

ALBEROBELLO

Alberobello is located 49 kilometers (30 miles) southeast of Bari. On June 28, 1940, the Italian Interior Ministry established a men's internment camp in Alberobello in an ancient farm house belonging to an educational institution, the Foundazione Gigante, which ran an agricultural college. The building, commonly called "The Red House" (*La Casa Rossa*), was located in an isolated area about five kilometers (three miles) from the business center of Alberobello (a typical village of mortarless trulli construction) and 400 meters (1,312 feet) above sea level. The farm house had two floors and 32 rooms, but only part of the building was put to use as an internment camp. It could hold about 100 people.

The mayor of Alberobello, the prefect of Bari, and even the Education Ministry criticized the Interior Ministry for the government's plan to set up an internment camp "inside" an educational institution. However, the police chief was adamant, and the camp became operational, initially under the direction of the very same mayor of Alberobello. For its part, the agricultural college continued to use the stables and some adjacent buildings for farming, but had to move its classrooms and educational services to the historic center of Alberobello.

Over the entire period of the camp's existence, a total of 208 inmates (including 87 Jews) stayed there, with an average daily population of about 80. Among the first prisoners were 20 British "civilian internees of war" (English, Maltese, Irish, and Indian), who had been arrested in Naples when Italy entered the war. Soon they were transferred to the Scipione internment camp in the province of Parma. Later 79 foreign and stateless Jews (mostly ex-German and ex-Austrian Jews, among them Austrian writer Hermann Hakel) and 8 Italian Jews were interned at Alberobello. In addition, about 70 Italian alleged dissidents arrived, many of whom were "aliens" from Venezia Giulia (i.e., those belonging to Slavic ethnic minorities that the Mussolini regime persecuted with great vigor) and criminal recidivists. Finally, on August 1, 1942,

about 90 “ex-Yugoslav” civilians, who had been deported from occupied Yugoslavia by the German and Italian armies, arrived at the camp.

In the camp’s first months of operation, living conditions were bearable. The building was not crowded, and the food supplies arrived quite regularly. Supervision was entrusted to the police who set up a guard house on site and served as chaperones for inmates charged with shopping in town for food supplies for the communal mess hall. Every week the camp was inspected by the public safety commissioner, Ernesto Santini, who was also the director of a nearby internment camp, located in Gioia del Colle.

The beds in the dormitories were horse hair mattresses on planks supported by iron trestles. Hygienic services consisted of several latrines and a single functioning toilet. However, there was no infirmary, water heater, or hot water available. Medical care was provided by a local health officer (initially the mayor) who visited regularly, but due to the effects of cold and humidity, health problems occurred frequently among the inmates. One of them, an Italian civilian, died following a bout of peritonitis.

On May 21, 1941, the apostolic nuncio to the Italian government, Monsignor Francesco Borgongini-Duca, visited the inmates of Alberobello. He listened to their problems and strove to solve them. In March 1942, the Italian Navy proposed the evacuation of the camp for security reasons, but the Interior Ministry did not accept this recommendation and instead intensified its surveillance.

The Jews remained interned at Alberobello until July 13, 1942, when 37 were transferred to the camp at Ferramonti di Tarsia in the province of Cosenza. During their time in the Alberobello camp they were very active and well organized: They ran a communal soup kitchen through a special committee, were able to establish positive relationships with the local population, and improvised a small open-air synagogue that functioned during the holiday of Passover.

At the beginning of August 1942, with the arrival of “ex-Yugoslav” inmates—a heterogeneous group that included members of the Serbian monarchist Chetnik (Četnici) movement, Croats from the fascist Ustaša movement, and even some Jews—

discipline became more rigorous and the authorities proposed that a barbed-wire fence be erected around the camp (bordered by hedges and walls). But, in fact, they simply mounted frames with bars and railings on the windows that only made the lives of the Yugoslavian internees more difficult.

Beginning in February 1943 some of the internees periodically performed agricultural work on behalf of the agricultural school. All others usually remained "unemployed," settling at best on doing some craftwork.

The fall of Mussolini on July 25, 1943, elicited enthusiasm and great expectations among the inmates, but it brought no immediate change; it was not until September 3, 1943, that an order for the camp's evacuation arrived. Some of the inmates were then freed; those deemed unsuitable for release (58 people, mostly "ex-Yugoslavs" and "aliens" from Venezia Giulia) were transferred to Castel di Guido, a camp located near Rome. Nine other foreign inmates, including a few Jews, were sent to the Farfa camp in the province of Rieti. The last departures from Alberobello took place on September 6, 1943, the day the camp officially ceased to function.

From February 8 to 26, 1944, Masseria Gigante hosted 20 "war refugees" on behalf of the Southern Kingdom (the regime of Marshal Pietro Badoglio, allied to Britain and the United States). On February 28, 1945, as part of the cleanup measures undertaken by the Southern Kingdom, the Red House became a confinement colony for ex-fascists.

SOURCES There are two secondary sources that describe the camp at Alberobello. This slightly revised entry on the camp at Alberobello first appeared as a book chapter by the author, Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Mappatura dei campi-Puglia," in *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004) pp. 235–236; and see Francesco Terzulli, *La Casa Rossa: Un campo di concentramento ad Alberobello* (Milan: Mursia, 2003).

Archival holdings on the camp at Alberobello may be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, f. 16 (Campi

concentramento), B.115, s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincial), ins. 8 "Bari," ss. Ff. 3, 6; and ACS collection Mi, Dgps, Cat. Collection, A4 bis (Stranieri internati) B. 4/67 "Bari."

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jane Klinger with Jakub Smutný

AOSTA

Aosta is 149 kilometers (93 miles) northwest of Milan, in the Valle d'Aosta region. The concentration camp of Aosta was set up the Mottino barracks (*Caserma Mottino*) in the city. On November 30, 1943, Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi, of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), issued a directive establishing provincial camps for Italian and foreign Jews. In response, on December 12, 1943, the superintendent of the Aosta camp, Vittorio Labbro, issued an order for both Italian and foreign Jews to be transferred to the Mottino barracks; from there they were to be sent to other camps.[1] The letter specified that the camp was to accommodate 50 Jews under the direction of Public Security Commissioner Alberto Mosso. Local police, or carabinieri, were placed in charge of camp security alongside the Volunteer Militia for National Security (*Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN).

On December 13, 1943, the authorities captured several Jews, including the well-known Italian writer and chemist Primo Levi. Levi recounted that he was taken to the barracks before being interrogated by an MVSN soldier, Cagni, in a cell that had once served as a canteen. Cagni related to him that the administration of the barracks was to be passed over to the Nazi SS in a few days.[2] Children lived in the barracks, and the first transfer of all arrested Jews (50 to 60 in total, including many foreign Jews mostly from Yugoslavia) to the Fossoli di Carpi internment camp in the Modena province took place on January 20, 1944. The other transfers followed on February 17 and March 6, 1944.

It seems that *Caserma Mottino* accommodated only a small number of the Jews captured in early December. The other detainees were kept in prisons in Ivrea or at locations of which the exact coordinates remain unknown.

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the Aosta camp are

Ando Gilardi and Patrizia Piccini, eds., *La Gioconda di Lvov: Immagini "spontanee" e testi relativi ai fatti dello sterminio* (Aosta: Tip. Valdostana, 1995); Luciana Pramotton and Chiara Minelli, *Storie e storia: Émile Chanoux, Primo Levi, Émile Lexert e Ida Desandré tra Resistenza e deportazione* (Aosta: Le chateau, 2001); Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della memoria: Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945)* (Milan: Mursia, 2002); and Monaya Raimondo, *Dal gioco della monarchia fascista alla libertà (1940–1945)* (Aosta: Le chateau, 2008).

Primary sources on the Aosta camp can be found in AISRVA and ACS. A published testimony on the camp is found in Primo Levi, "Gold," in *The Periodic Table*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Schocken Books, 1984).

Nicoletta Fasano
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

2. Levi, *The Periodic Table*, p. 134.

APRICA

Aprica (Sondrio province) is a well-known holiday resort not far from the Swiss border and close to the Aprica Pass that connects the provinces of Sondrio and Brescia. It is located 21 kilometers (13 miles) southeast of Sondrio and 6 kilometers (4 miles) south of Tirana (Tiranë). In the second half of 1941, the Fascist regime chose the township of Aprica, especially the hamlet of San Pietro, for the internment of Jews (both entire families and individual internees) coming from regions either occupied by or annexed to Italy after the invasion of Yugoslavia. The first group of internees, which consisted of approximately 150 Jews, arrived in September 1941. The number of internees increased the following year before peaking in the summer of 1943 at 372. In total, almost 400 Jews (not only Yugoslavs) were dispatched to Aprica by the High Commissioner for the Ljubljana province, with the site designated as a place for "free internees" (in practice equivalent to a mandatory stay) and lodging provided either by private homeowners or several of the many local hotels, including the Mirafiori, Aprica, San Pietro, and Posta. The "free" internment in Aprica was somewhat similar to what tran spired in other Fascist camps until the Armistice. Officially Aprica was not a concentration camp; if anything, it can be referred to, as historian Klaus Voigt suggests, as a "center of internment" for foreign Jews.

In spite of the many hardships, the Jewish internees at Aprica, including many children, lived a relatively normal life. The internees had several means of support: small regime-granted subsidies for the destitute (about half of the prisoners), generous support from the Jewish aid organization, Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM), and aid from private benefactors. To prevent idleness, several workshops devoted to shoemaking and tailoring were organized with the help of DELASEM. The shops also served people interned elsewhere in Italy. In the summer of 1942, several internees from Aprica were

allowed to work as laborers for the Tirana-based enterprise "Quadrio Curzio," which did roadwork; they thus were able to earn a small wage.

The local population established friendly relations with this improvised Jewish community, and their selfless support was later instrumental in saving the internees after the Armistice of September 8, 1943, and the consequent German occupation of north-central Italy. Around that time, some 200 Jews, led by Bernardt Fischmann, managed to escape the German authorities by clandestinely crossing the border to Switzerland with the help of Partisans. As documented by the International Tracing Service (ITS), among the escapees was 25-year-old Hela Kraus (née Mismer).[1] Several law enforcement officials—Bernardo Mazza, Bruno Pilat, and Leonardo Marinelli—helped in the escape. In addition, various priests from the region—Fathers Giuseppe Carozzi, Cirillo Vitaliani, and Stefano Armanasco—also rendered assistance to the internees. Not every internee made the border crossing. Survivor Kitty Kaufman (née Kaethe Reichl) hid in the mountains in or near Aprica.[2]

An anonymized compensation case from the early 1960s mentions the internment center at Aprica and notes that the plaintiff successfully fled with her family across the Swiss border.[3]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Aprica internment center are Dario Morelli, "Ebrei stranieri confinati ad Aprica," *RB* (April 1999): 5–9; Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, 2 vols. (1993; Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1996), 2; Rosa Paini, *I sentieri della speranza: Profughi ebrei, Italia fascista e "La Delasem"* (Milan: Xenia edizioni, 1988); and Luciano Luciani and Gerardo Severino, *Gli aiuti ai profughi ebrei e ai perseguitati: il ruolo della Guardia di Finanza (1943–1945)* (Rome: Museo Storico della Guardia di Finanza, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the Aprica internment center include ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 55/Sondrio; ASC-S, Fondo Prefettura, 1942–1943 (correspondence between Mi and the Sondrio Prefecture regarding interned Jews at Aprica); CDEC, Fondo "Israele Kalk," Jews

interned in Aprica; and AMSGF (Fondo Resistenza e Guerra di Liberazione). The CNI of the ITS includes several cards documenting the flight across the Swiss border. See also the collection 1.2.7.1 (General Persecution of Jews) for the compensation case. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA holds one testimony by a Jewish woman interned in Aprica, Kitty Kaufman, April 9, 1997 (#27975).

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Hela Mismer Kraus, Doc. No. 52822967.
2. VHA #27975, Kitty Kaufman testimony, April 9, 1997.
3. Urteil, LG Koblenz, 8 0 (WG) 2116/62, October 25, 1943, ITS, 1.2.7.1, folder 3, Doc. No. 82291013.

ARAVECCHIA

The Aravecchia farm house was a fifteenth-century monastic site in the southern periphery of Vercelli, located in the Piedmont region 62 kilometers (approximately 39 miles) southwest of Milan. On December 6, 1943, the head of the Vercelli province, Michele Morsero, ordered local municipal authorities to set up a provincial camp for Jews at Aravecchia, which had become the property of the local commune. Morsero's order followed the November 30, 1943, decree by the interior minister, Guido Buffarini Guidi, of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), establishing provincial camps for Italian and foreign Jews.[1] Public Security official Giulio Panvini Rosati was named director of the camp, whereas its security was assigned to the local police.

Construction work ended on December 21, 1943, and the site became operational three days later, with the arrival of the first seven Jewish detainees. Food was provided by the Magdelene's Hospice for the Poor (*Ospizio dei Poveri della Maddalena*).

As recorded by Rosati, approximately 15 Jews were held at Aravecchia, with the majority being foreigners, most of whom were Austrians.[2] On January 25, 1944, eleven Jews were handed over to the German authorities. The remaining Jews were transferred to the nursing home, Vittorio Emanuele III, where they were arrested by the German authorities and sent to Nazi camps.

The farm house was later used to house different sections of the National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr).

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the camp at Aravecchia are Alberto Lovatto, "Ebrei in provincia di Vercelli durante la Rsi: La deportazione," *L'impegno* 9:3 (December 1989): 21–29; Alberto Lovatto, *Deportazione memoria comunità: Vercellesi, biellesi e valsesiani nei Lager nazisti* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1998); Cristina Merlo, "Ebrei e

persecuzioni razziali nel Vercellese" (degree thesis, Università di Torino, 1997); Merlo, "La Comunità ebraica di Vercelli nel 1943," *L'impegno* 23:2 (December 2003): 73–89; Merlo, "La Comunità ebraica di Vercelli dal 1943 al dopoguerra," *L'impegno* 24:1 (June 2004): 65–89; and Domenico Roccia, *Il Giellismo nel Vercellese* (Vercelli: La Sesia, 1949).

Primary sources on the Aravecchia camp can be found in ACS (including a postwar photograph of the Aravecchia farmhouse under Ps A5g II Gm, Ebrei, Acts by the secretary of the head of police, B. 437); ASV; CDEC (Rosati diary); and AISRBVV.

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NOTES

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

2. Rosati diary, CDEC, as cited in Roccia, *Il Giellismo nel Vercellese*, pp. 148–150.

ARIANO IRPINO

Ariano Irpino is a town atop the hill of Irpinia (810 meters [about 2,657 feet] above sea level) in the province of Avellino, 77 kilometers (48 miles) east of Naples, the regional capital. In 1940 the town had 27,000 inhabitants. This location was chosen as a detention site because it was far from military and industrial installations of any appreciable importance. The concentration camp at Ariano Irpino was established at the beginning of the war for the internment of foreign citizens and Italians considered dangerous to internal security. Following the instructions of the Royal Decree (*Regio decreto*) of July 8, 1938, No. 1415, and the official letter (*Circolare*) of the Interior Ministry dated June 8, 1940, No. 442/12267, the Interior Ministry constructed and ran the camp. It was responsible for the administration of civil internment camps for both Italians and foreigners.

The concentration camp was opened, most likely, in June 1940, in a complex of villa buildings about one kilometer (0.6 miles) from the town, on the national road running from Avellina to Foggia. The Villina Mazza, which was private property, was requisitioned and adapted to serve as the headquarters of the camp and to house technical workshops. The two upper floors of the three-story building were refitted as offices and as living space for the director and the guards. On the ground floor were rooms renovated to serve as the kitchen, laundry room, and refectory. The villa had running water and electric light. The other buildings were the so-called anti-earthquake huts, standing in the "Martiri" district. These were six small brick buildings that had been constructed for local residents who had lost their homes in earlier earthquakes. They were built in a row so as to line up along the street, in an isolated and easily guarded area. Four of them had toilets and a kitchen; the other two lacked those facilities. These six houses could hold 125 internees. In 1940, 24 other structures where poor local citizens could live were located behind the first row of six huts. There were two open fountains that could provide

water to every one in the town.

A palisade surrounded the camp. As the number of inmates rose, a mess hall was set up in a hut that no longer had internal walls. A local woman, Anna Spadazzi, initially administered the mess hall; later the inmates ran it themselves. The first list of internees (from October 31, 1940) had 28 people on it, all of Italian citizenship, though some inmates had names of Slavic origin; by November 21, the camp held 31 Italian civilians.

The number of internees continued to rise steadily—from a low of 59 by June 1, 1942, up to a high of 102 on August 15, 1943. In January 1941, 29 inmates were transferred there from the concentration camp at Colfiorito (Perugia), a camp for civilian internees that was then transformed into a concentration camp for prisoners of war. Furthermore, from the beginning of 1942 onward, many "ex-Yugoslavs" from Dalmatia and from the province of Lubiana began to arrive in Ariano Irpino. At least one Jew was also imprisoned here.

Camp rules permitted inmates to take walks along the provincial roadway that passed in front of the camp, between 8 and 9 A.M. and from 4 to 6 P.M., and to make purchases in the only shop in the area. They were also allowed, under escort, to go into town to buy provisions for the other inmates or to see a doctor. Some prisoners were able to work in the farms or artisan workshops of the area, where they had jobs as farm workers, mechanics, or wood finishers. One internee, a medical student, was authorized to report to the hospital in Ariano. Those who remained in the camp could make the most of what ever artisanal training they had (cap making, for instance) to produce goods that were then sold. According to the testimony of an internee, there were numerous spies and police informers among the inmates.[1]

Because there was an internee of English citizenship (a Palestinian Jew) in the camp, a delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) made a visit on June 19, 1943. According to the available documentation, the delegation did not form a negative impression of the general condition of the camp or its inmates.

Commissioner of Public Security Vito Pirozzi was the camp commandant from November 1940 to March 1943. Camp guards

were carabinieri and policemen. The camp doctor was Dr. Raffaele Grassi. After the fall of the Fascist regime on July 25, 1943, the internees were freed in stages. In August 1943 the camp was still operational.

SOURCES There is a brief mention of the Ariano camp in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del Duce: l'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 226–227.

The only available primary sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 115 and 132.

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NOTE

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 115 as cited in Capogreco, *I campi del Duce*, pp. 226–227.

ASTI

Asti is located 44 kilometers (27 miles) southwest of Turin. The provincial camp in Asti was set up on the premises of the local Episcopal seminary, whose facilities had already been requisitioned as offices of the military hospital that had been relocated there from Turin. The camp became a detention site for the mothers and sisters of military service draft evaders arrested between November and December 1943. Those female detainees were released after December 19. In compliance with Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), the site then held arrested Jews.[1] Security was provided by two Public Security agents from the Asti police headquarters. The Asti police were also in charge of making arrests.

There were 21 Jewish detainees in the first group, who were then transferred to the prison sites at San Vittore di Milano on May 28, 1944, and, from there, to Auschwitz on May 30. As of February 25, the facilities of the seminary no longer held arrested Jews, who were instead taken to the nearby orphanage in Consolata.

On April 3, 1944, the German authorities took control of the camp and used it for defense and for the provision of first aid in case of a gas attack.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Osti are Secondo Stella, *Il seminario vescovile di Asti nel ventennio 1930–1950* (Asti: Tip. Michelerio, 1958); Nicoletta Fasano, "La comunità ebraica astigiana tra storia e memoria: dalle leggi razziali alla Shoah," in Renate Bordone, Nicoletta Fasano, and Mauro Forno, eds., *Tra sviluppo e marginalità: L'Astigiano dall'Unità agli anni Ottanta del Novecento*, vol. 2: *Cultura e società* (Asti: Israt, 2006), 2: 533–576; and Nicoletta Fasano and

Mario Renosio, “La deportazione dalla provincia di Asti,” in Bruno Mantelli and Nicola Tranfaglia, eds., *Il libro dei deportati*, vol. 2: *Deportati, deportatori, tempi e luoghi* (Milan: Mursia, 2010), 2: 23–66.

Primary sources on the camp at Asti can be found in ACS, ASA, and AISRA.

Nicoletta Fasano
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTE

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all’esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

BAGNI DI LUCCA

Bagni di Lucca is a small town located about 19 kilometers (12 miles) southwest of Lucca, in the Serchio Valley at the foothills of the Apennines. Between March 1942 and January 1943, a hotel, Le Terme, in Bagni Caldi, a renowned spa resort, was used as a detention site; it held a group of Anglo-Maltese citizens from Libya and later 100 "ex-Yugoslavs" who had been previously interned in the Italian-run concentration camp at Melada. In compliance with Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), Le Terme was quickly repurposed to serve as a provincial camp for Jews. Within just a few days, Italian and foreign Jews in the province were arrested and interned in the camp, "waiting," as Buffarini's order put it, "for national concentration camps to be set up."[1] The Jews' goods were also confiscated.

The camp functioned from December 1943 to January 1944 and was run by the Fascists; the custody of the Jews was entrusted to the 86th Legion (*Lucca*) of the National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr).

The camp register and prisoner lists are not available, so the number of Jews arrested and detained has been reconstructed indirectly by documents found in local archives; the data have been cross-checked with those found by historian Liliana Picciotto and the Center of Con temporary Jewish Documentation in Milan (*Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea*, CDEC).

In Lucca province, there was a prompt application of the new phase of persecution against the Jews, namely what Picciotto calls the "persecution of lives." The first to suffer the consequences were the foreign Jewish families who had been previously sent into "free confinement" (*confino libero*)—enforced stay in a small community with freedom of movement only within the town

and regular reporting at police headquarters—in various parts of the province. They were the largest group of Jews arrested and deported from the province of Lucca. In 1941, about 90 foreign Jews came into free confinement in Castelnuovo di Garfagnana and in Bagni di Lucca. Most had been held in the Ferramonti di Tarsia internment camp in the province of Cosenza. About 60 of those foreign Jews—originating from Germany, Austria, and Eastern Europe—were interned in Castelnuovo di Garfagnana, almost 19 kilometers (11.6 miles) northwest of Bagni di Lucca. Almost 30 Jews from Austria and occupied Yugoslavia were transferred to Bagni di Lucca. The families came from different backgrounds, but most lived in private houses, in difficult conditions and with limited resources. When possible, they received support from the Jewish welfare organization, Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM). With support from DELASEM and the Jewish community of Pisa, the Jewish families in Castelnuovo di Garfagnana were able to set up a place of worship and a children's school. Fifty-seven of the Jews living in Castelnuovo di Garfagnana were imprisoned in the Bagni di Lucca concentration camp, while another seven (two families) managed to avoid arrest due to the help of locals.

Early in 1944, after some Jews were arrested and transferred from Bagni di Lucca to other places, some families managed to avoid arrest by hiding or escaping to liberated Italian territory. However, eight people were captured, including an elderly Austrian couple that reacted by committing suicide in their home with carbon monoxide emitted by an oven. With the aid of informers, between December 1943 and January 1944 the RSI and German authorities managed to arrest approximately 30 Italian Jews in the province of Lucca; some were residents, whereas others had moved there because they were displaced by the Allied bombing.

For almost two months, 100 people, including a good number of children, lived in the hotel Le Terme in poor hygienic conditions; some of them, adults and children, required hospitalization. For those held in the hotel, detention was less difficult for the wealthy, because they could augment the poor food provided with their own supplies and were able to meet other needs, such as paying for a

doctor to visit a sick child. Generally, the prisoners were forced to live in a squalid environment, sleeping on straw. It was possible to visit them and send clothing and food, but most likely there was misappropriation of resources intended for prisoners by corrupt camp leaders who siphoned off the goods. Even worse, families were asked to give large sums of money in return for false promises of liberation. At least in one case, these negotiations resulted in the arrest of three more Jews. Some releases of prisoners occurred as well, including that of a German family because the wife was classified as "Aryan." Also released was a non-Jewish, British family interned in Castelnuovo di Garfagnana.

There was a desperate attempt to rescue the Jewish prisoners in the camp, planned by the clandestine network of solidarity and assistance to Jews formed in Lucca, thanks to the courage of Giorgio Nissim (a Jewish man from Pisa and the former head of DELASEM) and priests (*Oblati del Volto Santo*) with the support of Torrini, the archbishop of Lucca. In his memoirs, Giorgio Nissim recounted that he developed a plan for the Jews' release in collaboration with the partisans.[2] The plan failed because the German authorities transferred the Jews on January 23, 1944, to a jail in Florence.

Testimonies describe the Jews' sad departure on trucks to the jail, deprived of all their possessions by the jailers. They were then transferred from the Florence prison in train freight cars to San Vittore Prison in Milan. A young Jewish man of La Spezia, arrested in Camaiore, wrote this in a letter to his father on the journey: "There is no need to write ceremoniously, I am in a cattle car with an unknown destination, my morale is still most high, but not my heart."[3] On January 30, 1944, the Jews from the Bagni di Lucca concentration camp were loaded onto train no. 6, which set off from track 21 at Milan station and arrived at Auschwitz on February 6, 1944. A young Jewish woman from Lucca did not survive the trip. In *Libro della memoria*, Picciotto lists the names of 97 Jews from the Bagni di Lucca concentration camp, only 5 of whom survived the war. The youngest was a few months old.

The Bagni di Lucca concentration camp closed on January 25, 1944. After its closure, additional Jews were arrested in the province of Lucca. Before deportation, some were detained in a concentration camp, originally meant for prisoners of war (POWs),

near the town of Colle di Compito. In total, 112 Jews were deported from the province of Lucca.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Bagno di Lucca camp are Silvia Angelini, Oscar Guidi, and Paola Lemmi, "Il campo di concentramento provinciale per ebrei di Bagni di Lucca (dicembre 1943–gennaio 1944)," *RMI*, 69: 2 (2003): 431–462; Valeria Galimi, "Caccia all'ebreo: Persecuzioni nella Toscana settentrionale," in Enzo Collotti, ed., *Ebrei in Toscana tra occupazione tedesca e RSI: Persecuzione, depredazione, deportazione (1943–1945)* (Rome: Carocci, 2007), pp. 178–224; Roberto Pizzi, "Leggi razziali e deportazione degli ebrei in provincia di Lucca," in Lilio Giannecchini and Giuseppe Pardini, eds., *Eserciti popolazione resistenza sulle Alpi Apuane*, 2 vols. (Lucca: San Marco Litotipo, 1995–1997), 2: 251–288; Silvia Angelini, "Quella scuola in una stanza: L'applicazione delle leggi razziali nella scuola a Viareggio," *QSCV* 2 (2001): 71–116; Silvia Angelini, Oscar Guidi, and Paola Lemmi, *L'orizzonte chiuso: L'internamento ebraico a Castelnuovo di Garfagnana 1943–1945* (Pisa: Maria Pacini Fazzi editore, 2002); Silvia Angelini, "Gli ebrei austriaci in provincia di Lucca: Dall' 'internamento libero' alla deportazione," in Cristina Köstner and Klaus Voigt, eds., *Rinasceva una piccola speranza: L'esilio austriaco in Italia (1938–1945)* (Udine: Forum, 2010), pp. 81–90; and Silvia Angelini, "Gli ebrei in provincia di Lucca tra deportazione e salvezza 1943–1944," *DeS* 34 (2013): 7–41.

Primary sources documenting the Bagni di Lucca camp can be found in ACBdL, fond Corrispondenza, B. 414; ASLU, fond Regia Prefettura, B. 4458 and 4573; AFCEDC (letters by Mattia Ernesto Funaro); and ACS. Published testimonies of the camp are Giorgio Nissim, *Memorie di un ebreo toscana (1938–1948)*, ed. Liliana Picciotto Fargion (Rome: Carocci, 2005); and Ludwig Greve, *Un amico a Lucca: Ricordi d'infanzia e d'esilio*, ed. Klaus Voigt, trans. L. Melissari (Rome: Carocci, 2006).

Silvia Q. Angelini

NOTES

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

2. Nissim, *Memorie di un ebreo toscana (1938–1948)*, pp. 121–123.

3. Quotation from letters by Mattia Ernesto Funaro, AFCDEC, AG, 5 HB.

BAGNO A RIPOLI

The municipality of Bagno a Ripoli is 7 kilometers (4.3 miles) southeast of Florence. The Italian Interior Ministry established the Bagno a Ripoli camp in June 1940 in a large and luxurious neoclassical mansion, the Villa La Selva, which had about 40 rooms. The building, which belonged to a Jewish family that immigrated to Palestine following the promulgation of the Fascist racial laws, was run by a non-Jewish woman, the trustee of the owner, Silvio Ottolenghi. When the camp opened, she kept some of the rooms for herself in which she stored some of the original furniture, and she continued to live in a small apartment attached to the villa.

Villa La Selva was located three kilometers (nearly two miles) from the center of Bagno a Ripoli. In addition to the ground floor, it had two upper floors; it was equipped with water, electric, and telephone lines, and—from the start of April 1941—even some showers. After some refurbishing, which was completed by the end of June 1940, the camp had the capacity to accommodate 225 inmates; the first inmates did not arrive, however, until the end of September.

The direction of the camp was entrusted to a succession of commissioners of public security, assisted by a sergeant and some other agents; guard services were handled by the police. Health care was initially provided by a camp doctor assisted by his detained colleague, for which he received a fee; in 1942, a dentist also provided care. Inmates with the most serious diseases and who required urgent surgeries were hospitalized in Florence. A local resident was responsible for cleaning the lavatories and for doing other manual labor, but was later replaced by an inmate. Initially, the prisoners had their meals at a home for the elderly, barely 400 meters (nearly 440 yards) from the camp. Later meals were set up in an on-site refectory, overseen by the same manager of the canteen at the rest home.

The Bagno a Ripoli camp initially received foreign and stateless

Jews, as well as "enemy subjects" (Britons, French, Greeks, Norwegians, Russians, and others). At the end of January 1942, 77 Jews with British nationality arrived from Libya, as part of the expulsion, for security reasons, of foreigners residing in the Italian colony. During the course of 1942 there were numerous transfers of inmates to other camps. Then, in May 1943, 50 "ex-Yugoslavs" arrived in Bagno a Ripoli from the camp of Tollo, and in July around 40 "aliens" were transferred from Venezia Giulia, coming from the Corropoli camp.

The average number of detainees at Bagno a Ripoli was between 95 and 100. The material conditions of life were acceptable, and initially the detainees were allowed to walk during daylight hours along the path through the camp, which ended near the towns of Ponte a Ema, Bagno a Ripoli, and Antella. Subsequently the living conditions became more difficult, and the area of "confinement" was restricted to within 400 meters of the villa. The material conditions of life varied greatly, depending on the inmate categories.

The archbishop of Florence, Elia Dalla Costa, visited the camp more than once, bringing aid and comfort to the inmates. The interned Jews frequently received aid from the Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM). On December 27, 1941, the date of Orthodox Christmas, the officiant of the Russian Orthodox Church in Florence, Prince Ivan Kourakin, performed religious rites for 60 Greek inmates. The same year, with Red Cross assistance, a small library was established. Later, in the spring of 1942, the administration authorized the organization of some educational courses, largely managed by the inmates themselves. For a few months in the autumn, taking advantage of new ministerial orders, about 15 inmates were allowed to go to work doing manual labor at a nearby farm.

Nevertheless inspectors from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) repeatedly lamented about the inmates' inadequate living conditions. A letter dated January 13, 1942, addressed to the ICRC in Geneva, which was signed by most of the 53 "ex-Yugoslav" civilians in Bagno a Ripoli and was slipped past the Fascist censors, exposed the grave living conditions of the Slavic detainees and helped attract financial and material aid. In

March 1942, the Florence police arrested seven inmates after protests against the insufficiency of food and heating. On Christmas 1942, the archbishop of Florence presented 360 lire to the administration to improve the rations for all inmates on Christmas Day.

The inmates greeted the fall of the Mussolini regime in July 1943 with elation, but they did not see any immediate changes in their status or living conditions. Even after the Armistice on September 8, 1943, the camp continued to operate as before—contrary to expectations from other agreements concluded by Italy with the Allies, which required the immediate release of political detainees and civilian internees. The police commissioner of Florence, Mormino, did not release the inmates of Bagno a Ripoli, justifying this decision because of difficulties in the lines of communication. On September 22, however, by taking advantage of lax supervision, about 50 inmates, including some Jews, escaped. Other Jews could have escaped, but chose not to because—despite their fear of the Germans—they did not fully comprehend that remaining in such a pleasant building could lead to their deportation to a German camp.

This unimaginable scenario unfortunately took place, with the enactment of Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI): it ratified the extension of the "Final Solution" to Italy and transformed the Bagno a Ripoli camp into one of the "provincial camps for Jews."[1] Jews held at Villa La Selva were transferred to jails in Milan on January 26, 1944, and from there deported to Ausch witz on January 30. Among them there were 31 Jews (including women and children) rounded up in Abruzzo, who had been brought to Bagno a Ripoli just two weeks earlier on January 15.[2]

The camp ceased functioning in July 1944. Some time before then, it had sustained a partisan attack that led to the release of about 40 detainees.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Bagno a Ripoli are Valeria Galimi, "L'internamento in Toscana, in Razza e fascismo: La persecuzione contro gli ebrei in Toscana (1938–

1943)," in Enzo Collotti, ed., *La Persecuzione contro gli Ebrei in Toscana 1938–1943*, (Rome: Carocci, 1999), pp. 524–532; Enzo Collotti, ed., *Ebrei in Toscana tra occupazione tedesca e RSI: Persecuzione, depredazione, deportatione (1943–1945)*, 2 vols. (Rome: Corocci, 2007); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Mappatura dei Campi—Toscana," in *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 182–184; and Klaus Voigt and Maximillian Segal, "Un Profugo Ebreo in Italia," *RMI* 54: 1–3 (Jan.–Aug. 1988): 279–297.

Primary sources for the camp at Bagno a Ripoli can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), B. 124, s. f. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 15 "Firenze"; A-ICRC, Service des camps, Italie (15-1-1941, 2-4-1941, 26-8-1942); and ASFI, Corte d'assise di Firenze, 1954/12, Giovanni Martelloni. Some of the AdSFI documentation is reproduced in Collotti, *Ebrei in Toscana*, pp. 54–55, 64. A testimony of Bagno di Ripoli is Giorgio Jonas and Matilde Jonas, *La saga delle colombe: Villa La Selva, il lager alle porte di Firenze* (Bagno a Ripoli: Passigli, 2012).

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Trans. Jane Klinger and Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

2. List of Bagno a Ripoli deportees from Abruzzo, January 20, 1944, ASFI, Corte d'assise di Firenze, 1954/12, Giovanni Martelloni, reproduced in Collotti, *Ebrei in Toscana*, pp. 54–55, Doc. II.A.5.

BERGEGGI AND CELLE LIGURE

Bergeggi is located 44 kilometers (27 miles) southwest of Genoa in Savona province, in the Liguria region. The concentration camp of Bergeggi (often incorrectly referred to as the "Spotorno camp") was set up in the Merello Heliotherapic Institute (*l'Istituto Elioterapico Merello*), an institution for the treatment and cure of tuberculosis. The institute also served as a seat of the presidio of the National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr). The establishment of the camp for civilian detainees was announced in a document from December 1943, but the site did not become operational until late January 1944.

From the spring of 1944 on, the camp was mostly a place to hold workers arrested and rounded up in major factories across the communes of Vado and Savona, as well as in facilities where employees went on strike in March 1944. The arrested workers were then transferred from the Bergeggi camp to the city of Genoa before being deported to Nazi concentration camps. After those deportations, the camp became a training site for the San Marco Division of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI).

From mid-May 1944 until the end of the war, a second concentration camp operated in the province of Savona in the commune of Celle Ligure, some 32 kilometers (20 miles) southwest of Genoa. Located on the premises of the Bergamasca Settlement (*Colonia Bergamasca*), this camp served as a detention site for Italians arrested or rounded up in Ponente Ligure or the area of Langhe in Piemonte province.[1] Based on the available literature, there is no evidence that either the Bergeggi or Celle Ligure held any Jewish prisoners. After the war, the camp at Celle Ligure was used for the detention of Fascist military prisoners.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Bergeggi and Celle Ligure

camps can be found in Circolo Brandale, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Liguria* (Acqui Terme: Impressioni Grafiche, 2009); Almerino Lunardon, *La resistenza vadese* (Vado Ligure: Istituto Storico della Resistenza e dell'età Contemporanea della provincia di Savona e Comune di Vado Ligure, 2005); and Guido Malandra, *I volontari della libertà della II zona partigiana ligure (Savona)* (Savona: Anpi, 2005).

Archival sources for the camps at Bergeggi and Celle Ligure require further research. Citations to the testimony of Celle Ligure prisoner Edoardo (Ernesto) Zerbino, July 11, 2005, can be found in Lunardon, *La resistenza vadese*.

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NOTE

1. Testimony of Edoardo (Ernesto) Zerbino, July 11, 2005, cited in Lunardon, *La resistenza vadese*, p. 320.

BOIANO

The village of Boiano is located approximately 73 kilometers (45 miles) northeast of Naples in Campobasso province. On September 11, 1940, the chief of Italian police, Arturo Bocchini, cabled a memorandum to all local police prefects of the Kingdom of Italy, requesting the internment of all Italian Roma located in the vicinity of factory zones, explosives depots, or any sort of "work [of] military interest" or "troop concentrations."[1] The prefect of Campobasso replied on September 14 that, for the purpose of isolation and "easy surveillance," a concentration camp at Boiano would be needed. The prefect also noted that "only strictly necessary items would be granted for use by Gypsies" in the camp and that the Interior Ministry should decide quickly whether or not to establish the camp in Boiano.[2] After the Inspector General of Public Security assured the ministry that the camp had been adapted for the internment of Roma, it decided on October 2, 1940, to make Boiano a camp for the exclusive internment of Roma. Due to their alleged habits, the Inspector General averred that the camp could contain 300 rather than 250 Roma, as had originally been planned.[3]

The camp was set up in an old tobacco factory that once belonged to the Saim Company, located about 600 meters (approximately 2,000 feet) to the east of the village. It consisted of four pavilions, with a single entrance, of which the central pavilion had two floors and the others only one. The inmates were quartered in three of the pavilions, and the fourth held the bathrooms, the kitchen, and offices. A 2-meter-high (6-and-a-half-feet-high) fence surrounded the camp, and the pavilions' windows were barred. The buildings were in terrible condition: when it rained, water seeped into the rooms, there was no heating, and the cold was extreme in winter. Urgently needed building repairs were started, but not completed by the time the camp closed in the summer of 1941. Health conditions and food were similarly appalling, to the extent that the internees, through one of their

delegates, complained about them to the Inspector General of the Police, Antonio Panariello.

The number of inmates never reached the expected capacity. In February 1941 there were 89 prisoners, and in July 1941 only 58 remained. Despite the Italian authorities' original purpose of making Boiano a "Gypsy" camp, the site held other prisoners as well. A number of Chinese prisoners passed through the camp, as well as 12 "foreign Jews"—11 Polish Jews and 1 German Jew—all of whom lived in the camp from November 1940 until February 1941.

The camp had at least three directors: the first was Commissioner Umberto Struffi, who was replaced by Olinto Tiberi Pasqualoni. Pasqualoni held the job until January 1941 when Eduino Pistone took over. He was probably the last person to run the camp. The Boiano camp closed on August 23, 1941, and the remaining 65 internees, all Roma, were transferred to the Agnone camp in the same province.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources about the Boiano camp. There is a bare mention in Giovanna Boursier, "L'internamento degli zingari in Italia," in Costantino Di Sante, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Italia* (Milan: Angeli, 2001), p. 167; Boursier, "La persecuzione degli zingari nell'italia fascista," *Ss* 37:4 (Oct.–Dec. 1996): 1065–1082. Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, 2 vols., trans. Loredana Melissari (Scandicci: La Nuova Italia, 1993–1996), 2: 73–74, gives some details about the presence of Jews in the camp, as well as a brief description of the structure of the camp. Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 206, has a short entry on the camp. More on Boiano may be found in Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, "Il fascismo e gli zingari," *GSC* 1 (2004): 25–43.

The main archival sources on Boiano are found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B.105, 117, 118, 123. The Bocchini order is reprinted in Centro Furio Jesi, ed., *La menzogna della razza: Documenti e immagini del razzismo e dell' antisemitismo fascista* (Bologna: Grafis, 1994), p. 340.

NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4, f. 15 (Campi di concentramento), B. 105, (Affari generali), circ. 63442/10, September 11, 1940, as reprinted in Jesi, ed., *La menzogna della razza*, p. 340.

2. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4, B. 105, as cited in Giovanna Boursier, “La persecuzione degli zingari nell’italia fascista,” *Ss* 37: 4 (Oct.–Dec. 1996): 1071.

3. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4, B. 117, collection 16 (Campi di concentramento), 2 (Affari per provincia), 11 (Campobasso), as cited in Capogreco, *I campi del Duce*, p. 206.

BORGO SAN DALMAZZO

Borgo San Dalmazzo is a small town in the Cuneo province, Piedmont Department, located at the confluence of the main valleys of the Maritime Alps, 83.7 kilometers (52 miles) southwest of Turin. On September 18, 1943, shortly after German troops occupied Cuneo, the Nazi SS established a police detention camp (*Polizeihaftlager*) in Borgo San Dalmazzo to confine more than 300 foreign Jews, including some refugees from Italian-occupied France. The German authorities set up the camp in a disused textile mill, which was a short distance from the local train station and the parish church. The structure was built around an inner courtyard with narrow stairs leading to the floor above and large dormitories on the first and second floors. The first camp at Borgo San Dalmazzo closed on November 21, 1943, when the Jews were deported via Nice and the Drancy transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) to Auschwitz.

On December 9, 1943, the second, Italian-run camp of Borgo San Dalmazzo began to function inside the same building. Under the Cuneo police department's supervision, this camp served as a provincial camp for Jews (*campo provinciale per ebrei*) of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI). Its formation followed Police Order No. 5, issued by Interior Ministry Undersecretary Guido Buffarini Guidi on November 30, 1943, directing RSI police forces to detain all Italian and foreign Jews in provincial camps.[1] The camp was structured like the previous German site. The RSI camp commandant was a Cuneo police official named Torchio. He held a university degree and the rank of commander or chief, as indicated by the honorifics that preceded his name (*dottore Cavaliere, dott. Cav.*).[2] The guard force consisted of carabinieri. The Borgo San Dalmazzo community furnished the detainees with food and other necessities.

Although the camp had a capacity for more than 300 people, it held only 26 Jews, all but 3 of whom were Italian, who originated mainly from Saluzzo and Casale Montferrato. Seventeen of the

inmates were women. The three foreign Jews were a father and daughter, the Gimpels, from Strasbourg and a German Jewish refugee taken captive as a partisan, Richard Hess. The first inmates, Adele Regina Segre and Annette Levi, were taken into custody on December 4, 1943, five days prior to the camp's opening. According to the June 10, 1945, report by the mayor of Borgo San Dalmazzo, the prisoners mostly consisted of the sick and elderly, along with some young people who were unwilling to abandon their less mobile relatives.[3] The same report claimed that the detainees were able to maintain contact with friends and relatives outside the camp.[4]

On February 15, 1944, Prefectural Commissioner (*Commissario Prefettizio*) Giraudo reported to Police Chief (*Questore*) Finucci of Cuneo that, according to an order received at 5:30 that morning, the 26 Jews at the Borgo San Dalmazzo camp were to be dispatched to the Carpi camp (Fossoli) in Modena province in preparation for deportation. On the same date, Giraudo issued a declaration (*dichiara*) to the Carpi camp announcing the transfer of the 26 prisoners: "The undersigned Prefectural Commissioner declares that the 26 Jews who are to be transferred today from this concentration camp to the concentration camp of Carpi (Modena) have been found eligible to receive allowances and food until February 16."[5] With that transfer, the Borgo San Dalmazzo camp ceased to function. In the Cuneo province, Jews arrested thereafter were initially confined in the Nuove prison in Torino.

Documentation collected by the International Tracing Service (ITS) contains records on the fate of several Borgo San Dalmazzo prisoners after their transfer to Carpi and subsequent deportation to camps in Nazi Germany. Among the survivors were two prisoners classified as "persons of mixed Jewish blood, first degree" (*Mischlinge 1. Grades*), that is, "half-Jews": Richard Hess and Spartaco Segre. An electrical engineer by profession, Segre entered Buchenwald concentration camp in August 1944. He was probably transferred to Buchenwald rather than to Auschwitz because of his Mischling classification. A Buchenwald intake form and an Office of the Military Government for Germany, United States (OMGUS) questionnaire in Segre's prisoner envelope mention his initial detention at Borgo San Dalmazzo. Another

deportee classified as a Mischling, the Hungarian-born Alessandro Schiffer, did not survive the war. Initially dispatched to the Flossenbürg concentration camp, his death was recorded at Auschwitz on January 1, 1945.[6] According to her Central Name Index (CNI) cards, Borgo San Dalmazzo prisoner Delfina Ortona (née Lusena) survived deportation and returned to Torino in June 1945.[7]

SOURCES The RSI camp at Borgo San Dalmazzo is described in greatest detail in Alberto Cavaglion, "La deportazione dall'Italia: Borgo S. Dalmazzo," in *Spostamenti di popolazione e deportazione in Europa* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1987), pp. 356–381 (at pp. 371–375). Cavaglion also mentions the camp in *Nella Notte Straniera: Gli Ebrei di S. Martin de Vesubie e il Campo di Borgo San Dalmazzo, 8 Settembre–21 Novembre 1942* (1981; Cuneo: L'Arciere, 1998), p. 85 n. 14. There is also some information at FMD—BaPAR, available at www.deportati.it/e_lager/en_borgo_sd.html and at *Jewish Traces, Ordinary Exile,* http://www.jewishtraces.org. The latter website has a searchable database of Jewish deportees from the German and Italian camps. Additional information on the *Polizeihaftlager* will be included in a subsequent volume of the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*.

Primary sources on both Borgo San Dalmazzo camps are found in AC-BSD, "Relazione sui Campi di Concentramento di Ebrei Costituiti in Questo Comune negli Anni 1943–1944 dalle autorita nazifasciste," June 10, 1945 (Part I), June 12, 1945 (Part II). Only the June 10, 1945, report contains information on the RSI camp. As cited by Cavaglion, AC-BSD holds extensive correspondence on the RSI camp, including the February 15, 1944, phonogram. Another archival holding is found at AFCDEC, dossier 5F, "Borgo San Dalmazzo." ISRSCPC has a small collection that includes some documentation on Borgo San Dalmazzo's deportees, under the heading "Miscellaneous Jewish Question" (*Miscellanea Questione Ebraica*). The June 10 and 12, 1945, reports are also available in ITS under designation 1.2.7.25 (Persecution Action in Greece, Italy, Spain). The German translation for the June 10 report is "Bericht über die Konzentrationslager für Juden in dieser

Gemeinde, die in den Jahren 1943–44 von den nazi-faschistischen Behörden errichtet wurden." Under ITS designation 1.1.14.1 (List Material Italy and Albania) are Guirado's declaration to the Carpi camp and the list of persons of mixed ancestry or spouses. The ITS documentation is available in digitized form at USHMMA.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco and Joseph Robert White
Trans. Jane Klinger with Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

2. "Relazione sui Campi di Concentramento di Ebrei Costituiti in Questo Comune negli Anni 1943–1944 dalle autorita nazifasciste," June 10, 1945 (Part I), in ITS, 1.2.7.25 (Persecution Action in Greece, Italy, Spain), Doc. No. 822088360.

3. Ibid., Doc. No. 82208365.

4. Ibid.

5. Guirado, Dichiara, "Internati ebrei," February 15, 1944, in ITS, 1.1.14.1 (List Material Italy and Albania), folder 7a, "Schriftwechsel und Namenlisten betreffend die Einweisung von jüdischen Personen in das KL FOSSOLI di CARPI, 1944," Doc. Nos. 460319–460320.

6. ITS, 1.1.14.1 (Camps in Italy and Albania), "Namentl[iche] Liste des Polizei-Durchgangslagers FOSSOLI di CARPI über einsitzende jüd[ische] Mischlinge u[nd] Misch ehenpartner," Doc. Nos. 461653–461654; ITS, 0.1 (CNI), cards for Richard Hess (DOB May 2, 1911), Doc. Nos. 24644870–24644872; Spartaco Segre (DOB September 15, 1902), Doc. No. 5305911; and Alessandro Schiffer, (DOB November 29, 1897), Doc. No. 36792007#1 and 36792007#2, 36792008, 36792010; ITS 1.1.5.3 (Buchenwald Individual Documents, Male), prisoner envelope for Spartaco Segre, Doc. No. 7085227 (Häftlings-Personal Karte) and 7085236 (OMGUS

Fragebogen).

7. CNI cards for Delfina Lesena Ortona (DOB February 11, 1904), Doc. Nos. 44839995–44839998.

CAIRO MONTENOTTE

Cairo Montenotte is located in Liguria, in the province of Savona in northeastern Italy about 87 kilometers (54 miles) southeast of Turin. In December 1941, a concentration camp for prisoners of war (*prigionieri di guerra*) was constructed in the village of Vesima, facing the Cairo-Alessandria railway line. The camp had 15 barracks (with bunk beds and straw mattresses), which could hold about 2,000 inmates. In addition to the barracks, the camp contained a headquarters, guards' quarters, an infirmary, a chapel, a shop, and some ware houses. On February 13, 1943, a "note" from the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (No. 7368/G.30.1) indicated that civilian concentration camps run by the Italian army should be under civil administration. In a meeting held on March 29, 1943, in the offices of the headquarters (*Stato Maggiore*) of the Royal Army (Fifth Section, probably the division that dealt with prisoners of war), General Antonio Gandin, who had convened the meeting, opposed the transfer of the Cairo Montenotte camp to civil administration because it did not deal with civilians but with prisoners of war; however, the general said the camp was run by the XIII Army Corps to contain "civilians captured in the territory of Gorizia."[1] This apparent contradiction in the description of the inmates—as "civilians" yet nonetheless as "prisoners of war"—was due to the special character of the civilian inmates, who were considered "favorable to the rebels"; that is, they were a vital part of the support structure of the Yugoslav resistance.

Despite Gandin's resistance, in the following weeks the camp was put under the command of the Special Inspectorate of Public Security for the Venezia Giulia region (*Ispettorato speciale di pubblica sicurezza per la Venezia Giulia*); this was a special police office of the Interior Ministry, with its seat at Trieste, created to repress the Yugoslav resistance and infamous for the harshness of its methods. The camp was intended to contain only *allogeni*—Italian citizens from the Slovenian and Croat linguistic

minorities—from the provinces of Udine, Gorizia, Trieste, Fiume, and Pola. The internees had been taken prisoner because they had fallen under suspicion of providing support to the resistance in various ways.

According to historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, the first internee transports arrived at the camp on February 28, 1943, from the prisons of Trieste. These transports contained 150 men and 44 women. The women remained in the camp for only a few days and were then transferred once again, to the Fraschette di Alatri camp. In May 1943, the camp held 732 internees, and in that same month another 200 arrived. By September 1943, 20 prisoner transports had arrived at Cairo-Montenotte, bringing the total of internees to about 1,400.

Daily life in the camp was subject to strict regimentation, even if overall camp conditions were not particularly terrible. Every barrack had its own head, the *capobaracca*. Under the capobaracca were four internees who were responsible for the four platoons or *plotoni* into which each barrack was divided. At the top of the inmate hierarchy was the *capo dei capi*, the head of heads, who was the representative of the inmates and reported directly to the camp director. Laminjan Manfreda, a native of Volce near Tolmino, was chosen for this role.

Some of the internees worked to build the drainage canals of a nearby chemical factory belonging to the Società Montecatini, and others worked within the camp as laborers. As payment these workers received 5 lire daily, which allowed them to supplement their meager food rations. The food situation was slightly better in the Cairo Montenotte camp than it was in many others. According to Capogreco this was due to the fact that the Fascist regime wanted to treat inmates from Venezia Giulia somewhat better than other internees. The bread ration was more abundant than in other camps, and the authorities did not prevent the inmates' relatives from sending them packages. Moreover, the camp also contained a moderately well-provisioned shop. Those who could not buy food from the shop and did not receive food packages found themselves short of food, even though solidarity between inmates was very strong. In six months—from February to September 1943—three internees died: one Croat and two Slovenians. On May 15, 1943, a

letter from Cerruti, the chief of police, warned that the sending of packages and correspondence from Venezia Giulia to concentration camps had become a method of expressing popular solidarity and therefore of anti-Italian propaganda. Many internees succeeded in sending letters secretly to family and friends, avoiding official censorship. The chief of the local police (*questore*) therefore requested the carabinieri to intervene. On June 4, 1943, the camp commander, Lieutenant Colonel of the Italian Army Pasquale Alessandro Passavanti, asked the Special Inspectorate of Public Security to limit the sending of packages to inmates, which sometimes arrived in great numbers, more than a hundred a day. On July 2, 1943, the *questura* of Fiume circulated a letter to the offices of the carabinieri and the police of the area ordering the confiscation of packages containing food that were being sent to concentration camps.

In the camps the internees could take part in some recreational and cultural activities, such as chess tournaments, get-togethers, and choral concerts. The camp was visited on May 26, 1943, by the bishop of Trieste and Capodistria, who celebrated Mass and left 30,000 lire for the poorest inmates. He thereafter sent a report to the secretary of state of Vatican City, Francesco Borgongini-Duca, in which he urged the camp commander to take on the burden of running the camp well and gave testimony that the inmates were suffering from hunger.

When the Allies landed in Sicily in July 1943, they dropped leaflets over the camp announcing the landing. The news of the fall of the Fascist regime and the arrest of Mussolini (July 25, 1943) caused rejoicing among the inmates, who demanded their immediate release. The camp commander, however, threatened the prisoners and arrested their representative, locking him in a cell. The inmates remained in the camp until after the Armistice was signed by Italy and the Allies on September 8, 1943, which allowed the Germans to take over the camp and arrest the inmates. On October 8, a convoy of 30 railway cattle cars took almost all the prisoners to the concentration camp of Mauthausen, from which, on October 13, they were all transferred to Gusen, registered as Italians. The Germans also took all the administrative documents of the camp that dealt with the inmates and probably used the buildings to house their troops. The Interior Ministry of

the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) tried to use the camp subsequently to imprison Jews, but there is no information about any subsequent operations of the camp. In the province of Savona, the camp of Spotorno was the provincial camp for the detention of Jews (following Police Order No. 5 of November 30, 1943).

SOURCES The only secondary reference to the camp at Cairo Montenotte is a brief mention in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 264–266.

The extant primary sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 110, 111, and 135; and Ariani internati, B. 80 and 112.

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NOTE

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 110, "Verbale della riunione tenutasi il giorno 29 marzo c.a. nella sede dello S.M.R.E.—Ufficio del generale capo del V reparto."

CALVARI DI CHIAVARI

Calvari di Chiavari is located in the Coreglia Ligure commune in Genoa province, which is 28 kilometers (18 miles) east of Genova. In January 1941, the Italian Army set up a prisoner of war (*prigionieri di guerra*, PG) camp, PG No. 52, for British troops captured during the war in North Africa in Calvari. It was designed to house a maximum of 4,000 inmates, and over the two years of its operation, a total of about 15,000 captives passed through the camp. After September 8, 1943, the camp was taken over by the German military authorities, which then transferred more than 3,000 British POWs remaining in the camp at that time to POW camps (Stalags) in the Reich.

After the POWs were deported, the Calvari camp reopened on December 12, 1943, under the direction of the Genoa Prefecture. Its reopening followed the promulgation of Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), which directed the creation of "provincial concentration camps" for Jews in all parts of the RSI.[1]

The camp functioned until January 21, 1944, when the Jews (20 of the 35 people being held) were deported by the special German section of the security police of Genoa, commanded by Max Ablinger. After a brief stop at the Marassi prisons in Genoa, the deportees were transferred to the prison of San Vittore in Milano and sent from there to Auschwitz II-Birkenau on January 30.

The camp subsequently held antifascist political prisoners before it was abandoned on July 7, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Calvari are Giorgio Viarengo, "Calvari, campo n. 52," *SeM* 2 (2001): 167–180; Viarengo, *Documenti per una storia del fascismo nel circondario di Chiavari* (Chiavari: Pane e Vino, 2001); Viarengo, "Il campo di concentramento provinciale per ebrei di

Calvari di Chiavari (dicembre 1943–gennaio 1944) e le sue altre funzioni," *RMI* 69: 1–2 (Jan.–Apr. 2003): 415–430; Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della memoria: Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945)* (Milan: Mursia, 2002); and Circolo Brandale, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Liguria* (Acqui Terme: Impressioni Grafiche, 2009).

Primary sources about the camp at Calvari can be found in ASG and ACS.

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Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTE

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

CAMPAGNA

Campagna is a small town in the province of Salerno, just over 74 kilometers (46 miles) southeast of Naples and nearly 29 kilometers (18 miles) east of Salerno. The Interior Ministry set up the Campagna camp in June 1940 in two old convents that had long ceased to serve their original purpose: a building of a former convent of San Bartolomeo (home to Giordano Bruno in his apprenticeship years), which was fairly well preserved and could accommodate around 300 internees housed in 5 large and 12 smaller rooms on its first and second floors, and a building of a former convent of the Immaculate Conception that could hold approximately 100 internees. However, the latter building became so dilapidated that it had to be vacated, and the internees were then transferred to the San Bartolomeo convent and into rooms rented in private residences. The camp was reserved solely for men, who started arriving on June 16, 1940.

At the time of the camp's establishment, the town of Campagna had around 11,000 inhabitants, most of whom lived in extreme poverty. Hence the arrival of the new internees—people who required all kinds of products and services—constituted an unexpected "breath of fresh air" for the meager local economy and, obviously, the black market.

A public security commissioner directed the camp, whereas the administrative and guard staff was made up of around 30 carabinieri, public security agents, and members of the Fascist militia. The directorate was based in a house located near the two former convents; a local doctor aided by several other doctors and students of medicine, all internees themselves, provided health care.

Approximately 10 civilians of British and French nationality and 40 Italian Jews were interned in the camp at its inception. Later, most of the inmates were foreign Jews and stateless people: Germans, Austrians, Poles, inhabitants of the Free State of Fiume (today: Rijeka, Croatia), former Czechoslovakians, and "ex-

Yugoslavs" (mostly merchants, doctors, and artists).

Both buildings in the camp had "barracks" furnishings, but there was no heating system. In 1940, the inmates set up a canteen, and in 1941, a small infirmary was established too. Hygienic services were insufficient given the number of people inside the camp, and running water was only available in the camp's courtyards. Such a state of affairs—equally denounced by the local prefecture as by the inmates—resulted in two internees contracting typhoid in 1940; they both lost their lives despite being taken to a hospital. Water was only made available indoors in 1942 with the extension of water pipes to the first floor of the former San Bartolomeo convent.

The internees were allowed to move around the countryside for about six hours a day within a predetermined area (with respect to the position of houses at the outskirts of the village). This situation facilitated the development of relationships between the internees and the local population, which were marked by a mutual respect and willingness to help. However, from the autumn of 1941 on, "freedom of movement" was limited solely to the morning hours after sources related to the Fascist Party expressed concerns about "too many contacts" being developed between the internees and the local population.

The community life of Campagna internees was vibrant thanks to the moral and material support of the Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM). Among the organization's projects worth noting were an orchestra directed by Maestro Bogdan Zins, a Polish pianist; a library containing about 1,500 books; the widely followed football matches among the internees; and a small "Jewish temple" set up in San Bartolomeo's hall. A German-language newsletter (*Das Tagerl*) occasionally written and circulated by the internees made sarcastic commentaries about these events in the camp.

Very cordial relations existed between the internees and the bishop of Campagna, Monsignor Giuseppe Maria Palatucci. However, it would be historically inaccurate to think of the Campagna camp as some sort of protectorate of a local diocese. On April 26, 1942, Bishop Palatucci wrote to the chief of police

asking for the removal of the Campagna internees so that the building of "San Bartolomeo" could be used as a child care facility.

In June 1943, while a Belgian civilian categorized by the Italian authorities as an "enemy subject" was interned in the camp (and thus protected under the 1929 Geneva Convention), an International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) delegation made its first inspection of the camp. In a report submitted to the Interior Ministry a short while after the visit, the ICRC expressed its "excellent impression" of the local authorities' (the camp's director, the mayor, doctor, and other communal functionaries) commitment to the improvement of the internees' living conditions.[1]

Nothing substantial changed inside the camp following the coup against Benito Mussolini of July 25, 1943. Only in the days after the announcement of the Armistice on September 8 were the internees formally released by the camp's director, based on the dispositions issued by the chief of police. After the debarkation of Allied troops in the Gulf of Salerno, the internees set off immediately toward the mountain villages for safety, because several German soldiers were seen in the streets of Campagna. Even some inhabitants of the town took refuge on the heights of nearby mountains, preferring to abandon their homes in anticipation of better days in the future.

Survivors from the Italian concentration camp at Campagna stand in the courtyard of the monastery where they were required to gather for roll call prior to their being freed by invading Allied forces, October 1943. USHMM WS #77707, COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA LIBRARIES.

Around that time, Campagna suffered from two serious bombing raids, with the most tragic one taking place on September 17 when, in an effort to strike several German vehicles stationed in the urban center, Allied airplanes dropped bombs on the town. Around 300 people died, mostly civilians, among whom was one Jewish person who had just recently been released from internment. As soon as the German troops retreated from the inhabited area of the city, the municipal authorities asked for help in treating the injured from those hiding in the mountains. The formerly interned Jewish doctors reached the area even before the Allies did; in particular, Doctors Tänzer (or Tanger) and Pajes performed urgent surgical interventions at a makeshift outpatient clinic set up in a gym of the local science institute.

After the liberation of Campagna on September 19, 1943, the

building of San Bartolomeo was transformed, for one year, into a refugee camp by the Allied Displaced Persons Sub-Commission. In October 1944, the last 24 ex-internees still present in Campagna were transferred into an analogous structure situated in Santa Maria al Bagno in the province of Lecce.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Campagna camp are Gianluca Petroni, *Gli ebrei a Campagna durante il secondo conflitto mondiale* (Campagna: Edizione Comitato Palatucci, 2001); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 227–229; Fabio Corbisiero, "Storia de memoria dell'internamento ebraico durante la Seconde guerra mondiale: Il campo di concentramento di Campagna," *NeS* 6 (1999): 110–130; and Marco Coslovich, *Giovanni Palatucci: Una Giusta Memoria* (Avellino: Edizioni Mephite, 2008).

Primary sources documenting the camp at Campagna can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civilie), B. 134, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins; 36 "Salerno"; and A-CIRC. Among other documentation concerning the Campagna camp, USHMMA holds an oral history interview with survivor Mayer Relles, June 27, 1983 (RG-50.462*0119).

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NOTE

1. A-CICR, C, Sc, Services des camps, Italie (June 17, 1943).

CAMUGNANO AND BAZZANO

Camugnano is about 43 kilometers (27 miles) southwest of Bologna, and Bazzano is 21.5 kilometers (13.4 miles) west of Bologna. Internment camps were established in each town in March 1942.

In January 1942, a group of Jewish British citizens were deported from Libya, because they were considered potentially dangerous to the Italian Army in its North African campaign against British troops. The impetus for their arrest and deportation came from a letter circulated by the chief of police, Arturo Bocchini, on June 15, 1940, in which he ordered the arrest of all the Jews coming from states that followed a "racial policy" (i.e., Nazi Germany) because they were considered potentially dangerous.[1] This group of Jewish British citizens was under the care of the Interior Ministry during its stay in Italy. About 100 of these Jews, who were from Malta (or at least they were described in Italian documents as "Anglo-Maltese," although the documents of the Swiss Embassy described them as being from Gibraltar) were sent to the province of Bologna, where they arrived in March 1942. There, the prefect divided them into two groups of 50 people each, with one group being held in a building in Camugnano and the other in a building in Bazzano. These camps were not concentration camps, but internment camps: the internees could move freely within the town during the day, and the buildings where they stayed were not overseen by the police or other guards.

On June 10, 1942, the prefect of Bologna wrote to the Interior Ministry lamenting the disastrous condition of the internees:

> These two groups composed of about 50 elements each, adults and children included, for the most part women, have been housed in two *case coloniche* [farmhouses] furnished with the necessary services and minimal comfort so that each family nucleus, with the modest provisions they get from their subsidy, which for most of them represents their only

> financial resource, may organize itself so as to provide the minimum necessities of life …. The two groups each used only one rudimentary kitchen which had to serve the various family groups, and the same can be said for the latrines. Indeed, this arrangement has been arrived at through expediency and some expense, above all for the house at Camugnano, at the time authorized by this ministry.[2]

The prefect went on to complain that the internees strolled around the town, looking for assistance from City Hall.

The situation had thus become unpleasant, particularly because the local populace did not want to have contact with the Jews and the police could not control the internees' movements. To resolve the worsening situation, the prefect offered to create a real concentration camp in the keep of the castle (*Rocca*) of Bazzano. After being contacted by the Interior Ministry, the mayor (*podestà*) of Bazzano responded on October 7 that the keep was already occupied by the 6th Regiment of the *Bersag lieri* (sharpshooters) and was therefore not available for such use.

The very poor conditions did not change until the December 1942 visit of the Swiss legation, which was charged with protecting British interests. It found that the rooms were unfurnished apart from beds, were very small, and were inadequately heated. The beds lacked mattresses, and the toilet facilities were insufficient, consisting of only two bathrooms and one basin. Food was scarce, and above all there was a lack of milk for the children and fresh vegetables. A notable denunciation, protesting these conditions harshly, followed in January 1943 from the British government, speaking as previously through the Swiss legation.

This report prompted an inspection of the camps, in March 1943, by an Interior Ministry commission, made up of the province's doctor, an official of the police, and an economist of the province. In Camugnano, it found excessive crowding, promiscuity (meaning that women and men shared the same quarters), and poor hygienic conditions at the camp. The internees lived crowded into two huge rooms, many had problems with their eyes, and some suffered from scabies. Some of the sickest people were sent to the hospital. The internees had been issued food ration

permits (*Carta annonaria*), and the Interior Ministry permitted two internees to go to Bologna to obtain kosher meat. Following this report, the Interior Ministry ordered the urgent renovation of the Camugnano camp. To relieve the overcrowding, 12 internees were transferred in the same month to Civitella della Chiana.

In Bazzano, however, although the commission found various problems related to overcrowding (50 people were being made to live in nine rooms), the situation was judged acceptable, because each family had one room at its disposal and the hygienic situation was not causing problems. Nonetheless, the Interior Ministry ordered this camp to be renovated as well.

In April 1943, a delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) of Geneva and the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) again visited the buildings and submitted a relatively positive report. The CRI report described the "camp" of Camugnano in the following terms: there were only 34 internees, defined as "British Israelites of Bengasi, originally from Gibraltar"; each family had one or two rooms to itself; the state of health was satisfactory; and the families cooked their own food. At Bazzano the delegation found 54 Jews with British citizenship from Tripoli, who were originally from Gibraltar. The building was in good condition, and the children could play outside. Some of the inmates performed paid labor. The only problem was with a family that argued with the others, and thus, in accord with a proposal of the mayor, who was the official in charge of the building, the Interior Ministry was ordered to transfer the family.

The Jews remained in the two buildings until March 1944. In July 1944, a few Anglo-Maltese were sent to the concentration camp of Fossoli.

SOURCES The only secondary reference found to these two camps is in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del Duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943*) (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 288.

The principal archival sources are in the ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 4 and 9; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 104, 116, and 141.

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NOTES

1. In June 15, 1940, letter No. 443/45626, as cited in Capogreco, *I campi del Duce*, p. 288.

2. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 4 and 9; Cat. “Massime” M4, B. 116.

CASACALENDA

At 643 meters (approximately 2,110 feet) above sea level, Casacalenda is a little town in the province of Campobasso, in Molise, one of the poorest regions of south-central Italy, some 111 kilometers (69 miles) northeast of Naples. According to the instructions of the Royal Decree (*Regio decreto*) of July 8, 1938, No. 1415, and the Interior Ministry letter (*Circolare*) of June 8, 1940, No. 442/12267, the Casacalenda concentration camp was opened in June 1940. It was set up in a building in the town that was generally known as the "bequest of the Caradonio-Di Blasio family," where a private residential school had previously been established. The camp was set up for the internment of women who were registered as foreign civilian internees.

The building had been constructed in the middle of the nineteenth century. The address was Piazza Vittorio Emanuele 2, and the edifice was made up of three floors, with about 30 rooms, each of which could hold between 4 and 30 people. It had six toilets with washbasins and two large kitchens, running water, electricity, and central heating. The heating, however, broke in the winter of 1942–1943, causing serious discomfort to the inmates. The inmates ran the kitchen. There was no infirmary, but a doctor from the town periodically provided medical assistance. Internees requiring visits to medical specialists went to Campobasso under escort.

The camp was originally set up to hold 110 people, but subsequently it was discovered that some of the spaces identified by surveyors as "rooms" were actually connecting rooms functioning as corridors and therefore inappropriate for residential use. The camp came to hold between 40 and 62 women. In February 1941, 22 Jewish and 19 non-Jewish women were living in the Casacalenda camp. Statistics from December 1942 indicate that there were 49 non-Jews and 36 Jews there, but these figures do not seem accurate, because all the other statistics indicate an internee population never exceeding 62. On May 2, 1943, there

were 25 female inmates: 3 stateless non-Jews, 14 stateless Jews, 1 Frenchwoman, 1 Yugoslav woman, 2 Polish women (one of whom was Jewish), 2 British women, 1 Hungarian woman, and 1 Jewish Croat woman.

The chief of the local police (*questore*) of Campobasso placed the camp under the direction of Giuseppe Martone, who was assisted by a female director, Ezia Calogero. From November 1940 to May 1943 the director was Guido Renzoni. In July 1940, two public security agents (*agenti di pubblica sicurezza*) provided surveillance for the camp, but the Interior Ministry considered this number excessive.

At the beginning of 1942, an inmate later identified as Anita Randow sent an anonymous letter to the Interior Ministry in which she complained about various problems in the camp relating to food and discipline and accused the female director of having slapped an inmate who was suffering from nerves. Antonio Panariello, the Inspector General of Public Security, ordered an inspection of the camp, after which he rejected all the accusations contained in the letter, considering them the result of disagreements between the female director and Randow. According to Panariello, the conduct of the female director was humane and fair. An anonymous letter that arrived at the Ministry in May 1942 complained anew of the terrible unhygienic conditions of the camp and the hunger suffered by the internees. Once again, a new inspection by Panariello, undertaken at the end of that month, found nothing particularly objectionable:

> The camp's hygienic conditions are fine. Rooms of communication [i.e., corridor-like rooms] are being used as dormitories, and this is justified by the fact that in the rooms of the camp itself there are no modern corridors, and one cannot fail to use such spaces, which, on the other hand, are dry, lit, and sufficiently airy, and which are disinfected and from the point of view of hygiene, perfectly apt. And the proof of this is that of 59 women, only one is ill.[1]

Another anonymous letter from November 1942 informed the Interior Ministry that the direction of the camp was entirely "pro-Jewish." The letter writer complained, "The said camp is used for

women, some of whom are there for political reasons. Treatment of these unfortunates is far from good, as the female director of the camp and the police commissioner look favorably only upon the Jewish elements, as they are full of money. From what I was able to understand, it seems that a strong pro-Israelite current reigns on the part of the directors."[2]

On June 22, 1943, during a visit from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), some internees—"ex-Yugoslavs"—protested the camp directors' attempt to impose the "Roman salute" (i.e., the Fascist salute) on them; the internees also complained about the prohibition on receiving food packages from family members. Subsequently the ICRC sent a report to the Italian Interior Ministry asking that all the inmates be treated the same and also sent a check for 1,600 lire to the camp directors to buy clothes and food for the ex-Yugoslav internees, who were considered the most needy.

The camp remained active until the Armistice signed by Italy and the Allies on September 8, 1943. The foreign women were freed after an order from the chief of police, in accord with a clause of the Armistice.

SOURCES There are brief references to the camp at Casacalenda in two secondary sources: Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del Duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943*) (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 207; and in Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, 2 vols., trans. Loredana Melissari (Scandicci: La Nuova Italia, 1993–1996), 2: 64.

The only available primary sources are in the ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 116 and 117.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 117.

2. Ibid.

CASOLI

Casoli is almost 29 kilometers (18 miles) southeast of the capital of Chieti province and more than 175 kilometers (109 miles) northwest of Campagna in the province of Salerno. In July 1940, the Fascist authorities opened a small concentration camp (*Campo di concentramento*) in Casoli for the detention of enemy aliens. Because it was too small to accommodate the number of detainees, the original camp structures—a stable and a schoolroom—were eventually abandoned in favor of a former movie house. The mayor (*podestà*) of Casoli served as the camp's director.

The camp's population consisted of 50 to 60 foreign Jewish males, most of whom were from Central Europe. According to a postwar report by the chief of police of Chieti, of the 56 Jews listed, 13 were German, 8 Polish, 13 "stateless," 3 Hungarian, 2 Slovak, 2 Czech, 1 French, and 14 without a listed nationality. Beginning on February 29, 1941, the Italian authorities gradually began to transfer foreign Jews to other camps: Campagna, Corropoli (Teramo), Ferramonti (Cosenza), Notoresco (Teramo), Pisticci (Matera), and Urbisaglia (Macerata). By far the largest group of Jewish internees—numbering 38—was dispatched to the Campagna camp on May 2, 1942. The last foreign Jew was sent to Urbisaglia the next day.[1]

However, Casoli continued to operate as an internment camp. In the summer of 1942, its new population consisted of 75 to 80 "ex-Yugoslavs." When the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) inspected the camp on September 1, 1942, it found the conditions good, but the food monotonous. Some of the prisoners requested that the CRI pass along messages to loved ones and seek transfers for them to camps that presumably held their relatives; one prisoner asked for permission to resume his chemistry studies, which he had begun in Serbia and Germany. At the time of the inspection, the mayor was Marino Giustino, the vice director was Giuseppe Franchetti, and the camp secretary was Lorenzo Palumbo.[2]

The camp closed and its inmates were released at the time of the Armistice, September 8, 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Casoli camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); and Costatino Di Sante, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Italia: Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Casoli camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 118, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento); ACS, Mi, PS, A4 bis (Stranieri internati); ACS, collection CRI, fondo PG, B M 10, fasc. Italia (Campi di concentramento in Italia). The latter documentation is available at www.campifascisti.it. Additional documentation can be found in ITS, collections 0.1, 1.1.14.1, and 1.2.7.25. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. Additional documentation can be found in NaP, JAF 1007: MSP-L, which is available in microform at USHMMA as RG-48.011M.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Questura di Chieti al Mi, Dgps, April 11, 1956, Ogg.: "Documentazione relativa ad israeliti," ITS, 1.1.14.1, Doc. Nos. 459527–459529.

2. CRI, "Visite ai campi di concentramento per internati, 31 Agosto/5 Settembre 1942; Campo di concentramento di Casoli (Chietti)," ACS, collection CRI, fondo PG, B M 10, fasc. Italia (Campi di concentramento in Italia), reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

CASTAGNAVIZZA

Castagnavizza is about 111 kilometers (69 miles) east of Venice. The only traceable document relating to this camp is a telegram from the prefect of Gorizia to the Interior Ministry, dated March 18, 1944:

> With reference to telegram number 451 of the tenth of this month, and subsequent to previous correspondence, it is communicated that in this province, as has been noted, following the noted political developments, confirmed as the work of armed Yugoslav bands, two wings of different sites have been adapted as concentration camps for the family members of the partisans of this province, the first for men at Poggio Terza Armata (Gradisca) and the second at Castagnavizza (Gorizia). At the armistice, the commander of the local division "Torino," General of Division Bruno Malaguti, ordered the immediate release of all the internees of both concentration camps. The sites were then ransacked by said inmates, and by the local civilian population, who carried off a good part of the material of the barracks that, in its own time, had been gathered by the military authority. These sites, at the moment, are occupied by German troops stationed in this province. Practically speaking, therefore, both concentration camps began to cease their functioning in December 1943 and are not, as is obvious to observe, in any condition to function.[1]

SOURCES The only source found on the Castagnavizza camp is ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 108.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTE

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4, B. 108.

CASTEL DI GUIDO

Castel di Giudo is a small commune located 20 kilometers (more than 12 miles) west of Rome in the Rome province. In 1941, the Fascist regime set in motion the construction there of a work center (*centro di lavoro*) for both prisoners and interned civilians; the inmates were employed by the Interior Ministry and lodged at a large agricultural estate owned by the Pious Institute of the Holy Spirit (*Pio Istituto di S. Spirito*) on the outskirts of the town. The estate extended as far as the Maccarese railway station, located some 7 kilometers (more than 4 miles) southwest of Castel di Guido. In early 1942, the governor of Rome awarded the contract for the estate's cultivation work to the Eugenio Parrini Company, a private firm well connected with the regime that had already constructed two large Italian concentration camps: Pisticci (Matera) and Ferramonti di Tarsia (Calabria). The estate of Castel di Guido produced wheat and vegetables and was partly used for grazing. A police brigadier (*generale di brigata*) directed the work center, assisted by a representative of the Parrini Company. The Castel di Guido camp was based on a model of an agricultural center for working prisoners in Pisticci that, since 1939, had been presented by the regime as a model for combining land cultivation with "human cultivation."

In the spring of 1942, Castel di Guido received approximately 100 civilians (most of whom were Italians) with the status of civilian internees or prisoners. With the government's approval, they were employed as a cheap workforce with the Parrini firm. They were lodged in a large building located in a place called *Le Pulci* (The Fleas). The dormitories were set up on the second floor, and the ground floor was used as a barn. In close proximity were the lodgings of the management, a police station, a carpenter's shop, the communal canteen, and a grocery store. The work, which was not solely agricultural and also included construction and craftwork, was not compulsory, but because it offered a daily pay of 10 lire and the possibility of staying out in

the open, it was a preferred option: those who chose not to work had to stay in their rooms all day long. In the summer of 1943, despite the fall of Mussolini and the signing of the Armistice, the Castel di Guido work center continued to function as normal; only one group of antifascists was released on July 31. For all the other interned civilians and prisoners, the center finally ceased activity only at the end of October 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Castel di Guido work center are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 197–198; and Carolini Simonetta, ed., *"Pericolosi nelle contingenze belliche": Gli internati dal 1940 al 1943* (Rome: ANPPIA, 1987).

Primary sources documenting the Castel di Guido work center can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 145, fasc. 18 (Località di internamento), s.f. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 57 ("Roma"), and s.f. 3 ("Castel di Guido, Centro di lavoro"); ACS, Segreteria particolare del duce, fasc. "Maccarese, Società anonima Bonifiche," B. 535219 and B. 509397/97. Additional documentation can be found in the ITS/Hängemappe Italien and CamCom; both documents are available at www.campifascisti.it.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

CHIESANUOVA

Chiesanuova is just over 3 kilometers (2 miles) west of Padua and more than 37 kilometers (23 miles) west of Venice. Administered by the Italian Second Army, the Chiesanuova concentration camp (Padova province) operated from July 20, 1942, until September 10, 1943. Established at the site of today's Romagnoli barracks, the camp interned Yugoslav civilians, primarily Slovenians, in six large buildings surrounded by a 4-meter-high (13-foot-high) wall with four sentry points for the guards. Chiesanuova was also known as the Padua camp (*Campo Concentramento Internati Civili—Padova*). The commandant was Tenente Colonello Dante Caporali, and the guard commander was Capitano Giuseppe David.

The first detainees (1,429 men originating, in large part, from Ljubljana) arrived at Chiesanuova on August 14, 1942, after being transferred from the camp at Monigo. In the months that followed, the number of prisoners rose to 2,219. Between October and November, approximately 1,500 internees were transferred to the camps of Renicci di Anghiari and Arbe (Rab). They were later replaced by Yugoslav military personnel previously held in the Gonars camp. Beginning in January 1943, various other transports brought the total of internees to 3,410.

Living conditions inside the camp were very harsh. A punishment pole, a type of pillory to which the perpetrators of prohibited acts were tied, was installed in the courtyard. In addition, there were underground cells used for custodial punishment. Among the internees were a number of doctors who, despite the scarcity of available supplies, did their best to tend to the detainees' health. Nevertheless, 70 internees lost their lives during the course of the camp's roughly yearlong existence. According to the Italian Second Army, 31 prisoners died at Chiesanuova between January 1 and May 31, 1943.[1]

The apostolic nuncio of Italy, Monsignor Francesco Borgongini-

Duca, interceded with the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI), requesting that the Chiesanuova camp produce a list of Croatian Orthodox and Catholic prisoners who wished to correspond with their loved ones. The list was in turn forwarded to the Croatian Red Cross (*Hrvatski Crveni križ*, HCk).[2]

After the signing of the Armistice, the camp came under German control. The German authorities later transferred two train convoys full of prisoners to Zagreb via the Brenner Pass and Vienna. In Zagreb, several detainees were recruited into Slovenian collaborationist groups, whereas many others were released. According to the Central Name Index (CNI) of the International Tracing Service (ITS), however, in at least one instance, a Chiesanuova internee ended up in Dachau, where he died in March 1945.[3]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Chiesanuova camp include Davide Gobbo, *L'occupazione fascista della Jugoslavia e i campi di concentramento per civili jugoslavi in Veneto: Chiesanuova e Monigo (1942–1943)* (Padua: Centro Studi Ettore Luccini, 2011); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); and Davide Conti, *L'occupazione italiana dei Balcani: Crimini di guerra e mito della "brava gente" (1940–1943)* (Rome: Odradek, 2008).

Primary sources documenting the Chiesanuova camp are found in A-RS (collection AS 1840 7); AUSSME (collection M3, B. 69); ACS (Mi, Dgps, Dgsg, B. 89); and MNZS. Additional documentation can be found in the ITS, collections 0.1 and 1.1.14.1 (Camps in Italy and Albania). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. The website www.campifascisti.it also has an extensive collection of documents concerning Chiesanuova.

Frida Bertolini
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. II. Armata, Supersloda, “Decessi verificatese nei campi concentramento dal 1o gennaio a 31 maggio 1943,” June 26, 1943, AUSSME, fondo M3, B. 64, Prot. No. 3575, available at www.campifascisti.it.

2. Register of civilian internees of the internment camp Chiesanuova (Padova) who would like to make contact with their family members, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 5, Doc. Nos. 460103–460105.

3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Anton (or Antonio) Kandare, DOB July 5, 1902, Doc. No. 51673530.

CHIETI

Chieti is located 148 kilometers (92 miles) northeast of Rome. In June 1940, the Italian Interior Ministry opened an internment camp for enemy aliens and foreign Jews in the Princess of Piedmont kindergarten (*Principessa di Piemonte asilo infantile*) in Chieti (Chieti province). A 1953 report to the Union of Italian Jewish Communities (*Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane*, UCII) listed Chieti among the concentration camps that held foreign Jews during World War II.[1] Police Commissioner Mario La Monica was the camp director, and carabinieri stood guard.

Although it was originally intended to confine 200 internees, the camp never held more than 29 people. The internees included 1 Italian citizen, 6 foreign Jews, and civilians from Allied countries: 8 British citizens, 1 Irishman, and 17 Frenchmen. Some of the internees' names appear on index cards from the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) that were submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS). These cards identify the camp as "Chieti, provincial capital" (*Chieti, Capoluogo*).[2]

As noted by historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, the city's desire to resume kindergarten classes in the next calendar year led to the camp's closure in November 1940. The internees were moved to the camps at Casoli, Montechiarugolo, and Manfredonia.

SOURCES The Chieti camp is described in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); Costatino Di Sante, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Italia: Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001); and Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, *Poliziotti: I direttori dei campi di concentramento italiani, 1940–1943* (Rome: Cooper, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the Chieti camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 118, f. 16 (Campi

di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 12 "Chieti," s.f. 6. Additional documentation can be found in ITS, collections 1.2.7.25 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Griechenland, Italien, Spanien); and 1.1.14.6 (Italienische Kartei). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. Some documentation on the Chieti camp is found at www.campifascisti.it.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Mi, Dgps, all' UCII, December 17, 1953, "Elenco dei campi di concentramento esistenti in Italia durante la guerra," ITS, 1.2.7.25, folder 6, Doc. No. 82208375.

2. See, for example, ITS, 1.1.14.6, CRI cards for Antonio (Antoine) Bazin, Doc. No. 462710, and Edward Smith, Doc. No. 474979.

CITTÀ SANT'ANGELO

Città Sant'Angelo (Pescara province) is located more than 14 kilometers (9 miles) northeast of the provincial capital and 147 kilometers (91 miles) northeast of Rome. In June 1940, the Italian authorities allocated space for a concentration camp (*campo di concentramento*) in a disused tobacco factory in the town. However, the first internees, who were mostly Slovenians from Dalmatia, did not enter the camp until May 1941. During its existence, the camp held between 79 and 135 internees. A post-war Italian Interior Ministry report counted Città Sant'Angelo among the concentration camps that held Jewish prisoners.[1]

Among the succession of commissioners of public security who directed the camp were Fernando di Donna and Augusto Menè. Carabinieri served as guards.

According to an inspection report by the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) on September 1, 1942, there were 117 internees in the camp, with an additional 3 in the hospital and another one described as having been released. Among the inmates the inspector interviewed were the camp's lone British civilian, an Italian political prisoner, and a Russian journalist. At the time of the visit, there were 60 beds for internees, so that the prisoners had to share the beds. The inmates' principal complaints had to do with inadequate bathing facilities and the presence of vermin. They were able to move around the town during certain hours of the day.[2]

As noted by historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, the liberal treatment at Città Sant'Angelo ended as of December 1942 on the orders of the chief of police (*questore*) of Pescara. After that time, in an effort to prevent their interaction with locals, the internees were only permitted outside the camp under armed escort. Communist and recalcitrant prisoners were transferred to other camps at Ponza and Lipari.

After the September 8, 1943, signing of the Armistice, the guard

force abandoned the camp and the internees fled. The president of the Republic of Italy awarded the commune a medal in 2012 in recognition of local efforts to hide the escapees from the German authorities.

Città Sant'Angelo briefly served again as an internment camp under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), but closed for good in April 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Città Sant'Angelo camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); and Costatino Di Sante, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Italia: Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001). The commune's recognition by the president of the Republic of Italy is described at www.comune.cittasantangelo.pe.it.

Primary sources documenting the Città Sant'Angelo camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 118, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento); ACS, Mi, Dgsg (Affari Generali), B. 88; and ACS, collection CRI, fondo PG, B M 10, fasc. Italia (Campi di concentramento in Italia). Some of this material is available online at www.campifascisti.it. Additional documents can be found in ITS, collection 1.2.7.25. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Mi, Dgps, all' UCII, December 17, 1953, "Elenco dei campi di concentramento esistenti in Italia durante la guerra," ITS, 1.2.7.25, folder 6, Doc. No. 82208375.

2. CRI, "Visite ai campi di concentramento per internati, 31 Agosto/5 Settembre 1942; Campo di concentramento di Città S. Angelo (Pescara)," ACS, collection CRI, fondo PG, B M 10, fasc. Italia (Campi di concentramento in Italia), available at www.campifascisti.it.

CIVITELLA DELLA CHIANA

Civitella della Chiana (today: Civitella in Val di Chiana) is located more than 54 kilometers (34 miles) southeast of Florence in the Arezzo province. A camp was located in Oliveto, a tiny part of the village inhabited at the time by about 150 people; the camp was thus sometimes called the Oliveto Villa camp. Erected 500 meters (1,640 feet) above sea level and 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the train station in Badia al Pino (another part of the same small village), the camp was set up by the Interior Ministry in a three-story country house called the Mazzi Villa. In the 1930s Mazzi Villa served as the headquarters for a Croat paramilitary group led by Ante Pavelić, which was welcomed and supported by the Mussolini regime.

Under optimal conditions Mazzi Villa did not have the capacity to hold more than 80 people, but there were periods in the camp's history when it held more than 130 internees. The beds were on the second and third floors; the first floor contained offices for the camp's directorate, an infirmary (where one death was reported in 1944), a kitchen, and a canteen. There were latrines on each floor, but no flush toilets for a long time. Between the second and third floors was a fee-based bathroom with a bathtub for the internees. Various public security officials ran the camp, and the carabinieri provided security. The owner of the Pasquale Mazzi estate provided food supplies. With an eye to turning a profit, he managed a small shop through which he offered food to internees on behalf of the prefecture. Medical assistance was delegated to a local doctor, Lucio Gambassini, and occasionally some interned doctors.

The first internee, a French civilian, arrived at Civitella della Chiana on June 18, 1940, but had to be accommodated in a rented room because Mazzi Villa officially did not begin functioning as a camp until July. The internees were categorized mainly as "enemy subjects," of whom many were Indians with British citizenship, and as "foreign Jews," 37 of whom came to Civitella on July 16

from San Vittore Prison in Milan. Among the latter was the Austrian poet and writer Hermann Hakel (1911–1987). The internees were permitted to walk along the entire stretch of the switchbacked road that led to the villa, but very soon, their space for walking was restricted to a straight path from the villa to a grove overlooking it. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) frequently shipped food and other goods to the camp. On December 27, 1940, this camp was visited by Francesco Borgongini-Duca, the apostolic nuncio to the Italian government, who distributed care packages and aid in the form of cash.

In the spring of 1941, after the German-Italian invasion of Yugoslavia, approximately 40 Marines and officials from the dissolved Yugoslav Navy (Slovenes, Serbs, and Croats) were sent to Civitella della Chiana where they remained for almost two months. During that time all the Jews then living in the camp (28 people) were transferred to the Campagna camp.

In 1942, the Civitella della Chiana camp entered a second phase of activity, as the makeup of its population changed to include not only males but also females and entire nuclear families. The first group of 51 Libyan Jews with British citizenship—men, women, and children in nine families—arrived from Libya in January 1942. Among them were so many pregnant women that in the course of internment there were seven babies born inside the camp. The newcomers experienced very poor hygienic and sanitary conditions and put increasing strain on the villa's lodging capacity.

In this phase, the most frequent complaints by the Oliveto Villa internees related to the general scarcity of water, insufficient food and medication, overcrowding, and the mixing of sexes created by the arrival of the Anglo-Libyan Jews. Such problems were brought up on multiple occasions by the delegates of the ICRC. As for the interned British subjects, the Foreign Office through its British legation in Bern repeatedly accused the Italian government of abrogating no fewer than five articles of the 1929 Geneva Convention: Articles 4 (providing for prisoner maintenance), 10 (confinement in hygienic and safe facilities), 11 (food provisions), 12 (clothing provisions and prisoner canteens), and 13 (sanitation).

Prisoners incarcerated in Civitella Della Chiana eating lunch. They are both Jews and non-Jews. USHMM WS #66669, COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVIO CENTRALE DELLO STATO.

In July 1942, on the recommendation of chief inspectors Enrico Cavallo and Carlo Rosati, the decision was made to transfer 14 unmarried internees (10 British subjects including 9 Hindus, 1 Dutch, 1 Greek, 1 Iranian, and 1 Yugoslav) so that the villa was then occupied solely by the nine Anglo-Libyan families. It was planned that these families would later be "reunited" with their relatives scattered in different internment camps across the peninsula. As a result, the population at Civitella della Chiana became entirely Jewish. However, unlike the situation in other Italian "Jewish camps" of that period (for instance, in Ferramonti di Tarsia, Campagna, or Civitella del Tronto), there were no working structures in place promoting "social cohesion" among the internees, nor were there any other cultural or recreational initiatives. There were not even any efforts to set up basic educational structures for children living in the camp. Nonetheless, relations with the local population were very friendly, so much so that there was even a wedding between one Franco-Italian internee and a local woman.

On September 10, 1943, in compliance with the Armistice, the head of the police in Senise sent a telegram releasing all internees from the camp. The camp director declared all internees free, but the 69 Anglo-Libyan Jews still living in Mazzi Villa thought it more safe to remain there (the villa seemed like an oasis of relative

tranquility compared to other places), not realizing the degree of impending danger such a decision entailed. As it happened, with the takeover of German troops after the Armistice, all those who stayed were reincarcerated, although this time with the status of prospective deportees. In fact, in December 1943 this place became one of the provincial camps for Jews (*campo provinciale per ebrei*) under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI).

On February 5, 1944, almost all of the Anglo-Libyan Jews then living in the camp (62 of 63 people) were dispatched by a special SS commando to the Fossoli camp, after spending a brief time in prisons in Florence. On February 19, 1944, they were deported from Fossoli, because of their citizenship status, to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. The Civitella della Chiana camp, whose population in the interim increased from 7 to 25 over a few weeks, was finally closed on June 9, 1944, after an attack by a small group of partisans liberated the last remaining internees.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Civitella della Chiana camp are Barbara Cardeti, *L'internamento civile fascista: il caso di "Villa Oliveto," 1940–1944: Storia, documenti, immagini, testimonianze* (Florence: Regione Toscana, Consiglio regionale, 2010); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Mappatura dei campi-Toscana," in *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 184–185; and Angela Regis, "Esperienze al margine della guerra: Testimonianze di militari valsesiani," *L'impegno* 15: 3 (December 1995), available at www.storia900bivc.it/pagine/editoria/regis395.html.

Primary sources documenting the camp at Civitella della Chiana can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), B. 114, s.f. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 5 "Arezzo"; and A-ICRC, Service des camps, Italie (January 14, 1941; April 22, 1942; and August 25, 1942). A published testimony is Hermann Hakel, *Zu Fuss durchs Rote Meer: Impressionen und Träumen*, ed. Richard Kovacevic (Vienna: Lynkeus, 1995).

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco

CIVITELLA DEL TRONTO

Civitella del Tronto is located in the Teramo province, 138 kilometers (86 miles) northeast of Rome. The camp in the town was set up in September 1940 in the former monastery of Santa Maria dei Lumi, which had space to accommodate about 60 people. In 1942, two additional buildings were used: the former hospice, Filippo Alessandrini, with a capacity of approximately 100 spaces, and a private residence belonging to the Migliorati family, with a capacity of around 40. A succession of public security officials ran the camp over time, and the carabinieri served as the camp guards. An inquiry by the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) confirming this camp's existence can be found in the records of the International Tracing Service.[1]

The first internees arrived in Civitella del Tronto on September 4, 1940, and were accommodated in the former monastery, which had the largest capacity of the three buildings and was located outside the populated town center. They were civilians of Belgian nationality, categorized as "enemy subjects"; they were soon followed by several foreign Jews and, between September and October, by other foreign civilians among whom were 10 Chinese nationals. In January 1941, approximately 100 Greeks arrived at Civitella del Tronto, but only stayed there for a short period of time. The other two buildings, the Migliorati house and the Alessandrini hospice, became part of the camp in 1942 to create space to accommodate 114 British Jews evacuated from Libya, members of 28 nuclear families among whom were many elderly and children. They arrived at the camp on January 22 and 23 and were labeled "enemy subjects." In early 1943 another 42 internees from the Corropoli camp reached Civitella; most of them were enemy subjects of British origin.

In the beginning, the internees' living conditions were not too harsh, particularly for the enemy subjects who received packages with food and other necessities through the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). There were, however, some

complaints, mainly in relation to the humidity inside the buildings, overcrowding, and insufficient heating. The internees were able to move about the town's center in daytime, and relations with the local population were generally friendly.

After the Armistice on September 8, 1943, the internees of Civitella, in contrast to those in many other Italian camps, were not released by the authorities. Some officials distanced themselves from this act of retaining the detainees, but as a whole the camp continued to remain active. On October 1943, on orders from the German command in Chieti, 121 male internees were dispatched to dig antitank ditches in the province of Pescara (the city of Pescara is 56 kilometers [35 miles] southeast of Civitella del Tronto). They worked 12 hours a day and slept on the ground in an old brick factory until early December, when the authorities sent them back to Civitella as the Allied frontline kept getting closer. On their journey back to the camp, 15 prisoners attempted to escape. As of December 6, 1943, the date on which the forced laborers returned to the camp, there were 166 internees—men, women, and children—being held at Civitella. Among them, 118 were Jews: 86 were Anglo-Libyan, and 32 were of other nationalities.

Under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), the Civitella del Tronto camp remained in operation as a provincial camp for Jews (*campo provinciale per ebrei*) until early May 1944. Between April and May the detainees were transferred to the transit camp of Fossoli (Modena) by the German authorities. The first batch consisting of 23 "foreign Jews" left Civitella on April 18, 1944; the second group of 134 people (86 Anglo-Libyan Jews and 48 foreign Jews and enemy subjects) departed on May 4, 1944. On May 16, 1944, the Anglo-Libyan Jews, because of their citizenship status, were deported from Fossoli to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, which they reached on May 20.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Civitella del Tronto camp are Italia Iacoponi, "Il campo di concentramento di Civitella del Tronto," *RASSFR* 5:2 (1984): 213–225; Costantino Di Sante, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Italia: Dall'internamento*

alla deportazione (1940–1945) (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001), pp. 187–188; and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Mappatura dei campi—Abruzzo-Molise," in *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 210–212.

Primary sources documenting the camp at Civitella del Tronto can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 136, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 41 "Teramo" (ss. ff. 13, 16, 19); ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, A4 bis (Stranieri internati), B. 6/38, "Teramo"; A-ICRC, Service des camps, Italie, (June 25, 1942; September 3, 1942; and August 20, 1943); and ITS, 1.1.0.7 (Informationssammlung des ISD zu verschiedenen Haftstätten und Lagern), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco

NOTE

1. Mi, Dgps to CRI, Ogg.: "Elenco di internati civili in campi di concentramento," June 19, 1943, ITS, 1.1.0.7, Doc. No. 87769574.

COLFIORITO

Colfiorito is almost 42 kilometers (26 miles) southeast of the provincial capital, Perugia. In 1940, the Italian Interior Ministry set up a concentration camp for civilian internees in a former shooting range in the mountain hamlet of Colfiorito in the Foligno commune. As early as June 1936, the military structure comprising 11 sheds was considered ideal for concentrating "dangerous elements." The camp was one of the first to become operational in June 1940 and was directed by a public security official. Security services were provided by the carabinieri. The internees were "dangerous Italians" and "aliens" from Venezia Giulia (today: Friuli–Venezia Giulia).

The living conditions at Colfiorito were adversely affected by the harsh climate and the high humidity stemming from a nearby swamp; moreover, the camp's premises were unheated, and many inmates contracted tuberculosis as a result of the extreme winter cold. In December 1940, the Interior Ministry transferred the 114 internees from Colfiorito to camps at Ariano Irpino (Avellino), Fabriano (Ancona), Manfredonia (Foggia), Monteforte Irpino (Avellino), Pisticci (Matera), and the Tremiti Islands (Foggia).

The Colfiorito camp temporarily ceased to exist on January 23, 1941, just seven months after it opened, but it was reactivated and expanded two years later after detainees from occupied Yugoslavia were sent there. The first transport with 700 Montenegrin detainees on board arrived at Colfiorito in January 1943. At the end of March 1943, there were 838 civilian prisoners in the camp. Other transports of 300 to 400 people each arrived in April, June, and August. The highest number of prisoners, 1,500, was reached in August 1943.

Neither the fall of Mussolini in July nor the Armistice on September 8, 1943, produced any substantial changes in camp operations leading to the internees' liberation. On the night of September 17, 1,200 prisoners managed to escape before joining in large part the "Gramsci" and "Garibaldi" partisan brigades. The

300 remaining people were subsequently imprisoned by the Germans and transferred to other detention sites.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Colfiorito camp are Maria Pia Burani, *Nessuno lo chiamava il campo … Le "Casermette" di Colfiorito luogo della memoria della deportazione civile italiana* (Foligno: Comune di Foligno, 2001); Olga Lucchi and Fabio Bettoni, eds., *Dall'internamento alla libertà: Il campo di concentramento di Colfiorito* (Foligno: Editoriale Umbra, 2004); Dino Renato Nardelli and Antonello Tacconi, eds., *Deportazione ed internamento in Umbria: Pissignano PG n. 77 (1942–1943)* (Foligno: Editoriale Umbra, 2007); and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the Colfiorito camp can be found at ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 132, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s.f. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 29/I "Colfiorito"; AUSSME, M7, Circolari, racc. 279, f.3 (Campi di concentramento); VaB, Br. Reg. 8/I-6, K; 1021; and ITS, 1.1.47.1 and 1.2.7.25 (this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA). Some primary documentation about the Colfiorito camp can be found at www.campifascisti.it. A published testimony is Dragutin Drago Ivanović, *Memorie di un internato montenegrino: Colfiorito 1943* (Foligno: Editoriale Umbra. Istituto per la storia dell'Umbria contemporanea, 2004).

Frida Bertolini
Trans. Jakub Smutný

COLLE DI COMPITO

Colle di Compito (Lucca province) is a small village in the municipality of Capannori, approximately 11 kilometers (7 miles) southeast of Lucca and about 26 kilometers (16 miles) south of Bagni di Lucca. In 1942, a prisoner of war (*prigionieri di guerra*, PG) camp, PG 60, was established in the village. It consisted solely of tents, and for this reason it was unsuitable for winter conditions; in addition, the ground where it was set up was subject to flooding. Likely this area was chosen for the camp's location because it was quiet and isolated, could be easily controlled, and was located near the railway line that connects Lucca to Pontedera.

PG 60 housed more than 3,000 British and Commonwealth captives. During its years of operation, the camp was closed several times and its structure changed. Soon after the signing of the Armistice between Italy and the Allies on September 8, 1943, a dramatic event marked the end of its existence as a POW camp: On September 10, German soldiers ordered the Italian commandant to hand over the camp. During the action, the Wehrmacht killed the commandant and two Italian soldiers.

After the establishment of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), the former camp was repurposed to house political prisoners. During that time, it was under the control of the soldiers of the Italian National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr). Items confiscated from Jews were used to set up the camp.[1] In addition to political prisoners, foreign citizens (Britons, Americans, and Danes), common law prisoners, and Jews were interned there.[2]

The problem of access to food that affected the civilian population in the area also affected the prisoners as well, worsening their living conditions as they began receiving reduced rations.[3] As the war spread, the concentration camp was bombed by Allied forces because of its proximity to the railway line. Visits

to the camp were allowed, and some Jewish women, despite the danger, managed to meet their relatives who had been arrested.

In January 1944, a few days after the Jews held in the Bagni di Lucca concentration camp were deported, the authorities ordered its closure, but they continued to arrest Jews in the Lucca province. Many of the Jews who were arrested from the end of January onward were brought to the Colle di Compito concentration camp. Estimating the number of Jews who were sent to this concentration camp is not possible; however, there is evidence that in March 1944, seven Italian Jews were transferred from the Lucca jail to Colle di Compito. None of them was a native of the Lucca province: one was from Turin, and the others were from Livorno.

These seven Jews had different fates. One of the Jews from Livorno was released in April by order of the police commissioner because he was married to an "Aryan" woman.[4] Then, on May 22, 1944, with the camp under Allied machine-gun fire, four prisoners, including one of the Jews from Livorno, died. Taking advantage of the confusion, a group of five prisoners, including the young Jew from Turin, managed to escape.[5] In June, two other Jews were hospitalized in Lucca, but they managed to escape to a safer place. There is evidence that one of them had planned the escape with the help of some resistance members.

By contrast, two young brothers from Livorno, Ivo and Vasco Rabà, after internment in Colle di Compito, were later deported to Auschwitz. They had been arrested on February 2, 1944, in Casoli, a small village near Camaiore, and, after being detained for a time in the Lucca jail, they were transferred to Colle di Compito in March. Later, they were brought to the Fossoli concentration camp, and from there, they were deported to Auschwitz on convoy no. 13.

In June 1944, as the war intensified, the RSI decided to move prisoners from Colle di Compito to Bagni di Lucca and ordered the closure of the camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Colle di Compito camp can be found in Silvia Angelini, Oscar Guidi, and Paola Lemmi, "Il campo di concentramento provinciale per ebrei di

Bagni di Lucca (dicembre 1943–gennaio 1944)," *RMI* 69: 2 (2003): 431–462; Silvia Angelini, "Storie ritrovate: Gli ebrei a Camaiore nella bufera della guerra e della persecuzione," in *Il futuro ha il cuore della memoria* (Calenzano: Grafiche Celli, 2013); Valeria Galimi, "Caccia all'ebreo: Persecuzioni nella Toscana settentrionale," in Enzo Collotti, ed., *Ebrei in Toscana tra occupazione tedesca e RSI: Persecuzione, depredazione, deportazione (1943–1945)*, 2 vols. (Rome: Carrocci, 2007), 1: 178–224; and Italo Galli, *I sentieri della memoria: Il campo di concentramento di Colle di Compito: I documenti e le voci dei testimoni (1941–1944)* (Florence: Consiglio Regionale della Toscana, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the Colle di Compito camp can be found in AISRECPL, fond RSI; ACCAP; ASLU, fond Regia Prefettura; ACS, and USSME, which is available at www.campifascisti.it.

Silvia Q. Angelini

NOTES

1. AISRECPL, fond RSI.
2. Galli, *I sentieri della memoria*, pp. 69–71.
3. Ibid., p. 83.
4. Lettera Questore di Lucca a Direttore Campo di Concentramento di Colle di Compito, April 12, 1944, ASLU, fond Regia Prefettura, B. 4474, fasc. Minuta, posta in partenza.
5. AISRECPL, fond RSI, B. 25, fasc. 321.

CORROPOLI

Corropoli is located almost 21 kilometers (13 miles) northeast of Teramo and 152 kilometers (94 miles) northeast of Rome in Teramo province. In early 1941, the Italian Interior Ministry established a camp in a gothic abbey belonging to Celestine monks, located on the Maculano Hill about 1.5 kilometers (nearly a mile) from the town's center. Long abandoned and initially intended to serve as a facility for the prevention of tuberculosis, the building underwent reconstruction to accommodate a maximum of 180 internees. It started operations in February 1941 and had a succession of directors: Guido Trevisani, Mario Maiello, Carmine Medici, Francesco Alongi, Car-mine Sanzo, Mario Gagliardi, and Luigi Grande. The carabinieri and other public security agents guarded the camp.

The security at Corropoli was upgraded about two years later with the installation of a barbed-wired fence and the reinforcement of security forces by a small contingent of 22 carabinieri. Initially, the internees consisted mainly of "ex-Yugoslavs" and Italian antifascists, the latter including several women subsequently transferred elsewhere.[1] Greek and British officials (Britons, Anglo-Maltese interned initially in Libya, and later British Indians) arrived in the Corropoli camp beginning in June 1942. Until 1944, there were not many foreign Jews in the camp. Amid the constant arrivals and transfers, the camp's population peaked at 165 in August 1943.

The internees' living conditions depended on their status. The restrictions imposed on the "ex-Yugoslavs" were particularly harsh and on several occasions led them to embark on a hunger strike. Meanwhile, the British subjects received food and other provisions from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Some internees were permitted to leave the camp, under armed escort, to go into town or to get specialized medical treatment.

The fall of the Fascist regime did not produce any substantial

changes for the internees. An exception was the liberation of 36 Yugoslavs in an attack led by partisan commander Armando Ammazzalorso on September 19, 1943.

The camp remained in operation under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI). Between November and December 1943 the internees dug antitank ditches along the frontlines at the Sangro River.

On February 1, 1944, 69 Jewish prisoners arrived from the Nereto camp. The last remaining internees, numbering approximately 60 and mostly Jewish, were transferred to the Servigliano camp when the camp in Corropoli closed in late May 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Corropoli camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 212–213; Costatino Di Sante, "I campi di concentramento in Abruzzo," in Di Sante, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Italia: Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001), pp. 177–206 (esp. pp. 188–190); Italia Iacoponi, "Campi di concentramento in Abruzzo durante il secondo conflitto mondiale: Badia di Corropoli," *RASSFR* 6: 2–3 (1985): 315–364; Italia Iacoponi, *Il Fascismo, la Resistenza e i campi di concentramento in provincia di Teramo: Cenni storici* (Colonnella: Grafiche Martintype, 2000), pp. 139–148; and Pasquale Rasicci, *Badia di Corropoli: Memorie storiche* (Teramo: Edilgrafital, 1997).

Primary sources documenting the Corropoli camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 136; USSME, fond M3, B. 78. Additional documentation on this camp, by the Yugoslav State Commission, can be found in UNWCC and is available in digital form at USHMMA, RG-67.041M, reel 25. The ITS/Haengemappe Italien also has documentation on Corropoli, available at www.campifascisti.it.

Andrea Di Stefano
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTE

1. For the transfer of an "ex-Yugoslav" to Corropoli, see Colonello Pietro Barbaro, Commando XVIII CdA, Ufficio I, al Supersloda, February 28, 1943, Ogg.: "Scambio prigioneri," USSME, fondo M3, B. 78, reproduced in www.campifascisti.org.

ELBA ISLAND

Elba Island (*Isola d'Elba*) is in the province of Livorno, region of Tuscany. The island's largest city, Portoferraio, is some 85 kilometers (51 miles) due south of Livorno. Fragmentary Italian Army documentation suggests that there was a concentration camp (*campo di concentramento*) somewhere on the island before May 1944.[1]

On April 12, 1943, the Italian XI Army Corps announced the release of five prisoners from a camp on Elba.[2] In a second communication, Colonello R. M. Camèra of the commissariat of the Italian Second Army requested that the Interior Ministry release confined civilians "not dependent on military authority" (*non dipendente da autorità militari*).[3] The fact that the XI Army Corps and the Second Army—which were part of the Superior Command of the Italian Armed Forces, "Slovenia and Dalmatia" (*Comando Superiore FF. AA. "Slovenia e Dalmazia,"* Supersloda)—conducted anti-partisan warfare in the Italian-occupied Balkans strongly suggests that the presumptive prisoners were "ex-Yugoslavs," likely relatives of suspected resisters.

On January 27, 1944, just over four months after the German occupation of the island, the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) inquired about the Elba camp. CRI wanted to know about the number of civilians and prisoners of war (POWs) held in the camp; the prisoners' nationalities; whether aid could be sent; an address where aid could be sent; and whether the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) could inspect it.[4] In reply on May 10, 1944, the Interior Ministry denied that there were any civilian detainees or POWs held on the island.[5]

Further research is needed to confirm whether the concentration camp existed, how many prisoners it held, and whether it closed before or after the German occupation. (The German authorities occupied the island from September 17, 1943, to June 17, 1944.)

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the possible concentration camp on the island of Elba is "I campi fascisti: Dalle guerra in Africa alla Repubblicca di Salò," available at www.campifascisti.it.

Primary sources related to the possible camp on the island of Elba are found in A-RS (reproduced in scans at www.campifascisti.it) and ITS (available in digital form at USHMMA).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Terminology used in Colonnello R. M. Camèra, Intendenza della Supersloda alla SME, Ufficio prigionieri di guerra, e alla Commando XI CdA, April 17, 1943, A-RS, AS 1840 6, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

2. Nota, XI CdA, Posta Militare 46, April 12, 1943, A-RS AS 1840 6, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

3. Colonnello R. M. Camèra, Intendenza della Supersloda alla SME, Ufficio prigionieri di guerra, e alla Commando XI CdA, April 17, 1943.

4. CRI alla Mi, Dgps, Ogg.: "Internati o p.g. nell'Isola d'Elba," January 27, 1944, ITS, 1.1.0.7, folder 97, Lager und Haftstätten in Italien, Doc. No. 87769695.

5. Mi, Dgps, alla CRI, Ogg.: "Internati or prigionieri di guerra nell'Isola d'Elba," May 10, 1944, ITS, 1.1.0.7, folder 97, Lager und Haftstätten in Italien, Doc. No. 87769649.

FABRIANO

Fabriano is a small town in the province of Ancona, in the Marches (Le Marche), a central Italian region without industries or military importance. It is located about 163 kilometers (101 miles) north of Rome. In September 1940 the Interior Ministry established a concentration camp in the town in accordance with the instructions of the Royal Decree (*Regio decreto*) of July 8, 1938, No. 1415, and the official letter (*Circolare*) of the Interior Ministry of June 8, 1940, No. 442/12267, for the purpose of interning Italian civilians. It was set up in a building that had formerly served as a college (called the *Collegio Gentile*, the property of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy [*Ordine di Nostra Signora della Misericordia*]), which had been built in the seventeenth century on the foundations of an even older building. It was located in the town at Via Cavour Number 38, just a half-kilometer (more than three-tenths of a mile) from the carabinieri station. The building had two wings set at right angles to each other that had previously been used as military barracks. Only one of the two wings was used as an internment camp, and it had two floors. On the ground floor there were four huge halls that could each hold 50 beds; a long corridor, 34 meters (approximately 116 feet) long, which was used as a refectory; and a guard post. The camp held about 100 internees. Nearby there was a vegetable garden, as well as a courtyard where the kitchens and toilets were set up. All the rooms were heated with woodstoves.

The first inmates, who arrived in October 1940, were Italians considered dangerous to the Italian war effort or antifascists. As of August 1941, there were only 25 inmates, a number that remained stable until May 5, 1943, when "ex-Yugoslav" prisoners were interned in Fabriano. Most of them were Croats from Dalmatia, which had been under Italian occupation since the spring of 1941. On June 1, 1942, the number of occupants of the camp rose to 88 and then to 96 in August. In August 1943, there were 86 inmates.

In the summer of 1942, 23 internees were permitted to work on

the rebuilding of a bridge on the Esino River, in the village of Pianello, a district of the town of Castelbellino in the province of Ancona. A guard post manned by three carabinieri was set up near the worksite. Other inmates were able to work as laborers and artisans in workshops in the area.

The camp director was the police officer Giorgio Vecchio. Agents of the police (*Pubblica Sicurezza*) managed the camp. The carabinieri, or the military branch of the police, guarded the periphery of the camp. In the beginning, camp discipline was not particularly harsh, and the internees could even leave the camp under police surveillance to see the doctor or to buy supplies for the camp. With the arrival of the "ex-Yugoslavs," the situation worsened. Some "ex-Yugoslavs" tried to escape but were arrested, some were sent to concentration camps on islands, and others were imprisoned at Ancona. In May 1943, the secretary of the National Fascist Party (*Partito Nazionale Fascista*, PNF), Carlo Scorza, wrote to the undersecretary (or vice minister) of the Interior Ministry, Umberto Albini, indicating that some internees in the camp were undertaking propaganda activities, and he asked him to consider making camp discipline harsher and surveillance more attentive.

On April 14, 1941, a date close to Easter, Francesco Borgongini-Duca, the papal nuncio to the Italian government, visited the camp. Between the fall of the Fascist regime on July 25, 1943, and the Armistice on September 8, 1943, many internees were set free or succeeded in escaping, taking advantage of light police and carabinieri surveillance. However, the camp of Fabriano was one of the few that continued to function under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), the collaborationist government of Mussolini. On February 19, 1944, RSI officials sent 120 internees to the Germans, who in turn sent them to the camp in Calvari di Chiavari. The Fabriano camp was still functioning as late as April 1944.

SOURCES The only secondary account of Fabriano is a brief mention in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del Duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 187–188.

The only available primary sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4, B. 114.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

FARFA

Farfa is 41 kilometers (almost 26 miles) northeast of Rome in the Rieti province. Originally designed as military barracks, the Farfa camp was set up by the Interior Ministry in the countryside around the Benedictine Abbey of Farfa in a neighborhood within the Fara Sabina communal zone; this location was selected in the spring of 1941. The estate on which the camp was to be built belonged to the Roman Property Management Company (*Società Gestione Immobiliare Romana*) and already contained three farm houses. Eugenio Parrini's development firm was awarded the contract to construct the camp. The Interior Ministry planned to transform the structure after the war into an agricultural colony for people assigned to police confinement.

The camp's construction proceeded slowly due to manpower shortages. The General Directorate of Public Security (*Direzione generale della pubblica sicurezza*, Dgps) sought to avoid the inconvenience of deploying prisoner labor from other camps.

Officially, the Farfa camp became operational in early June 1943, despite the fact that the structure was still unfinished. The camp lacked a completed fence and watchtowers; along with a few huts and tents assembled earlier, the place looked more like a construction site than a proper camp. The camp's direction was assigned to a public security commissioner, its security to approximately 20 carabinieri (the number doubled soon after), and health care to a local doctor whose practice was in Poggio Nativo some 6.5 kilometers (4 miles) east of Farfa.

Farfa was expected to become a labor site with a capacity of up to 2,700, however there were only 84 prisoners in the camp by July 14, 1943, and only 95 on August 30. At the end of August 1943, the Interior Ministry considered transferring a substantial number of detainees from the Ferramonti di Tarsia camp, which was scheduled to close, to Farfa. The war situation forestalled these considerations. Soon after the Armistice, the Interior

Ministry declared the camp of Farfa closed on September 18, 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Farfa camp are Constantino Di Sante, *Stranieri indesiderabili: Il campo di Fossoli e i "centri raccolta profughi" in Italia (1945–1970)* (Verona: Ombre Corte, 2011); and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Tur in: Einaudi, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Farfa camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 134.

Andrea Di Stefano
Trans. Jakub Smutný

FERRAMONTI DI TARSIA

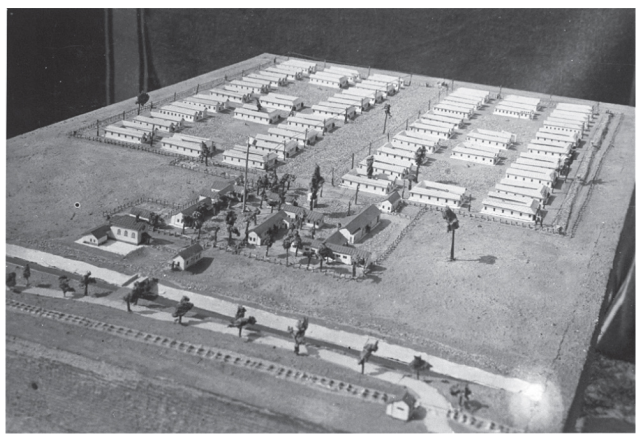
Tarsia is located 35 kilometers (approximately 22 miles) north of Cosenza in Calabria. Following a decision by Benito Mussolini in May 1940, construction of the Ferramonti camp near Tarsia began on June 4, 1940. Originally known as *campo di concentramento, Media Valle di Crati,* the camp was designed to hold "alien" and "hostile" Jews under the direction of the Italian Interior Ministry.

Three successive directors headed the Ferramonti camp. From June 20, 1941, Commissario di Polizia Paolo Salvatore, a native of Bari who had previously served on various prison islands, was director.[1] Although a Fascist, he was not an antisemite, and former inmates described his leadership favorably. On January 22, 1943, Commissario di Polizia Leopoldo Pelosio replaced him. Salvatore's removal took place presumably as a result of efforts made by Alberto Zei, the Fascist militia commandant in Cosenza who was described as a fanatic, and by the Cosenza Fascist Party, which thought that Salvatore had treated the prisoners too well. On March 31, 1943, Pelosio was replaced as director by Mario Fraticelli, a police commissioner from Naples. Like Salvatore, Fraticelli treated the prisoners well. In the Badoglio government's final days, he traveled to Rome with Herbert Landau, then the camp spokesman, or *Obercapo*, entreating the Interior Ministry to release the detainees.[2] Survivor Evelyn Arzt Bergl recalled befriending the daughter of one camp director. In an effort to gain more privileges, Evelyn's mother gave the director's daughter her daughter's used clothes and only doll.[3]

The Cosenza Fascist militia (Volunteer Militia for National Security, *Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN) furnished the guard force. Initially there were 36 members of the Cosenza militia unit, who were regularly replaced; the force was later increased to 75. Most of the MVSN members were residents of Calabrian villages.

Ferramonti, which initially was a men's camp, primarily held

Jews and people of Jewish ancestry. In all, 3,823 Jews, including 141 Jews with Italian citizenship, were detained between June 1940 and September 1943. However, in November 1941, Ferramonti's non-Jewish prisoners included Chinese sailors and merchants (43); Greeks, arrested mostly for political reasons (291); Corsicans (approximately 20); and Yugoslavs (approximately 248). Additionally, there were at least 84 Italian antifascists.



A scale model of the Ferramonti internment camp sculptured by Mr. Nagy from Lucenek, Slovak Republic, 1943. USHMM WS #17755, COURTESY OF FRED FLATAU.

Ferramonti held Jews from Germany, Italy, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. In late September 1940, 300 "Benghazi Jews," who had intended to emigrate to Palestine via Libya and were interned after Italy's entry into the war, were added to the existing population of approximately 400 Jews. They included a considerable number of families. By August 1941, the number of detainees rose to 1,330, including approximately 400 women and 190 children. Some families were then placed in "free confinement" (*confino libero*)—enforced stay in a small community with freedom of movement only within the town and regular reporting at police headquarters—reducing this number to 727 Jews by October 1941. With the influx of the "Kavaja group" of 192 Jews from Albania, the camp population increased again, a

trend that continued until liberation. The largest population increase occurred in February and March 1942 with the arrival of 494 people from the "Pentcho" group, who had been detained in Italian custody on the Island of Rhodes after the shipwreck of the *SS Pentcho*, which had been bound for illegal immigration (*Aliyah bet*) to Palestine.[4] The Pentcho group consisted largely of Central European Jewish refugees.[5] In mid-August 1943, Ferramonti held 2,016 inmates.

The mortality rate was low: only 42 (1.1 percent) of the more than 3,800 people detained at Ferramonti died. Most of those who died succumbed to diseases such as dysentery, malaria, pneumonia, and tuberculosis. Three inmates died after surgical procedures in the infirmary, and in late August 1943 five inmates were killed in an Allied air attack. Five Greek prisoners were handed over to the Germans, but the Italian authorities did not murder a single Jew.

After the Benghazi group's arrival, the Jewish inmates formed a self-governing organization. They selected a head (*capo*) for each barrack, and the barrack heads (*capi-camerata*) in turn chose a senior capo (*capo dei capi-camerata*, or *Obercapo*), as camp spokesman. German-speaking Jews with extensive knowledge of Italian language and customs led the administration. Each barrack also had a kitchen capo (*capo cucina*) who oversaw a cook and two kitchen helpers. This position was sought after because it provided access to food. Those who could bring money into the camp or who were providers of services, such as pharmacists and nurses, occupied special positions. In the worst position were poor, unskilled Jews lacking the financial means and possessions to barter. They suffered the most from hunger and difficult living conditions.

The extensive self-organization helped ameliorate harsh camp conditions and increased chances for survival. In fact, the centrally managed distribution of scarce food items was crucial to survival. Although almost all the prisoners were malnourished, no one starved. An aid organization established by detainees Maximilian Pereles, a lawyer from Munich, and Martin Ruben, a chemist from Berlin, supported the poor, ill, and mothers with children. In addition, it sponsored an inmate-run pharmacy that sold drugs,

using the proceeds to subsidize medication for poor prisoners. The camp also had a kindergarten and school.[6] There were three synagogues, a Talmud Torah school, and a burial society, the Chevra Kadisha. Because a large number of detainees were artists and scholars, there were theatrical and musical performances, art exhibitions, and a lending library. Young men organized sports clubs.[7]

The several groups of Jews maintained close contact in Ferramonti. Facilitating this contact was their being housed together in a small number of barracks. Yet the groups maintained their religious autonomy. At times, there were three synagogues: Reform, Orthodox, and Conservative. Because Zionist activity was not permitted, the Pentcho group, which had many Betar members, mostly refrained from participating in the self-governing body.

The Jewish detainees were not required to work, but were deployed inside and outside the camp, building additional barracks and transporting drinking water. Starting in the summer of 1942, the Jews also worked in the surrounding towns, doing land clearance and drainage, constructing air-raid shelters, and working in repair shops. Consequently there was close contact between Jews working outside and local peasants, who sold them food and black-market items. Because the dead were buried in the Tarsia and Cosenza cemeteries, the local population also knew about inmate deaths in Ferramonti. According to Bergl, the Italian authorities permitted detainees inside the camp to trade for fresh fruit just outside the compound.[8] Survivor Zdenka Levy also recalled trading with peasants across the barbed-wire fence.[9]

To protest the poor food supply, one prisoner organized a failed hunger strike in early August 1941. There were four successful escapes and a few failed escape attempts from Ferramonti. The first escape succeeded on October 2, 1940, and the last one on July 1, 1943. When Director Fraticelli opened the camp gates on September 5, 1943, many inmates fled out of fear of the approaching Wehrmacht units.

The camp was liberated by the British Eighth Army on September 14, 1943. After liberation, Allied officers investigated Ferramonti's personnel for possible crimes. Trials did not take place, however, in part because Law Mirski, then the camp

spokesman, did not deem an indictment justifiable. In his opinion, the camp administration did everything in its power to make life bearable. The MVSN behaved differently, he stated, but did not commit atrocities. After liberation, the Ferramonti camp continued in operation as a displaced persons (DP) camp. On January 1, 1944, 1,550 Jews were still living there, preparing for emigration to Palestine.

SOURCES Numerous secondary works on the Ferramonti di Tarsia camp have appeared since the 1980s: Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *Ferramonti: La vita e gli uomini del più grande campo d'internamento fascista (1940–1945)* (Florence: Giuntina, 1987); Francesco Folino, *Ferramonti: Un lager di Mussolini; Gli internati durante la guerra* (Cosenza: Editioni Brenner, 1985) and *Ebrei destinazione Calabria (1940–1943)* (Palermo: Sellerio editore, 1988); Francesco Volpe, ed., *Ferramonti: Un lager nel sud; Atti del convengo internazionale di studi 15/16 maggio 1987* (Cosenza: Editioni Orizzonti Meridionali, 1990); and Francesco Folino, *Ferramonti? Un misfatto senza sconti* (Cosenza: Editioni Brenner, 2004). Another source is Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993); vol. 2 provides a comprehensive description of the camp. Information on the Ferramonti museum and memorial site can be found at www.progettoferramonti.it/elenco-partner/49-fondazione-internazionale-ferramonti-di-tarsia.

Documentation on Ferramonti di Tarsia can be found in the holdings of ACS (Mi, Dgps, AA.GG.RR, Cat. M 4-16, B. 24, f. Cosenza). Good insight into the Jewish detainees' situation at Ferramonti is found in CDEC, G-1, Riconoscimenti benemeriti dell'opera di soccorso Fondo Israele Kalk. The Kalk collection includes a number of testimonies collected in the 1950s and early 1960s. The ITS holds several collections, especially under 1.1.14.1 (List Material Italy and Albania), concerning Ferramonti, which are digitally copied to USHMMA. Especially strong are the holdings, originally submitted to ICRC, concerning the Pentcho group. Particularly helpful are photos that show the interior and exterior of the barracks (WS #68288 and 78971). USHMMPA has

many photographs of Ferramonti during its concentration and DP camp phases. At YVA, there is a description by a Ferramonti inmate dating from the period before liberation: O-33/713: David Trichter, "Ferramonti, wie es war und wie es ist," Tel Aviv, June 1944. USHMMA has the correspondence of Ferramonti detainees Evelyn Arzt Bergl (Acc. No. 2006.35.1) and the Karl Akiva and Ella Huppert Schwarz papers, 1938 to 1946 (Acc. No. 2004.273.1). USHMMA has two oral history interviews with Ferramonti detainees: Evelyn Arzt Bergl (RG-50.030*0498, September 13, 2005) and Zdenka Levy (RG-50.477*0339, March 25, 1990). VHA holds 74 testimonies from former prisoners and DPs held at Ferramonti. The diary of Padre Callisto Lopinot OFM, published as "Diario 1941–1944 Ferramonti-Tarsia," in Volpe, *Ferramonti*, pp. 156–207, describes the camp conditions from the standpoint of someone who could move about freely and was in close contact with the detainees. Additional excerpts from documents and testimonies (the latter mostly originating from the CDEC's Fondo Kalk collection) can be found in Mario Rende, ed., *Ferramonti di Tarsia: Voci da un campo di concentramento fascista; 1940–1945* (Milan: Mursia, 2009). A published testimony is Albert Alcalay, *The Persistence of Hope: A True Story* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007).

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NOTES

1. Salvatore appointment, June 20, 1940, ACS, Mi, Dgps, AA.GG.RR, Cat. M4-16, B. 24, f. Cosenza, as cited in Capogreco, *Ferramonti*, pp. 66–67.

2. Herbert Landau testimony, CDEC, Fondo Israele Kalk, 4-VII-1, as cited in ibid., p. 169.

3. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0498, Evelyn Arzt Bergl, oral history interview, September 13, 2005.

4. For a partial list, see ITS, 1.1.14.1, List Material Italy and Albania, "Liste der Schiffbrüchigen des SS "Pentscho," die im Lager Ferramonti (Tarsia) in Italien interniert wurden," n.d.,

Doc. No. 459200-459204.

5. ITS, 1.1.14.1, List Material Italy and Albania, Dr. Lazar Kohn, Vorstand des Rodischiffbrüchigen, to ICRC, March 4, 1942, cover letter and list, "Liste von Personen, die von der Insel Rhodos am 12.1.1942 zum KZ-Lager Ferramonti di Tarsia in Italien überstellt wurden," Doc. No. 459273-459277.

6. USHMMPA, WS #84475, "Kindergarten children in the Ferramonti internment camp in Italy," April 1, 1942.

7. USHMMA, RG-50.477*0339, Zdenka Levy, oral history interview, March 25, 1990; USHMMPA, WS #49398, "Members of an internee soccer team walk through the Ferramonti internment camp," 1942–1943 (Courtesy of Emanuele Pacifici); USHMMPA, WS #84499, "Group portrait of the Rhodes and Ferramonti soccer teams at the Ferramonti internment camp in Italy," July 10, 1943 (Courtesy of Jabotinsky Institute).

8. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0498, Evelyn Arzt Bergl, oral history interview, September 13, 2005.

9. USHMMA, RG-50.477*0339, Zdenka Levy, oral history interview, March 25, 1990.

FERTILIA

Fertilia is 380 kilometers (236 miles) southwest of Rome, located in the commune of Alghero in Sassari province, Sardinia. It was a Fascist-created village that was built in the 1930s. The Sardinian Authority for Colonization (*Ente Sardo di Colonizzazione*, ESC), a government institution responsible for land cultivation and the construction of agricultural villages, received a request from the Italian General Directorate of War Services (*Direzione generale servizi di guerra*, Dgsg) to assign approximately 300 civilian internees primarily to road construction and agriculture.[1] The Fertilia concentration camp began operation on January 26, 1943. It consisted of three stone cabins with barred windows surrounded by barbed wire.

The internees arrived at Fertilia in two groups: 75 people on January 26, 1943, and another 200 on March 23. All of the internees were men from the Melada (Molat) concentration camp in Croatia, where they were detained following civilian roundups or because they were suspected of sympathizing with the Partisans.

A small contingent of carabinieri under the command of Maresciallo Capo Angelo Lecca guarded the camp. On arrival the internees were inspected by a health care worker from the Alghero commune; although he asked for the immediate transfer of at least 36 internees who were seriously ill and incapable of labor, none were transferred. Some of the internees displayed signs of illnesses, and others suffered respiratory ailments, stark testimony to the harsh conditions at Melada. One internee had to be committed on arrival to the Psychiatric Hospital of Sassari because he displayed aberrant behavior (he died after three months of hospitalization).[2] A few days before the Fertilia camp's closure, on July 20, 1943, another internee died of unknown causes.

As ordered by the ESC, the Croats were deployed as forced laborers. According to former internee Josip Bašić, the carabinieri threatened those who refused to work, at times using physical

force.[3]

The prisoners' diet was sparse. According to ESC documentation, each internee was allotted 150 grams (a little over 5 ounces) of bread per day. Additional foodstuffs included pasta, oil, sugar, fats, butter, and jam.[4]

After Operation Husky, in which the Allies landed in Sicily, the camp was ordered to be closed on July 26, 1943, and the internees transferred. After a long journey across Corsica, the internees were sent by ship to Liguria and dispatched to the Renicci di Anghiari concentration camp (Arezzo province), just southeast of Florence.

SOURCES A secondary source on the Fertilia camp is the website, www.campifasciti.it.

Primary sources documenting the Fertilia camp can be found in Ag-La fondo ESC and ASL Sassari. Many of these documents are available at www.campifasciti.it, as are the sound recording and transcript of the testimony of Josip Bašić.

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NOTES

1. Mi, Gabinetto di PS, Telegramma n. 0014108, January 16, 1943, ai Prefetti di Zara, Sassari e Fiume, Ag-La, fondo ESC, B. 3, Direzione e Presidenza, fasc. 4, sf. 3, reproduced at www.campifascisti.org.

2. A. Coletti, Regia Questura di Sassari, Ottg: Plemick (*sic*), Giuseppe, March 24, 1943, ASL Sassari, reproduced at www.campifascisti.org.

3. Josip Bašić interview, April 23, 2012, available at www.campifascisti.org.

4. Alimentazione internati, n.d., Ag-La, fondo ESC, B. 3, Direzione e Presidenza, fasc. 4, sf. 2, available at www.campifascisti.org.

FIUME

During World War II, the Italian Second Army used part of two large stone, four-story buildings in Fiume, at the time serving as barracks named after Maresciallo d'Italia Armando Vittorio Diaz, as a place for the internment of civilians and enemy soldiers. The barracks were located in the city of Fiume (today: Rijeka, Croatia) almost 132 kilometers (82 miles) southwest of Zagreb. From 1924 until the Armistice of September 8, 1943, Fiume was under Italian occupation and was awarded to Yugoslavia in 1947.

Since March 1941, in anticipation of an imminent attack against the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, a section of the Diaz Barracks (*Caserma Diaz*) was turned into a segregation or transit camp for prisoners of war (POWs); it was designated as a POW (*prigionieri di guerra*, PG) camp, PG No. 83. Although it had a declared capacity of 1,000 people, only a very small number of foreign soldiers were detained in the Fiume POW camp after the sudden defeat and dissolution of the Royal Yugoslav Army. Instead the Italian Army used the available space at the Diaz Barracks mainly to intern Yugoslav civilians captured during various military operations against the Partisans or in the course of retaliatory actions targeting the civilian population.

Evidence obtained so far does not allow for a thorough reconstruction of the camp's history. For example, the date when the camp became operational is not known. Documents of the Royal Yugoslav Army tracked the number of internees only from February 1943 onward, but there is no doubt that the camp was already functioning in August 1942 when reports mention the detention of 374 men in Fiume.

A document from February 1943, which continues to refer to the Diaz Barracks as "No. 83," notes that 876 people were held at the camp: they were all men interned for reasons of persecution.[1] In the following months the number of internees decreased, and the gender and age composition of the population changed. For

example, as of April 1, 1943, in addition to 380 men there were also 147 women, 48 boys, and 44 girls, for a total of 619 people. On July 1, following the arrival of many internees from the Buccari concentration camp (today: Bakar, Croatia) who were sent to Fiume before heading to the Gonars concentration camp (Udine), the number of internees rose again to 758 individuals.

Based not only on information contained in these documents but also judging from the camp's location (in barracks inside a city in an annexed territory), one can infer that the chief function of the Diaz Barracks was to temporarily intern people who had already been arrested or rounded up, before their placement in concentration camps that were more isolated or located farther away from war zones.

Little is known about the living conditions. In a report from March 1943, Generale di Brigata Intendente Umberto Giglio describes the measures taken with civilian internees "in order to ensure that the mortality rate, which has already reached rather high numbers, does not increase any further."[2] The report mentions that, of the 546 internees present in the Diaz Barracks as of March 25, 1943, 125 were hospitalized, whereas another 62 had to be taken to a "sanitarium" (a place for people who were not gravely sick but typically were undernourished). In other words, 35 percent of the internees faced health problems. The only official sources available that specify the number of deceased cover the months between January and May 1943: 33 internees died during this period.[3]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Diaz Barracks camp at Fiume can be found in the following archival collections: ARS; AUSSME; USSME fondo M3, B. 64. This documentation can be found online at www.campifascisti.it.

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NOTES

1. II Armata, Supersloda, Uff. Ordinamento, "Situazione internati civili alla data del 1 febbraio 1943 nei campi di

concentramento gestiti dall Intendenza della II Armata, e dai Corpi d'Armata V, VI, XVII nonché dal Governatorado della Dalmazia," February 20, 1943, USSME, fondo M3, B. 64, fasc. Campi di concentramento, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

2. Giglio to Ministerro della Guerra, March 27, 1943, Ogg.: "Vettovagliamento per internati civili," USSME, fondo M3, B. 64, fasc. Campi di concentramento, p. 1, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

3. Supersloda, "Decessi verificatesi nei campi di concentramento dal 1° Gennaio al 31 Maggio 1943—XXI," June 26, 1943, USSME, fondo M3, B. 64, fasc. Campi di concentramento, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

FORLÌ

Forlì is nearly 25 kilometers (15 miles) southwest of Ravenna and 64 kilometers (40 miles) southeast of Bologna. Located along the ancient Emilia Way between Bologna and the Adriatic Coast, Forlì (Forlì province; today: Forlì-Cesena) became known in the 1920s as the city of Mussolini (*"città del Duce"*). His birthplace, Predappio, is a small town only 14 kilometers (nearly 9 miles) to the southwest. Forlì became an area for fascist rationalistic architecture and a center of growing military interest before the war, but was a quiet backwater once the war began. The census conducted after the imposition of the 1938 Italian racial laws recorded 15 Jewish families in the city and 112 in Forlì province (including 61 families "on holiday"). In November 1938 the Forlì prefect gave a figure of some 23 Jewish families living in the city alone.

From October 1943 the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) dominated the area, and during the summer of 1944 Forlì and the whole Romagna subregion were part of the "Gothic Line," a German defensive line in northern Italy. There were two major detention sites in Forlì under RSI control: the judicial prison (*carcere giudiziario*) in the Rocca of Caterina Sforza and the provincial camp for Jews at Albergo Commercio.

The Rocca was a medieval castle located at one of the city entrances. Designed to accommodate approximately 300 prisoners, under the RSI it was a detention site for more than 1,000 men, women, and children. In addition to those detained for criminal charges, it increasingly held Jews, Roma, foreigners, political opponents, and prisoners of war (POWs). Local Fascist personnel commanded and guarded the site. The prisoners were kept at the disposal of the Italian and German authorities that arrested or claimed them. By 1944, the German authorities overtly challenged the previous rules and entered the site to take prisoners—dispatching them for forced labor to the Reich or using them as hostages to be killed nearby. In response to a complaint by prison

director A. Campailla, the German authorities answered that such norms no longer existed and that Campailla showed "excessive interest" in the prisoners. Thus the Germans took at least 239 detainees for forced labor or as hostages, including an unknown number of Jews and 46 children.[1]

The detention of Jews increased immediately after the issuance of Police Order No. 5 on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the RSI, concerning the concentration of Italian and foreign Jews.[2] Jews of mixed families, such as Amerigo Klein and Luigi Szegò from Forlì, and Gemma Bassani, were rounded up and detained in spite of exemptions under the order and its subsequent specifications. Klein and Szegò were released from prison in mid-December 1943, probably following receipt of another telegram specifying Interior Ministry orders, whereas Bassani, who was 22 years old when she was held in the Forlì prison after being arrested in Rome on December 20, 1943, was handed over to the Italian police on January 13, 1944, and deported. She did not survive.

The arbitrariness of "racial persecution" in the Forlì prison was exemplified by the case of 24 men, women, and children deported by Italian police from Rome on March 9, 1944, and registered at the prison under the numbers 2724–2747. The next morning, a group of five of these prisoners, including one family from Zarfati, was handed over to the Germans, whereas the remaining 19 Jews, including another Zarfati family and one from Sermoneta with a mother and three children ages 5 to 10, were placed under the custody of the Italian police. All of them were eventually deported to Fossoli and then to Auschwitz, where they perished.

Overall, at least 45 of the 70 Jews interned at Forlì from September 1943 to November 1944 perished in the Holocaust; 25 were deported to Auschwitz or elsewhere via Fossoli or Ravenna, and 20 more were killed at the Forlì Airport on September 5 and 17, 1944.[3] Two of those murdered Jews, Emilio Zamorani and his son Massimo, ages 53 and 24, respectively, were hanged on September 9, 1944, in San Tomè, near Forlì.

Police Order No. 5 also led to the establishment of the provincial camp for Jews in a former hotel on Corso Diaz, Albergo Commercio, close to the central Saffi Square. On January 28,

1944, the police chief (*questore*) of Forlì forwarded to the administrative office of the prefect a bill of 400 lire to be paid to the carpenters' cooperative (*Cooperativa Lavoranti Falegnami*) for "building a partition wooden wall … in the Albergo Commercio … assigned to be the provisional concentration camp for Jews in this province."[4] The returned note included marginalia stating that "we send back this bill specifying that this office has no money to pay it."[5] As early as December 29, 1943, an Interior Ministry telegram alerted the Fossoli concentration camp to expect a group of 827 Jews, including 14 from Forlì, according to historian Gregorio Cara-vita. There are no available lists of the people who were detained in the 29 rooms of the Albergo Commercio or information on how long they were interned there. The register of the nearby Ravenna Prison mentions at least five Jewish females—Hilde Fanny Abraham and Lucia, Lina, Anna, and Elda Forti from Lugo di Ravenna, ages 58 to 64—who were deported from the Forlì concentration camp.[6] A family letter further testifies to the two Jacchia sisters, Diana and Dina, also being there for at least one month before being transferred to the Ravenna camp.[7] In their sixties, they came from nearby Cesena and were the daughters of a man who had fought with Giuseppe Garibaldi and had been decorated for service with the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) during World War I. Arrested by the Italians, detained at Forlì, and then transferred to Ravenna, the sisters were deported by the Germans and perished. Albergo Commercio likely ceased activity in the spring of 1944.

With the closing of the Fossoli camp in June and July 1944 and the transferring of its functions to the German-run Bozen-Gries camp, transports became more difficult. This perhaps explains why the Jews who were still detained in Forlì, mostly foreigners interned in the prison, were no longer deported, but instead were shot at Forlì Airport, where bombings had already produced some craters to be used as graves. Along with a number of non-Jews, approximately 20 Jews were killed there on September 5, 17, and 24, 1944. Altogether, at least 52 were killed at the airport by the German authorities, while the Italian authorities furnished the guards. The first 10 young peasants were shot in late June in retaliation for the death of a German soldier; the last ones were killed at the end of September 1944.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources on the Forlì camps. The most relevant is Gregorio Caravita, *Ebrei in Romagna (1938–45): Dalle leggi razziali allo sterminio* (1991; Ravenna: Longo, 2013). Another useful volume is Vladimiro Flamigni et al., eds., *Luoghi e Memorie* (Forlì: Comune di Forlì, 2007). This entry presents some of the findings from the research project, ECOSMEG.

Primary sources on the Forlì camps, especially the Albergo Commercio, can be found in a number of collections in ASF, including B. 362, 387, 394, and 414. Documentation on the prison mainly originates from the Rocca "matricular registers" for the years 1942, 1943, and 1944, which today can be consulted only with special permission. Unfortunately only the registers remain, and many other papers have been destroyed. Some other relevant documents, especially contemporaneous newspapers, personal diaries, and letters, can be found at ASFRF-C, where the two relevant collections are the fondo Flamigni and the fondo VIII Brigata Garibaldi. Since the 1990s, FAF-UC has investigated the airport massacres and maintains a considerable collection of personal documents. A partial listing of Jewish victims of the airport massacres is available in ITS, 1.1.14.1, which is in digital form at USHMMA. As cited in Caravita, some documentation related to the Forlì camps can be found in ACS. Two published diaries are Antonio Mambelli, *Diario degli avvenimenti in Forlì e in Romagna 1939–1945*, ed. Dino Mengozzi, 2 vols. (Manduria: Lacaita, 2003); and Oreste Casaglia, *SS: Cella n.1: Diario della detenzione presso il carcere politico della SS tedesca, agosto 1944*, introduction by Roberto Balzani; epilogue by Luigi Casaglia (Forlì: Istituto Storico della Resistenza e dell'età contemporanea della Provincia di Forlì-Cesena, 2005).

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NOTES

1. A. Campailla, Direzione Istituti Penali Forlì, to the Italian Justice Ministry, July 15, 1944, ASF, B. 387, file 98; and German response, ASF, B. 394, file 127.

2. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio,

Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

3. A published version of the carcere immatricalazione, September 8, 1943, to November 9, 1944, is Caravita, *Ebrei in Romagna,* pp. 323–325.

4. Questura a Prefettura, January 28, 1944, ASF, B. 371, file 69.

5. Ibid.

6. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, as cited in Caravita, *Ebrei in Romagna,* p. 309.

7. Lucia Forti to Prefetto di Forlì, January 11, 1944, ASF, B. 371, file 63.

FOSSALON

Fossalon is nearly 10 kilometers (6 miles) northeast of Grado and more than 16 kilometers (10 miles) south of Sagrado. It is an agricultural zone in the Grado commune (Gorizia province) located in the area of Bonifica della Vittoria. In October 1942, the Fascist government set up a labor camp (*campo di lavoro*) at Fossalon for Italian civilians belonging to the Slavic minority from Venezia Giulia (so-called aliens). Military authorities ran the camp. Those sent to Fossalon were able-bodied men who had previously been detained in the nearby concentration camp of Poggio Terza Armata (Sagrado, Zdravščina, Sdraussina), of which Fossalon was a subcamp. On average the camp accommodated approximately 100 forced laborers.

The Fossalon camp was set up in the town of Eraclea in Casa Concordia in a rural housing complex next to a road that ran along the Isonzo River. The facility was fenced and guarded by a group of policemen under the supervision of Maresciallo Gino Calmieri. It also featured a large arcade and was made up of two average-sized houses, three smaller houses, two stables, one barn, and four silos. Other than the police, the internees were controlled by two guards working for a government land management body (the *Tre Venezie* National Institution), who accompanied the laborers to and from their assigned workplace.

A typical workday at Fossalon had, more or less, the same rhythm as those in other Fascist labor camps run by the Interior Ministry; for example, the agricultural colony in Pisticci and the labor center at Castel di Guido. However, work was mandatory at Fossalon, and those very few who refused to work faced incarceration in the Trieste Coroneo prisons. The first internees arrived at Fossalon in early October 1942. Many of them had already been imprisoned in Trieste and were then transferred to Poggio Terza Armata. Several prisoners went directly to Fossalon without passing through the main camp.

After the Armistice of September 8, 1943, all of the inmates left Fossalon. Under the direction of the camp's internal political organization led by Milo Vizintin, they sought to reach the partisan forces to continue the fight against Axis forces.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Fossalon camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004) pp. 266–267; and Marco Puppini, "Gli internati di Fossalon—Il campo di lavoro forzato di Fossalon (1942–1943)," *IlTer* 22 (November 1988), available at www.ilterritorio.ccm.it/lib/index_boll.php?goto_id=814.

Primary sources documenting the Fossalon camp can be found at ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, fasc. 16 (Campi di concentramento), B. 111, sf. No. 1 (Affari generali), inserto No. 57/1, "Zone di bonifica"; and USSME, fondo Diari Storici, B. 667. The latter documentation is available at www.campifascisti.it.

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FOSSOLI

Fossoli, located in Modena province, is 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) north of the center of Carpi (Carpi is more than 16 kilometers [10 miles] north of Modena and 48 kilometers [30 miles] northwest of Bologna). In 1942, the Italian Army established in Fossoli a prisoner of war (POW) (*prigionieri di guerra*, PG) camp, PG No. 73, mostly for British Commonwealth soldiers captured in North Africa. It served that purpose until the German occupation following the September 8, 1943, signing of the Armistice, when the German forces dispatched these men to POW camps within the Reich. Around the same time, the Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicher heitshauptamt*, RSHA) initiated the first round of deportations of Jews, with major roundups in the cities of Meran (September 16), Rome (October 18), Florence/Bologna (November 9), and Milan/Verona (December 11). Those rounded up were deported without being sent to an intermediary camp. The German authorities deported both foreign Jews and Jews holding Italian citizenship.

A major turning point in the persecution of Italian Jews occurred on November 14, 1943, when the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) promulgated the Verona Charter. The document declared that all Jews within Italy, including even those of Italian citizenship, were to be regarded as foreigners.[1] The practical outcome of the charter was Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30.[2] The new policy mandated the arrest of all Jews, with just a few exceptions. The police order prodded the heads of provinces in the RSI to establish provincial camps for Jews (*campi provinciale per ebrei*). Because it was an RSI directive, the Italian police were responsible for the arrests that led to internment, although they may not have realized fully the intentions of the office in Verona, which pressed for the arrest and deportation of Jews without exception.

The Fossoli concentration camp (also called Fossoli di Carpi) officially opened on December 5, 1943. Under RSI control, it had

two successive commandants, both police captains: Domenico Avitabile and Mario Taglialatela. At the end of December 1943, the Italian police began to move the arrested Jews from smaller provincial camps into Fossoli. The first 97 Jews entered the camp at this time. There were 185 Jews in the camp by January 2, 1944.

The Fossoli transit camp as seen from one of the watchtowers. One-third of Jews deported to German camps from Italy passed through this camp, 1945. USHMM WS #79551, COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVIO NOMADELFIA, GROSSET (COPYRIGHT UNKNOWN).

So that the camp could house both Italian political dissidents and Jews, it was necessary to expand it. Non-Jewish political opponents of the RSI and the German occupation were first moved into the "old camp" (*Campo Vecchio*), the former POW camp, whereas the Jews entered the "new camp" (*Campo Nuovo*). Until the new camp was built, the first Jewish prisoners were held in the old camp. The RSI maintained control of the old camp under the authority of the Modena Prefecture. The prisoners were segregated according to the reason for their incarceration, with the political dissidents such as communists, socialists, and other political opponents wearing red triangles and Jews designated by yellow triangles. The camp was surrounded by two rows of barbed wire, and the wire also ran through the middle of the camp to segregate the political prisoners from the Jews. In the section housing political dissidents, 14 brick barracks housed a maximum of 320

prisoners each. The Jewish prisoners were quartered in 16 wooden barracks, each with a maximum capacity of 256 people. When the camp was still under Italian control and for the first two months under the German authorities (after September 1943), Jewish families were allowed to live intact, with partitions for privacy in the barracks. Compared to camps in the Reich, sanitation and food were of better quality.

Deportations of Jews began in January 1944. The first transport departed Fossoli on January 26, 1944, and arrived in Bergen-Belsen five days later. This initial transport consisted of 83 Anglo-Libyan Jews, who as holders of British diplomatic papers were held under special status, both in Fascist Italy and the Reich. They had already passed through a succession of Italian-run sites in Libya and the Italian mainland. The first train to Auschwitz left the camp on February 22 with 517 prisoners, arriving at the killing center on February 26. Among the deportees was Primo Levi, who published extensively on his Holocaust experiences after the war.

In the middle of March 1944 the new camp, Campo Nuovo, was transferred to the authority of the SS and police in Verona and became a full-fledged police and transit camp (*Polizeiund-Durchgangslager*). The old camp, Campo Vecchio, remained under RSI control until its closure on August 2, 1944.

SOURCES There is an extensive bibliography on the Fossoli camp. The most comprehensive work on Fossoli is Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *L'alba ci colse come un tradimento* (Milan: Mondadori, 2010). In addition to a narrative about the camp, it contains data on the deportees, including names, father's name, birth date, and camp destination. A more recent study in English is Liliana Picciotto Fargion, "Fossoli—From Italian Concentration Camp for Jews to a Polizei-und Durchgangslager," *YVS* 42 (2014): 111–138. A historical treatment of the camp and deportation data are available in Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della memoria* (Milan: Mursia, 2002), esp. pp. 903–929.

For archival material see ASC-C, especially Campo di Fossoli, Atti dal 1942 al 1949, B. 1, fasc. 2, Campo Concentramento Ebrei dal 5.12.1943 all'1.8.1944. Important information on the camp is located also at ASMo, Questura, parte riser-vata, B. Internati—

Elenchi—Varie—Campo di Fossoli. The most extensive holdings on the Jewish deportees in Italy are located in Milan at the AFCDEC. An online guide is available at www.cdec.it. Particularly useful is Fondo archivistico CRDE and Fondo archivistico DRED. BLH holds letters from Fossoli prisoners. This material is available in microform at USHMMA under RG-68.112M. The F18 files of the ITS contain some documentation on Jews sent to Fossoli during the RSI phase. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA holds 33 testimonies connected with the Fossoli camp. Reproductions of documents can also be found at www.campifascisti.org. Leopoldo Gasparotto's diary is available as *Diario di Fossoli,* ed. Mimmo Franzinelli (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2007). For letters from the camp, see Ada Michstaedter Marchesini, *Con l'animo sospeso: Lettere dal campo di Fossoli 27 aprile–31 luglio 1944*, ed. Dino Renato Nardelli (Turin: Ega Editore, 2003).

Jerome Legge

NOTES

1. La Carta di Verona is available at "Storia-History," www.larchivio.org/xoom/cartadiverona.htm.

2. Ordine di internare tutti gli ebrei, a qualunque nazionalità appartengano. Ordinanza di polizia RSI n. 5 del 30 novembre 1943, www.campifascisti.it/scheda_provvedimento_full.php?id_provv=3.

GIOIA DEL COLLE

Gioia del Colle is more than 35 kilometers (22 miles) southwest of Bari and over 146 kilometers (91 miles) northeast of Ferramonti di Tarsia in Bari province. In 1940 the Interior Ministry established a camp at the Pagano mill and pasta factory, a three-story building located some two kilometers (just over a mile) away from the town of Gioia del Colle along a provincial road leading to Santeramo in Colle.

Owned by local entrepreneur Angelo Lattarulo, the building was selected in March 1940 for use as a concentration camp for political detainees, with a capacity of 240 people. In actuality, the camp, which opened in late July 1940, detained only Jews, and the average internee population hovered around 50. The camp was headed by Public Security Commissioner Ernesto Santini, who was not only the commissioner of Gioia del Colle, but was also in charge of weekly inspections of the nearby Alberobello camp from 1940 to 1943. Police and public security agents provided administration and security.

The camp's building stood in a well-isolated place that was easy to guard. Surrounded with high walls and provided with an iron gate and a watchtower, it thus had all the elements of a barracks or a military base. The building had an ample supply of water, but not electricity or heat. Both the camp's kitchen and communal canteen were located on the second floor, along with offices for the police and camp's director. On the third floor were two large rooms, each with a capacity of 50 beds. For some time, an isolation ward for the hospitalization of sick people (there were three cases of tuberculosis in the camp) was set up on the third floor. Several terraces, a garden, and a large courtyard with four rudimentary latrines completed the area.

The first internees (36 Italian Jews transferred from Campagna) arrived at Gioia del Colle on August 15, 1940. Another 12 people came in September, 3 in October, and 2 in December 1940. In total, 59 internees passed through the camp. They were all male

and most were Italian Jews from Italy's major cities (Rome, Ferrara, Trieste, Ancona, Padua, Livorno, Turin, and Milan). The internees' average age was 45 (the youngest, Elia Lumbroso, was 23; the oldest, Pellegrino Astrologo, was 65). Of the 47 internees whose occupations are recorded, there were 14 merchants, 13 office workers, 6 lawyers, 6 laborers, 2 engineers, 2 farmers, 2 pensioners, 1 doctor, and 1 university student. The majority of the internees came from the Campagna concentration camp, although a few had been transferred from the camps at Urbisaglia, Ferramonti di Tarsia, and Ventotene. Gioia del Colle was the very first place of internment for 18 internees.

The Bari Prefecture allocated the following to each internee: one steel or wooden cot with metal or fiber mesh, one mattress, two hemp sheets, one blanket, two towels, and one stool. The companies responsible for the camp's furnishings were required to change bed linen and towels twice a week. Two internees were allowed to leave the camp every day, one by one and under escort, to procure supplies for the communal canteen. In the beginning, a local operator ran the canteen, but its operation was eventually handed over to the internees. In daytime, the internees had permission to gather for prayer and to spend their time inside a specially delineated area adjacent to the former factory. A local medical doctor, Pietro Lippolis, was the camp's official physician. In actuality, an interned Polish doctor, Marco Halpern, cared for the detainees.

Reluctantly, the Interior Ministry made the concession of family visitation inside the camp. Some internees were given permission to visit their sick relatives. In the course of the camp's existence, the internees could also leave the camp and visit a local brothel in groups of four to six under police guard. This singular concession was soon revoked.

On December 14, 1940, the Bari prefect proposed to the police chief that the inmates be transferred to another location, possibly outside the province. Security reasons motivated this proposal, which was welcomed, because the ongoing construction of a nearby military airport was clearly visible from the upper floors of the camp's building. The order for the camp's closure was signed on December 31, 1940. The camp's supplies and furnishings were returned to one of the contractors, and the remaining equipment

was put at the disposal of the Ferramonti di Tarsia camp.

The majority of the internees left Gioia del Colle on January 15, 1941. Three others left in February, one in March, and the last internee, Marco Halpern, left on June 7. Forty-two were transferred to the Isola del Gran Sasso camp. Others were sent to camps in different municipalities across the provinces of Pesaro, Potenza, Ascoli Piceno, and Macerata. Four of these internees had their internment revoked later.

After the Armistice of September 8, 1943, former internees from Gioia del Colle suffered various other kinds of persecution, with at least 12 deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau and to their subsequent death.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Gioia del Colle camp include Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 237–238; Francesco Terzulli, "Un campo d'internamento per ebrei a Gioia del Colle nel 1940," *Riflessioni*, 24: (2001): 45–66; and Francesco Terzulli, "Il campo di concentramento per ebrei a Gioia del Colle (agosto 1940–gennaio 1941)," in Terzulli, *Gioia: Una città nella storia e civiltà di Puglia* (Fasano: Schena, 1992), 3: 493–594.

Primary sources documenting the Gioia del Colle camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 115.

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GONARS

Gonars is located 87 kilometers (54 miles) northeast of Venice and almost 100 kilometers (62 miles) southwest of Ljubljana, Slovenia. The Gonars concentration camp was constructed in the fall of 1941 in anticipation of the arrival of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and was given the designation POW (*prigionieri di guerra*, PG) camp, PG No. 89. However, it was never used for that purpose. In the spring of 1942, Gonars became a detention site for "ex-Yugoslav" civilians, especially Slovenian political prisoners, rounded up by the Italian Second Army as part of the notorious Circular 3C. Issued by Generale d'Armata Mario Roatta, the decree set in motion repressive measures in Italian-occupied Yugoslavia.

On the night of February 22, 1942, Roatta ordered the encirclement of Ljubljana with barbed wire so that the city effectively became a concentration camp. All adult males were arrested, and the majority of them were subject to internment. The 21st Infantry Division (Sardinia Grenadiers) carried out the roundups. The division commander, Generale di divisione Taddeo Orlando, ordered the eviction of those selected for internment "regardless of their guilt or a lack thereof."[1] The arrestees were transferred to the Gonars camp, bringing its population to 6,000 detainees by the summer of 1942.

The Gonars camp consisted of three sectors encircled by barbed wire. The carabinieri and some 600 soldiers handled security. The camp had two 6-meter-high (approximately 20-foot-high) towers with machine guns. The guards had orders to shoot without warning anyone who approached the fence too closely. The internees lived in long narrow barracks that each accommodated 80 to 130 prisoners. The barracks were poorly heated. In addition, many prisoners, especially adult males, slept in tents.

Because of overcrowding, substandard hygienic conditions, and the poor diet, disease spread and deaths soon followed. Nine-year-old Milan Cimprič described the hunger at Gonars as

"unimaginable."[2] Desperate for food, he and other children collected peelings from a pit near the kitchen. Another former detainee, Franc Pantar, recalled years later participating in a burial detail at the neighboring cemetery.[3] In 1973, the Federation of Yugoslavia recovered the remains of 453 prisoners and reinterred them in a memorial crypt.

Stane Kumar. Interned Child Behind the Barbed Wire, 1943, pencil. Gonars, Italy. USHMM WS #28128, COURTESY OF MUZEJ NOVEJSE ZGODOVINE SLOVENIJE/NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY, SLOVENIA.

On February 25, 1943, there were 5,343 internees at Gonars, including 1,643 children. Among the prisoners were entire families coming from Ljubljana and the camps of Arbe (Rab) and Monigo (Veneto province). The Central Name Index (CNI) of the International Tracing Service (ITS) shows that the transfer from Arbe to Gonars was a typical track of persecution.[4] Other prisoners were sent to Gonars from the camps at Cighino (Slovenian: Čiginj) and Caserma Diaz in Fiume (today: Rijeka, Croatia).[5] Prisoners from Gonars were transferred to other Italian-run camps, namely Chiesanuova, Pietrafitta, and Renicci. On August 30, 1943, eight prisoners successfully escaped from the camp.

Gonars operated until the Armistice of September 8, 1943. At that time, the guard contingent fled, leaving the internees free to go. At the time of the German occupation, however, a number of them still remained in the camp. On October 22, 1943, the SS-Reich Security Main Office (*SS-Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, SS-RSHA) ordered the release from Gonars of all the women and children, as well as males younger than 16 or older than 60.[6] The German authorities subsequently deployed some of the remaining male prisoners as forced labor.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Gonars camp include Alessandra Kersevan, *Un campo di concentramento fascista: Gonars 1942–1943* (Udine: Kappa Vu, 2003); Alessandra Kersevan, *Lager italiani: Pulizia etnica e campi di concentramento fascisti per civili jugoslavi 1941–1943* (Rome: Casa Editrice Nutrimenti, 2008); Nadja Pahor Verri, ed., *Oltre il filo: Storia del campo di internamento di Gonars 1941–1943* (Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulane, 1996); and Davide Conti, *L'occupazione italiana dei Balcani: Crimini di guerra e mito della "brava gente" (1940–1943)* (Rome: Odradek, 2008).

Primary sources documenting the Gonars camp can be found in A-RS (collections AS 1840 6 and 7), AUSMME (H8 crimini di guerra), and ACS. Some of the ACS documentation is available in microform at USHMMA under RG-40.004M, reel 1. Additional documentation can be found in ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Persecution measures in Serbia). This documentation is available in digital

form at USHMMA. USHMMA also holds 12 oral history interviews with Gonars survivors. VHA holds one testimony (Nisim Confino, March 25, 1998, #42675). There are a number of documents, archival citations, and oral history interviews on the Gonars camp at www.campifascisti.it. Some published testimony and prisoner art from Gonars are available in Metka Gombač, Boris M. Gombač, and Dario Mattiussi, *Als mein Vater starb: Zeichnungen und Zeugnisse von Kindern aus Konzentrationslagern der italienischen Ostgrenze (1942–1943)*, trans. Karl Stuhlpfarrer and Andrea Wernig (Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlag, 2009).

Frida Bertolini
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Commando XI CdA al Commando Divisione fanteria Granatieri di Sardegna, June 7, 1942, A-RS, KUZOP, B. 4, f. 41, as quoted in Kersevan, *Un campo di concentramento fascista*, p. 37.

2. Cimprič letter, June 23, 1944, reproduced and translated in Gombač, Gombač, and Mattiussi, *Als mein Vater starb*, p. 89.

3. USHMMA, RG-50.592*0026, Franc Pantor, oral history interview, November 21, 2009.

4. For example, ITS 0.1, CNI card for Ivka Bencic (or Benčić), Doc. No. 53444028.

5. Pero Damjanović, "Lager Ciginj (Campo di concentramento Cighino)," April 29, 1976, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 7, Doc. No. 82205337.

6. RSHA, Berlin, an SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Weimann, BdS Triest, Betr.: "Internierungslager Gonars," October 22, 1943, FS 187 750 21.101 0908, A-RS, AS 1840 6, available at www.campifascisti.it.

ISERNIA

The city of Isernia (in Campobasso province until 1970; today, in Isernia province, Molise region) is located 36 kilometers (more than 22 miles) west of Campobasso. The Interior Ministry established the Isernia internment camp in July 1940 in the former Benedictine convent school in the town's historical center known as the "Ancient District." The school had housed approximately 40 Albanian police trainees the previous year. A public security commissioner (*commissario di pubblica sicurezza*) assisted by several other agents and police officers ran the camp.

Isernia admitted several categories of male Italian and foreign internees. As of September 13, 1940, 59 of the 76 inmates were Italians, including many "aliens" from Venezia Giulia (i.e., those belonging to Slavic ethnic minorities that the Mussolini regime persecuted with great vigor). The rest of the internees were foreigners: five Frenchmen, three Yugoslavs, three Germans, two Romanians, one Briton, one Hungarian, one Albanian, and one Syrian. During the camp's history, the most common internee categories were "dangerous Italians," aliens from Venezia Giulia, "enemy subjects," foreign Jews, and "ex-Yugoslavs." As late as October 1942, the Interior Ministry claimed that the majority of internees confined at Isernia were Italian by nationality.[1]

The camp overlooked the main street in Isernia. The former school had four large rooms on both the first and second floors. Optimistically, the Italian authorities estimated that the camp was capable of accommodating 120 internees. In reality, its capacity was much lower because four rooms initially thought to be available had to be ceded to a nearby school. To be able to cope with the arrival of new internees, the authorities obtained additional space in the summer of 1941: a huge hall with hardwood flooring located inside a movie theater into which were crammed approximately 50 Jews from the nearby Agnone camp. (Agnone is 26 kilometers or 14 miles northeast of Isernia.) On September 19, 1941, because of poor sanitary conditions caused

by overcrowding, and for reasons relating both to the place's unsuitability and their inability to lead a "religious life," the new internees turned to the local apostolic nuncio to intercede with the government to obtain permits for their transfer to the Campagna or Notaresco camps. Endorsing this request was the Isernia camp's director, who explained to the Campobasso prefect that such a transfer of Jews would no doubt enhance "the discipline and good running of the camp in Isernia," adding that the Jewish presence "was not tolerated by a great majority of the internees of Aryan race anyway."[2]

The government granted this request, and beginning on January 9, 1942, Jewish internees in Isernia were transferred elsewhere, mostly to the Ferramonti di Tarsia camp. Taking their place was an even larger number of ex-Yugoslav civilians. Thus, the living conditions for internees deteriorated further—so much so that the camp director asked the Interior Ministry to pay a visit to ensure that the maximum number of internees at Isernia would not exceed its limit of 70. However, the prefect did not grant this request because, taking into account the two sites used by the Isernia camp, he declared the camp capable of holding as many as 200 internees.

When the Mussolini regime was deposed on July 25, 1943, there were 140 internees in the camp. All hoped to regain their freedom at that point. However, it was not until the Armistice, September 8, 1943, that the camp of Isernia ceased to function. The city of Isernia suffered heavy bombardment by the Allies in the early days of September. Among the casualties were a few internees involved in providing relief assistance to the local population.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Isernia camp are Maria Laura Lolli, *Isernia "antico distretto": Campo di internamento fascista 1940–1943* (Bojano: Eidophor, 1994); Michele Colabella et al., *Le leggi razziali del 1938 e i campi di concentramento nel Molise* (Campobasso: IRRE, 2004); and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 213–214.

Primary sources documenting the Isernia camp can be found in

ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 116, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 11 “Campobasso,” s.f. 5 “Isernia. Ex convento Antico Distretto”; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4, B. 117, f. 16 (campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (affari per provincia), ins. 11 “Campobasso,” ss. ff. 10, 11; and ITS, 1.2.7.25 (available in digital form at USHMMA) and ITS Hängemappe (reproduced in scans available at www.campifascisti.it).

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco

NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, AGR, to CRI, October 21, 1942, Ca.: Gajo, Eugenio fu Luigi, internato ad Isernia,” ITS, Hängemappe, available at www.campifascisti.it.

2. Both quotations are from ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4, B. 116, s. fasc. 2, Inserto n. 11 “Campobasso,” Corrispondenza del direttore del campo di Isernia col prefetto di Campobasso, 1941.

ISOLA DEL GRAN SASSO

Isola del Gran Sasso is about 25 kilometers (just over 15 miles) southwest of Teramo in the Abruzzo region (Teramo province). In June 1940, the Interior Ministry established the Isola del Gran Sasso (or Isola Gran Sasso) internment camp in two buildings located approximately two kilometers away from the town. One structure was a guest house belonging to the Basilica of Saint Gabriel, which was owned by the Order of Passionist Fathers. The second building was the former Saint Gabriel Hotel, which at the time was in receivership. In both buildings, the camp was able to accommodate at most 120 people. However, the number of inmates reached 140 in the summer of 1943. The town's mayor headed the camp, and a few police officers provided security services. The initial group of internees largely consisted of foreign Jews. According to a report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp held 61 foreign Jews between July 6 and November 22, 1940.[1]

Beginning in early 1941, the foreign Jews were transferred to other internment sites. In January 1941, 42 Italian Jews arrived in the camp, mostly from the closed camp in Gioia del Colle (343 kilometers or 213 miles southeast of Isola del Gran Sasso), but only stayed for a short while. In September 1941, 10 Chinese internees came to the camp from the nearby camp of Tossicia (approximately 14 kilometers [8.5 miles] northeast of Gran Sasso). The Jews lived in the former hotel, and the Chinese lived in the guest house. On May 16, 1942, following the departure of 55 foreign Jews to the Ferramonti del Tarsia camp, there was another inflow of internees to Isola del Gran Sasso, which included an additional 116 Chinese nationals from the Tossicia camp.

The building of the former hotel was in fairly decent shape. It had a kitchen, dining hall, and an infirmary, and the entire structure had indoor plumbing sufficient to provide drinking water, showers, and water heaters. The internees' complaints largely concerned the second building, the guest house, where, in addition

to certain structural defects the food quality was poor and there was a lack of basic services.

The Gran Sasso internees were able to move around town and nearby surroundings in almost complete freedom. In particular the Chinese often walked all the way to Teramo or took pains to climb the hills of Gran Sasso, sometimes falling down in the process. On these forays, the Chinese hunted stray dogs to supplement their rations. There was a total of 147 Chinese internees living in the camp up until October 1943. Among them were many Catholics who were able to count on the spiritual assistance of Father Antonio Tchang, a fellow countryman belonging to the Conventual Franciscans, which inmates distinguished from the Vatican. In August 1941, 40 Chinese interned at the Gran Sasso camp were baptized as part of a grand religious ceremony officiated by the apostolic nuncio, Francesco Borgongini-Duca.

There were frequent skirmishes among the Chinese internees, which often resulted in confinement in the prisons in Tossicia. Overall, however, the relations between internees and the citizens of Isola del Gran Sasso were good. Indeed, two Chinese men later married local women.

The camp remained active even after the Armistice of September 8, 1943, and was only disbanded in early June 1944. In mid-October 1943 it still held about 100 Chinese internees, of whom 62 were transferred to the former prisoner of war (POW) camp at Servigliano in January 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Isola del Gran Sasso internment camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 214–215; Philip W. Kwok, *I cinesi in Italia durante il Fascismo* (Naples: Marotta Editore, 1984); and Silvio Di Eleonora, *Isola del Gran Sasso e la Valle Siciliana, 8 settembre 1943–15 giugno 1944: Documenti e testimonianza* (Colledara: Andromeda Editrice, 2003), pp. 54–77.

Primary sources documenting the Isola del Gran Sasso internment camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 136, f. 16 (Campi di

concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 41 "Teramo," ss. ff. 6, 15; and ITS, 1.1.14.1, and 1.2.7.25, available in digital form at USHMMA.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco

NOTE

1. "Internierte in Isola Gran Sasso," Julius Hoffmann to ITS, November 25, 1958, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 4, Doc. No. 460096.

ISTONIO MARINA

In 1938, Benito Mussolini ordered the town of Vasto (Chieti province) to assume the historical name, Istonio (from the Latin, *Histonium*). The town is more than 52 kilometers (32 miles) southeast of Chieti. In January 1944, the town retook the name Vasto. In mid-June 1940, the Fascist regime established a concentration camp in the area of the Istonio Marina (today: Vasto Marina) in two facilities: an unfinished hotel capable of accommodating approximately 100 people and a small private villa with room for 80 that was previously used by the Italian Customs Office. These facilities were just tens of meters apart from each other.

Apart from a few "communal" internees or disgraced Fascists, the Istonio Marina camp received only civilian internees who were deemed to be political opponents and "aliens" from Venezia Giuglia; that is, Italians belonging to the Slovenian and Croatian ethnic minorities who were severely persecuted by the regime. Prominent internees at Istonio included the communists Giovanni Grilli and Eugenio Musolino; the socialists Giuseppe Scalarini and Giulio Guido Mazzali (a future director of the daily *Avanti!*); and the liberals Mario Borsa (future director of the newspaper *Corriere della Sera*) and Raffaello Giolli (later deported to the Mauthausen concentration camp). Public security commissioners ran the camp; the first one to do so was Vincenzo Prezioso. Local police provided security for the site. In 1942, the police stationed several sentries in close proximity to the camp's two buildings.

The two buildings, located very close to the Adriatic Sea and the local train station, were in good shape, which had a positive impact on the living conditions of the internees. Until early 1941, the internees were able to move about the town and dine at local restaurants. Some also had permission to go all the way to the area's capital (perched on a hill) to visit a library there or to help run a rabbit farm. As time passed, living conditions worsened, and security measures became very strict. This was true especially

after the January 1941 revelation of a "subversive organization" at the camp made up of two internees from Milan, Angelo Pampuri and Mauro Venengoni. From then on, several internees were punitively transferred to the Tremiti Islands (almost 68 kilometers [42 miles] east of Istonio), and the "free exit" area was reduced to a mere 50 meters (164 feet) in front of each of the camp's two buildings. In addition, the internees were not allowed to manage the camp's newly built canteen. In March 1943, to protest against the purportedly inedible food, the Istonio internees staged a clamorous hunger strike, after which eight people ended up in prison.

In the fall of 1941, citing security reasons, the area's civilian and military authorities requested an immediate closure of the Istonio camp (at that time with a population of nearly 190 internees) or at least "substituting" 70 of the "most subversive" individuals with foreign Jews detained at the Isola del Gran Sasso camp who were deemed to be more reliable. However, the Interior Ministry failed to heed these suggestions. Instead, after the fall of the Fascist regime on July 25, 1943, it replaced the Italian internees (antifascists and "aliens" released by the government of Marshal Pietro Badoglio) with approximately 100 "ex-Yugoslavs" from Dalmatia. On August 8, 1943, the provincial police chief of Chieti again summoned the local chief of police to discuss, with utmost urgency, whether to close the Istonio Marina camp. However, during the month of August only 20 or so Yugoslav internees (classified as "particularly dangerous communists") were transferred to places considered more secure. For others, the Istonia Marina camp remained in operation until the end of September 1943.

SOURCES A secondary source that describes the Istonio camp is Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del Duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 215–216.

Primary sources documenting the Istonio camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, (Mobilitazione civile), B. 118, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), sf. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 12, "Chieti," sf. 8, 11, 16. Additional documentation on this camp, by the Yugoslav State Commission,

can be found in UNWCC and is available in digital form at USHMMA, RG-67.041M, reel 25. Some references to this camp also appear in the CNI of the ITS, collection 0.1. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. A testimony is Giovanni Grilli, *Due generazioni: Dalla settimana rossa alla guerra di Liberazione* (Rome: Edizioni Rinascita, 1953).

Carlo Spartaco Capgreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

LAMA DEI PELIGNI

Lama dei Peligni is a small mountain town in the Chieti province. In mid-June 1940, under instructions from the Italian Foreign Affairs Ministry (*Ministero degli Affari Esteri*), the Fascist regime opened a concentration camp on its main road. It was set up in a private residence consisting of two floors and an attic. Although this home was deemed suitable for the accommodation of 65 internees, on average, it housed considerably fewer: only in 1942 for a short period did the number reach 70 internees. Due to frequent transfers and acquittals, the population turnover at Lama dei Peligni was very high, but the actual number of prisoners in the camp at any one time remained low, particularly during its first two years of operation.

Officially, the mayor of Lama dei Peligni directed the camp, but everyday command was in the hands of a public security commissioner. The police guaranteed security, and a local doctor provided medical assistance. The conditions of internment were generally not harsh; the supervision was not rigorous; and the internees had almost complete freedom to move around town, especially during daylight hours. For the internees, what made Lama dei Peligni hard to bear were the extreme winter cold and substandard living conditions inside the building. In its last two years of existence, scarce food provisions compounded these difficulties.

The internees who arrived in July 1940 were mostly foreign civilians. The first internees were five Britons, one Frenchman, and four non-Italian Jews classified as foreign or stateless. However, very soon these enemy aliens were transferred elsewhere and replaced by other foreign Jews (approximately 30 arrived from the Ferramonti di Tarsia camp in September 1941). There were also "ex-Yugoslavs" detained in the camp.[1] On May 5, 1943, 32 foreign Jews were transferred to Campagna.[2] Some internees remained at Lama until its closure was brought about by the Armistice of September 8, 1943.

SOURCES A secondary source describing the Lama dei Peligni camp is Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 216–217.

Primary sources documenting the Lama dei Peligni camp can be found at ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 118, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 12 "Chieti," ss.ff. 10, 16. Additional documentation can be found at ARS and ITS, collection 1.1.14.1 (Lager in Italien und Albanien). The latter documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. XIV Battaglione Carabinieri Reali Mobilato, Gruppo di Lubiana to Commando dei CC. RR. dell' XI CdA, Ogg.: "Proposta di liberazione di internati," April 12, 1943, ARS, AS 1840 10, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it; and CICR, Concerne: "Listes nominatives … yougoslaves en Italie," August 14, 1943, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 1, Doc. No. 459314.

2. Questura di Chieti al Mi, Dgps, Ogg.: "Documentazione relativa ad israeliti," April 11, 1956, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 2, Doc. Nos. 459524–459525.

LANCIANO

Lanciano is just over 26 kilometers (more than 16 miles) southeast of Chieti and 31 kilometers (19 miles) southeast of Pescara in Chieti province in the Abruzzo region. In June 1940, the Italian Interior Ministry set up the Lanciano camp in a private house owned by the Sorge family, located 1.5 kilometers (almost a mile) outside the town center. The camp had a capacity of approximately 70 internees.

The mayor of Lanciano directed the facility until a public security commissioner took command. When the camp population was exclusively female, a female co director served as assistant. Security services were entrusted to the carabinieri, who from the fall of 1940 onward operated from a small post located in front of the camp. The site was eventually fenced in. Medical assistance was provided by a health care worker from Lanciano who conducted weekly inspections.

The first internees arrived in the camp in early July 1940. They were all foreign women, most of whom belonged to the categories of "enemy subjects" and "foreign Jews." From 1941 onward, the majority of enemy subjects, beginning with the British, were transferred to other camps or to facilities of "free confinement" (*confine libero*)— enforced stay in a small community with freedom of movement only within the town and regular reporting at police headquarters. Lanciano's initial phase as a female internment camp ended with the transfer of 60 internees to the Pollenza camp (Macerata) on February 12, 1942. Pollenza is 145 kilometers (90 miles) northwest of Lanciano. As indicated by a document submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the process of transferring female internees to Pollenza started as early as the beginning of February 1942.[1] On February 27, 1942, when the first contingent of prisoners arrived from Italian-run camps in Albania, Lanciano entered its second phase, in which its population was all male and almost exclusively consisted of "ex-Yugoslavs."

The Sorge Villa (*villa Sorge*) had three floors with a total of 13 rooms: On the first floor were five rooms with utilities and a storage room; on the second were another five rooms in addition to a kitchen and utilities; and there were three more rooms on the third floor. Each room was supplied with 6 to 10 beds. Living conditions were spartan: there was a constant shortage of water, and parts of the house were in terrible disrepair.

Internee movement was relatively unrestricted during the camp's first phase. The female internees visited surrounding areas and occasionally went under escort to Lanciano's city center where they shopped as groups or visited a dentist. Each woman had to cook for herself on coal-or alcohol-fired stoves. This cooking situation completely changed with the arrival of the ex-Yugoslav prisoners, when the camp's chief opened a communal canteen run by a civilian contractor, which cost each internee 6.30 lire per day. On April 4, 1942, the internees staged a clamorous protest during which they refused to eat any more food because it was overpriced and of poor quality. Eight detainees were imprisoned, whereas others were transferred elsewhere. The protest's instigator, Boris Lentić, was confined for some time before being transferred to the Lipari Island camp as punishment.

During the visit of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in September 1942, which was carried out to inspect the living conditions of three Greek "enemy subjects," the internees complained about the shortage of food and medicine and about the limited space granted them to go on walks. An ICRC report sent to the Italian Interior Ministry also mentioned the insufficient number of washbasins and latrines.

From early on, controversy beset the Lanciano camp's administration. The first director was replaced in January 1941 and was eventually transferred as punishment for a quarrel that broke out between a Russian internee and the female director. In the summer of 1941 the new director met a similar fate after it was discovered that his daughter had befriended the female internees and another internee whom she knew in town.

Powerful testimony by Maria Luisa Moldauer, a young Polish Jew with a degree from the University of Florence, sheds light on the uneasy coexistence among the internees and, more generally,

on her experiences during the first months of detention at Lanciano. Published under the author's married name, Eisenstein, this text became the first memoir published in Italy relating to internment in the Fascist camps, albeit in fictional form.[2]

After the September 8, 1943, Armistice, when the guards abandoned the camp, a number of internees chose to abandon Sorge Villa. However, the Lanciano camp officially functioned until mid-October 1943, when almost all the remaining internees fled to nearby villages. On October 28, 1943, Sorge Villa came under German Army command.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Lanciano camp can be found in Gianni Orecchioni, *I sassi e le ombre: Storie di internamento e di confino nell'Italia fascista Lanciano 1940–1943* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2006), pp. 23–100; and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 217–219.

Primary sources can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 118, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 12 "Chieti," s.f. 12; ACS, collection Mi, Dgsg (Affari Generali), B. 89 (Affari per Provincia), F. 303/2/45; A-ICRC, C Sc, Service des camps, Italie (September 1, 1942); ITS, 1.1.14.6 (Italienische Kartei); and 1.2.7.25 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Griechenland, Italien, Spanien), available in digital form at USHMMA; and ITS, Hängemappe Italien/Lanciano, available at www.campifascisti.it. A published memoir is Maria Eisenstein, *L'internata numero 6: Donne fra reticolati del campo di concentramento* (Rome: De Luigi, 1944). This memoir is available in a 1994 edition (Milan: Tranchidi Editori) with a preface by Gianni Giovannelli and a postscript by Carlo Spartaco Capogreco.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Regia Prefettura di Macerata (Giambattista Alessandri), to Mi,

Ogg.: “Che l’internata Ivana Markovic … è stata transferita dal campo di concentramento di Pollenza a quello di Lanciano,” February 2, 1942, ACS, collection Mi, Dgsg, B. 89, F. 303/2/45, available at www.campifascisti.it

2. Eisenstein, *L’internata numero 6*; Moldauer (misspelled Moldaner) is listed in ITS, 1.1.14.6 (Italienische Kartei), Doc. No. 470892.

LAURANA

Laurana (Croatian: Lovran) is a small town near Fiume, which since 1923 was a province of the Kingdom of Italy and today is part of Croatia; it is located 145 kilometers (90 miles) southwest of Zagreb. In April 1941, a provisional concentration camp opened in the Al Parco Hotel in Laurana, at the order of the prefect of Fiume, Temistocle Testa, to house relatives of communist resisters. The authorities requisitioned the building from its Jewish owners. The prefect ran the camp, which was financed by funds of the Civil Intendancy of the Annexed Lands (*Intendenza Civile delle Terre Annesse*). The monthly cost of running the camp was 45,000 lire. The sparse documentation generated by the camp administration furnishes all that is known about the Laurana camp.

The camp's purpose was to take hostage the relatives of Partisans and thereby force the Partisans to surrender. According to a letter sent by Testa to the Interior Ministry on April 20, 1942, the operation had the desired effect, because many Partisans surrendered to the Italian police, thereby permitting the release of their relatives. However, in April 1942, there were still 172 internees in the camp—men, women, and children. To free up space for other inmates, Testa proposed to transfer the 172 prisoners elsewhere in Italy, begging the ministry to transfer them all to one camp or at least to keep the family units together.

On May 16, 1942, Testa sent a telegram to the Interior Ministry, asking once again to send the internees to other parts of Italy because the sanitary facilities at the Laurana camp were insufficient for the large number of detainees. On May 18 Testa wrote to the ministry yet again, saying that he would send all the internees, who by that point numbered about 300, to the province of Vercelli. The next day, a special train containing 253 internees, for the most part women and children, left from the railway station of Abbazia Pattuglie and went directly to Vercelli. When Testa left Fiume at the start of 1943, the camp was closed.

In March 1943, Testa's successor as prefect, Agostino Podestà, wrote to the chief of police, Carmine Senise, asking if he could reopen the camp at Laurana, requesting 20,000 lire per month for its functioning. On April 24, 1943, the chief of police wrote to the central office of the Interior Ministry, ordering it to provide the necessary credit for reopening the camp—60,000 lire for the prefecture of Fiume—to get the Laurana camp operational and to accommodate the inmates of the province. It is not known whether Podestà had time to reopen the camp before the Armistice of September 8, 1943.

SOURCES Archival sources on Laurana may be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 109, 125; Cat. A4 bis, B. 4 and 6.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

LAURIA

Lauria (Lauria Inferiore, Potenza province) is 160 kilometers (more than 99 miles) southeast of Naples, 116 kilometers (72 miles) southeast of Salerno, and 89 kilometers (55 miles) northwest of Cosenza. The documentation for the existence of an internment camp for foreign Jews at Lauria is fragmentary. Details about the inner workings of the camp, possibly a "locality of internment" (*località d'internamento*), are also vague. According to a letter by former internee Julius Hoffmann to the International Tracing Service (ITS), Lauria was one of a succession of "camps" (*Lagern*) in which he was confined in Italy, after fleeing persecution in Nazi Germany.[1] An attachment to his letter listed from memory the surnames of 21 Jews held at Lauria.[2] On the basis of Hoffmann's testimony, the ITS classified Lauria as a camp.

A meticulous database compiled by author Anna Pizzuti confirms the names on Hoffmann's list and adds some information on 20 additional people, bringing the total of foreign Jews interned at Lauria to 41. Pizzuti's database includes the known nationalities of 29 people: 17 Jews from Germany, 5 from Austria, 4 from Poland, and 1 each from Hungary, Libya, and Turkey. One internee, Rudolf Seelig, died at Lauria.

The detention of foreign Jews at Lauria began as early as November 1941 and continued well after German forces abandoned the area in the face of the Allied landings in Italy that began on September 3, 1943. The Jews at Lauria were gradually dispatched to Ferramonti di Tarsia and Bari under Allied occupation. Seven internees from Lauria were sent via Naples to Fort Ontario in Oswego, New York. Hoffmann was sent to Ferramonti di Tarsia on February 21, 1944.[3] Pizzuti lists some former internees being held at Lauria as late as December 1944.

For the residents of Lauria, the most painful memory of World War II was the series of bombings by the Twelfth United States

Army Air Force (USAAF), which took place beginning on September 7, 1943, and resulted in 36 civilian deaths. From Pizzuti's database, it is clear that none of the Jewish internees perished in these raids.

SOURCES The website www.campifascisti.it lists the Lauria camp as under research. Anna Pizzuti's database can be accessed at www.annapizzuti.it.

Primary sources documenting the internment site at Lauria can be found in ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 4, which consists of Julius Hoffmann's correspondence. According to Pizzuti, additional documentation can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Località di internamento), B. 145, f. 18, s.f. 2 (Affari per provincial). The names of Lauria internees who were received at Fort Ontario are included in a directory appended to House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Investigation of Problems Presented by Refugees at Fort Ontario Refugee Shelter,* Hearings on H. Res. 52, 79th Congress, 1st session, June 25 and 26, 1945 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1945).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Julius Hoffmann to ITS, November 25, 1958, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 4, Doc. No. 460089.
2. Hoffmann, "Internierte in Lauria (Prov. die Potenza) v. 11.4.43 bis 21.2.1944," ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 4, Doc. No. 460093.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Julius Hoffmann, gives a date of January 12, 1944.

LE FRASCHETTE DI ALATRI

Le Fraschette is 4 kilometers (almost 2.5 miles) northwest of the town of Alatri, which is more than 73 kilometers (46 miles) southeast of Rome. Planned as a prisoner of war (POW) camp, the Le Fraschette di Alatri camp was located in the village of Le Fraschette on the slopes of Mount Fumone (Frosinone province).

Construction began in late December 1941. The original plan called for a facility sufficient to accommodate 7,000 prisoners. However, the target capacity was changed several times as construction progressed. The structure was fenced in with wooden planks and dotted with approximately 20 sentry posts. The camp became operational in July 1942.

Commissioner Stalislao Rodriguez was the first camp director; his successor was Giovanni Fantussati. External security was entrusted to the carabinieri, whereas agents of public security took charge of the camp's internal security. The camp at Fraschette differed from other camps administered by the Interior Ministry: although it was under the General Directorate of War Services (*Direzione generale servizi di guerra*, Dgsg), the General Directorate of Public Security (*Direzione generale della pubblica sicurezza*, Dgps) was responsible for guarding the camp.

The camp was set up to function primarily as a place for the internment of nuclear families. The internees did not receive a cash allowance, only food. The male and female internees were mostly "ex-Yugoslavs" (Slovenes and Croats), Anglo-Maltese, and Italian antifascists. Amid continuing arrivals and transfers the number of prisoners peaked at 4,500 in the summer of 1943. The Anglo-Maltese internees were gathered from places of "free internment," such as Bagni di Lucca.[1] According to a Yugoslav report submitted in 1976 to the International Tracing Service, some of the Yugoslav prisoners were transferred from Italian camps in the Balkans, including Melada Island (Molat).[2]

Hygienic and sanitary conditions were extremely poor, and the medical assistance provided by a local doctor was much sought after. The Anglo-Maltese internees benefited from certain guarantees granted to them through the 1929 Geneva Convention and from aid provided by the United Kingdom. Other groups were forced to deal with harsh living conditions on their own. Those most in need received assistance from Monsignor Facchini, the bishop of Alatri, and the Josephite sisters from the convent in Veroli.

Between February and August 1943, the camp was visited by several officials, including the Swiss legation, the bishop of Trieste-Capodistria, Monsignor Santin, and the apostolic nuncio of Italy, Francesco Borgongini-Duca. In response to the initiative of Pope Pius XII, approximately 400 children were transferred to two religious institutions.

After the Armistice of September 8, 1943, the camp fell into complete disorder and was completely abandoned after being devastated by the Germans and bombed by the Allies. The nearly 2,000 internees still present in the camp had to be evacuated: the Anglo-Maltese to Fossoli and other groups to Rome.[3] The camp was dissolved on April 19, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Le Fraschette di Alatri camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 198–200; Mario Costantini et al., *Le Fraschette: Da campo di concentramento a luogo della memoria* (Frosi-none: Associazione Partigiani Cristiani Provincia di Frosinone, 2006); Vincenzo Cerceo, *Cronaca di un'infamia: "Le Fraschette" di Alatri, campo d'internamento per slavi* (Trieste: La Nuova Alabarda, 2003); and Constantino Di Sante, *Stranieri indesiderabili: Il campo di Fossoli e i "centri raccolta profughi" in Italia (1945–1970)* (Verona, Ombre Corte, 2011), pp. 129–135, 145–149.

Primary sources documenting the Le Fraschette di Alatri camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 87, 127; A4 bis, B.5; and ITS, Hängemappe Italien/Lipari. A

considerable amount of documentation is available at www.campifascisti.it.

Andrea Di Stefano
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Guglielmo Marotta, Regia Prefettera di Lucca, to Mi, Ogg.: Alberto Drago, October 24, 1942, ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 87, available at www.campifascisti.it.

2. Pero Damjanović, ISI, to ITS, Molat report, April 14, 1976, ITS, Hängemappe/Lipari, available at www.campifascisti.it.

3. On the Anglo-Maltese transfer, see RSI, Questura di Roma, Mi, Dgps, Telegramma, February 29, 1944, ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, A4 bis, B. 5, available at www.campifascisti.it.

LIPARI ISLAND

Located 60 kilometers (37 miles) northwest of Messina, Lipari is the largest of the Aeolian Islands. The General Directorate of Public Security (*Direzione generale della pubblica sicurezza*, Dgps) opened the facility in November 1926 to confine political opponents and common criminals who had previously been taken into preventive custody only in exceptional cases. Ever since the establishment of Liberal Italy, such measures had been used solely for "asocials." Under the Mussolini regime, the island served mainly to confine political opponents. In October 1941 the facility was turned into a concentration camp for civilians (*campo di concentramento per civili*). The major difference between the original facility and the subsequently established confinement site was the lack of disciplinary sanctions for regime opponents in the former.

Although Mussolini initially decided that detainees of all categories would live together, a ministerial note of February 1927 laid the groundwork for the separation of common criminals from political detainees, with places of confinement for those two groups being primarily the islands of Lipari and Ustica. Any complete separation between the two prisoner categories was never possible, however.

The first group of detainees arrived in the Lipari prison between late December 1926 and January 1927. It had its largest population from 1927 to 1929. According to historian Leopoldo Zagami, the number of political detainees exceeded 150 in February 1927. Former detainee Emilio Lussu, however, claimed that there were "another 500 detainees, of whom 400 were political, coming from all parts of Italy and from every single political party: liberal demo crats, republicans, Catholics, Masons, socialists, communists, and anarchists."[1]

In 1929, Lussu, Francesco Fausto Nitti, and Carlo Rosselli escaped from the island. In Paris, Lussu helped establish an early

antifascist organization, Justice and Liberty (*Giustizia e Libertà*). Word of their escape caused some sensation in the Anglo-American and French press.

Lussu later reflected on conditions during the Lipari's early phase:

> Life is better in Lipari … I, myself, have lived only in this colony. The democratic government used to keep common criminals, Fascism orders the deportation of political prisoners. Lipari is an island under the most rigorous surveillance … I arrived here on November 19, 1927, handcuffed and with a double iron chain … I instantly noticed that I was being followed by the plainclothes (policemen). Such exceptional measures were practiced solely for (judicial advocate Domizio) Torrigiani and for me ….
>
> I feel indifferent to the continuous stalking. It's rather distressing and irritating. One needs to keep his nerves in check to avoid becoming a neurasthenic with the constant presence of the people in your back who follow you like your shadow. You leave your house only to be followed, you talk only to be heard by others: you stop walking only to hear the other person doing the same; you enter a cafe, a shop, a house and all you see is the same old face; no smile, no shaking hands with passersby, no friends' visits in your own house without your shadow taking notice of it; this soon becomes an oppression, a nightmare … The vigilance was so harassing that many people advised me to go and complain. But complain to whom? … I always thought that nothing but a protest can be more humiliating than the actual impotence to act.[2]

From 1934 until 1939, the island served as a training site for 450 Ustaša Croats and then was turned into a concentration camp for civilians in October 1941. The first to arrive in the new facility were 260 "ex-Yugoslavs," followed by 17 more who came later. The next three transports that came from Zara brought another 366 Croats, Albanians, Slovenes, and Montenegrins. On December 8, 1941, there were 383 detainees in the camp (the number fell to 319 on May 15, 1942, and 289 on June 20, 1943). Dane Matošić was

the camp capo. According to historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, the detainees were able to move around the city center during the day, but were confined to their quarters at night. In some cases, their female relatives were allowed to live in close proximity to the camp. The detainees got a 6-lire daily allowance for food.

According to fragmentary data compiled by authors Celso Ghini and Adriano Dal Pont, there were at least 10 deaths in confinement at Lipari between the years 1927 and 1943.

After the Interior Ministry decided to close down the site, the detainees were transferred to the camps of Corropoli and Scipione. The last detainee left the island in July 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Lipari include Celso Ghini and Adriano Dal Pont, *Gli antifascisti al confino 1926–1943* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1971); on the 1941 to 1943 phase, see Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); Leopoldo Zagami, *Confinati politici e relegati comuni a Lipari* (Messina: Tipografia Ditta D'Amico, 1970); and Adriano Dal Pont, *I lager di Mussolini: l'altra faccia del confino nei documeti della polizia fascista* (Milan: La Pietra, 1975).

Primary sources on the camp at Lipari can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 131, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s.f. 2 (Affare per provinci), ins. 25 "Messina"; and in B. 106, f. 106 (Campi di concentramento), s.f. 1 (Affari generali), ins. 24, "Internamento persone sospette della Dalmazia." Additional documentation can be found in Anj, Br. Reg. 18/7-4, K. 316. A published document on the escape of Lussu, Roselli, and Nitti is Luca Di Vita and Michele Gialdroni, *Lipari 1929: Fuga dal Confino* (Rome; Bari: Laterza, 2009). Two published testimonies on the Lipari camp's early phase are Emilio Lussu, *La catena*, ed. Mimmo Franzinelli (Milan: Baldini & Castoldi, 1997); and Francesco Fausto Nitti, *Escape: The Personal Narrative of a Political Prisoner Who Was Rescued from Lipari, the Fascist "Devil's Island"* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1930).

Giovanna D'Amico
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Lussu, *La catena*, p. 62.

2. Ibid., pp. 56–62.

MANFREDONIA

Manfredonia is a little town in the province of Foggia, in Puglia, some 163 kilometers (101 miles) northeast of Naples and close to the sea. The site was chosen for an internment camp because it was distant from any strategic objective and from any theater of war. The Interior Ministry opened the camp in June 1940, when Italy entered the war, to imprison foreign civilians and Italian antifascists or, at any rate, Italians considered dangerous to the conduct of the war. It was situated in a former slaughter house, which had rooms sufficient to house up to 250 internees. The Interior Ministry undertook various renovations, which were completed in October 1940, to adapt the building to its new purpose. The building was given drains, an electrical system, and lavatories. Twenty rooms were created within the ex-slaughterhouse, of which 11 were fitted as dormitories. Other buildings housed a shop, the infirmary, the administrative offices, the mess hall, the laundry room, a common room for "socializing," and a little Catholic chapel.

In September 1940, of the 204 detainees, 6 were German Jews, 1 was British, and the rest were "politically dubious" Italians. Between July 1, 1940, and September 18, 1940, there were 31 "stateless" Jews in the camp, who had been captured at Fiume and transferred subsequently to the camps at Tossicia and at Campagna. The number of internees varied greatly during the conflict: there were 7 in February 1941, 187 in March 1941, 14 in April 1942, and 159 in June 1942. From June 1942 to June 1943, the number remained stable between 120 and 170. In 1942, 31 "ex-Yugoslavs" arrived from the prison at Sebenico. Camp records indicate a sizable though not quantifiable number of "ex-Yugoslavs" among the inmates in May 1943. Among the Italians were a large group of communists and anti-fascists, some suspected spies, and a few common criminals.

The most cohesive core group of prisoners—that of the Italian antifascists—organized itself to run the canteen and the camp's

little shop (*botteghino*). In addition, this group created a bocce court in a field, a little library, and a kitchen garden for legumes and greens. In the summer of 1940, as in other camps, the internees were required to salute camp personnel with the upraised arm, the so-called Roman salute. The antifascists opposed this intentional humiliation, and the struggle ended after a month, with 20 internees being put in close confinement and the revocation of the order.

In March 1941, some inmates wrote to the Interior Ministry, complaining that the time allotted for family visits was insufficient. On March 13 Inspector General Riccardo Pastore wrote to the ministry informing it that he had reached an agreement with the police chief (*questore*) to extend the visiting time by two hours for internees' family members.

In April 1942, after some internees successfully escaped by taking advantage of the hour permitted each day for free strolling, the area for walks was restricted.

From July 1940 to June 1943, the director was the officer of the police (*Pubblica Sicurezza*) Vincenzo Celentanto, who was subsequently replaced by another police officer, Rosario Stabile. A report of the Inspector General of the Police, Enrico Menna, dated July 21, 1940, gives a fairly detailed description of the camp. The inmates organized the mess hall and paid 4.50 lire a day for their board. The town's doctor provided health services, coming to the camp twice a week and having a "medicine cupboard" (*armadio farmaceutico*) at his disposal. A communist who had been interned since 1926, first in other camps and then at Manfredonia, assumed the role of nurse in the infirmary. The internees were generally healthy, except for a few who contracted malaria. There were no showers at first, but they were subsequently constructed. In a second report, of September 25, 1940, one reads that the internees could work in their professions and spend their hour of free strolling on the street that passed in front of the camp when guarded by agents on bicycles. The document describes the hygiene as excellent and so was the general state of health, except for six cases of malaria. The showers were finally finished, and hot water was made possible by a heating system using wood stoves. Eight carabinieri and eight policemen undertook guard duties.

Because they often had to accompany the internees to town, or elsewhere, the inspector Menna considered the number of guards to be insufficient. The inmates expressed satisfaction with the treatment they received.

According to historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, however, discipline in the camp was particularly tough. The regulations set out by the director in June 1940 specified that, in addition to the usual three daily roll calls, more roll calls could also take place. Moreover, the guards kept the doors and windows of the rooms closed during the night.

The archbishop of Manfredonia, Monsignor Andrea Cesarano, provided religious assistance by sending a priest to celebrate Mass every Sunday and by giving various books to the library. On May 20, 1941, the papal nuncio, Francesco Borgongini-Duca, visited the camp and held a meeting with the inmates.

In May 1943, the Interior Ministry ordered the transfer of the detainees, in groups of 30 at a time, in anticipation of the camp's closure. Between June 5 and 16, 1943, three groups of Yugoslav and Italian antifascists were moved to Ferramonte di Tarsia; the following month, after the fall of the Fascist regime and the arrest of Mussolini, the few antifascists who remained were gradually freed. On September 8, 1943, on the signing of the Armistice between Italy and the Allies, there were only about 20 "ex-Yugoslav" inmates left in the camp, who succeeded in escaping and joining the Allied army that was approaching from the south. The camp ceased to exist after the Armistice.

SOURCES Secondary references to Manfredonia are in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 238–239.

The most important archival sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 2; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 125–126.

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MANTUA

Mantua is approximately 130 kilometers (81 miles) southeast of Milan. Following the issuance of Police Order No. 5 of November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), which provided for the immediate and systematic arrest of all Jews and their concentration in camps, the Italian authorities in Mantua (Mantova, Lombardia province) established a provincial camp for Jews.[1] On December 1, 1943, the secretary of the Jewish community in Mantua, Davide Tedeschi, was summoned to the police station and informed that, because the local Jewish community had space to accommodate up to 100 people, all the arrested Jews were to be imprisoned in that space. The provincial camp was set up in the Jewish nursing home at 11 Gilberto Govi Way, which already contained 27 elderly and 13 displaced people in poor health who came mostly from Milan. By mid-December 1943, following roundups carried out by the Italian authorities, sometimes with German help, the number of prisoners increased to 120. As assigned by the prefecture, Superintendent Martiradonna directed the camp, whereas the Jewish community paid for the prisoners' provisions.

Living conditions in the camp were never completely catastrophic because there was always the possibility of obtaining food from the Jewish community. Discipline was rigid and often involved harsh punishments such as solitary confinement in a cold and dank room in the basement, which was utilized as a prison. Between December 23 and 31, 1943, 55 people were released after being deemed of "mixed" ancestry or because of serious health issues. The ones who remained were accommodated in the building's attic and passed the winter of 1943 in apparent quiet. In the early months of 1944, 21 additional prisoners were either released or possibly died; available records do not indicate their fate. At 11 A.M. on April 5, 1944, 42 detainees remaining in the Mantua camp were loaded on a truck and taken to the train station

for deportation to Nazi Germany. Only one person survived.

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning the Mantua camp is Rodolfo Rebecchi, ed., *La persecuzione nazifascista degli ebrei mantovani: 1938–1945* (Mantua: Mantova ebraica, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the Mantua camp can be found in AFCDEC, AG-13B, Mantova. This documentation is also available at ACS.

Frida Bertolini
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTE

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

MONIGO

In 1942, the Italian War Ministry opened a concentration camp for Yugoslav civilian internees in the Caldorin barracks of Monigo, then a suburban neighborhood of Treviso—located more than 82 kilometers (51 miles) southwest of Gonars and almost 219 kilometers (136 miles) northwest of Kampor (Rab or Arbe Island) in Veneto province. A police lieutenant colonel directed the camp. The camp consisted of seven large buildings: four for the internees and one each for the infirmary, kitchen, and other services. Each room had bunk beds and accommodated approximately 50 internees. From the fall of 1942 onward, the male and the female sections, which also included children, were separated by barbed wire. Even married couples were separated by gender.

On July 2, 1942, the camp received its first internees: 315 Slovenian civilians arrested in one of the major roundups taking place in the city of Ljubljana and 255 prisoners rounded up in the municipality of Logatek. Another major transport on August 6 consisted of 432 Slovenians rounded up between Kočevje and Novo Mesto. Next some 800 Slavic prisoners were transferred in the fall to Monigo from the Gonars camp; however, most of them were then transferred to the PietrafittaTavernelle camp. Later approximately 300 women and children from the Arbe Island camp were sent to Monigo.

Initially, Monigo served as a gathering and se lection center where, with the help of Slavic collaborators, the Italians managed to identify the "most politically dangerous" internees, who often ended up being prosecuted or detained in prisons as hostages. Later detainees were increasingly reclassified as being under "protective internment" (*internati protettivi*). This change in classification brought about an improvement in living conditions, which made the regime consider Monigo to be a more "presentable" camp than others holding "ex-Yugoslavs." In fact, on October 21, 1942, when there were 3,464 internees, the maximum occupancy reached at Monigo camp, the regime granted

access to the camp to the delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). It was the first instance of such a visit to a Fascist camp for "ex-Yugoslavs," and the ICRC pronounced it to be a "model structure."[1]

However, during Monigo's 13-month existence, the internment conditions were hardly an example of a model situation. The internees did not receive any economic assistance, as was the case in camps managed by the Interior Ministry. Some detainees hired themselves out in the infirmary, camp offices, or, more rarely, with businesses located in the area outside the camp.

Forty-two babies were born at Monigo, and 230 internees died (of whom 54 were children). Most of the deaths occurred among those who had been debilitated by diseases contracted while in the Arbe camp. Terminally ill internees occupied approximately half of the 600 beds in the Treviso public hospital. Of the deceased, 187 were buried in mass graves in Treviso's main cemetery.

As in other Italian camps for Slavic internees, the Slovenian "Liberation Front" (*Oslobodilna Fronta*) operated clandestinely at Monigo. In addition to carrying on activities of political and military recruitment, it assisted those in need. The group also identified informants: the camp had been infiltrated by Slovenian collaborators seeking to recruit those considered "undecided" or anticommunist. The composition of internees changed between February and March 1943 after a good number of Slovenians were transferred or released; they were replaced mostly by Croatian internees transferred from the Gonars camp.

According to a clandestine prisoner bulletin, there were 3,114 internees living at Monigo on March 18, 1943: 1,050 men, 1,085 women, 513 boys, and 466 girls.[2] In the spring of 1943, the conditions of internment improved significantly, and on April 19, Monigo officially became a camp for "internees under protection" as 2,465 of 2,500 internees were classified as being under protection.

In the first half of 1943, when 1,700 prisoners were sent to Gonars, large contingents of internees were liberated due to the involvement of the ecclesiastical authorities.

After the Armistice of September 8, 1943, the Italian guards

fled, and some of the internees loyal to *Oslobodilna Fronta* assumed control of the camp. They later led their fellow inmates in small groups toward the Gorizia Hills, where a group of former internees established partisan formations. The Wehr-macht subsequently occupied the Caldorin barracks before they became a training center for the armed forces of the RSI.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Monigo camp include Francesca Meneghetti, *Di là del muro: Il campo di concentramento di Treviso (1942–43)* (Treviso: ISTRECO, 2012); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 258–259; Maico Trinca, *Monigo: Un campo di concentramento per slavi a Treviso. Luglio 1942–settembre 1943* (Treviso: ISTRECO, 2003); and Francesco Scattalin, Maico Trinca, and Amerigo Manesso, *Deportati a Treviso: La repressione antislava e il campo di concentramento di Monigo (1942–1943)* (Treviso: ISTRECO, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Monigo camp can be found in A-RS II, Alto commissariato, F 14/V, sf. No. 6; ACS, Dgsg, (Affari Generali), B. 90, fasc. 313, Sfollatida Lubiana, Proveddimenti; and A-CICR, Service des camps, Italie. A published primary source is Cannata Devana Lavrenčič, ed., *Come se non fosse accaduto: Lettere d'amore dal campo di concentramento di Monigo* (Treviso: ISTRESCO, 2005). A book of drawings by prisoners held in the Monigo camp is by Aleksander Bassin, Vladimir Lakovič, and Vera Visočnik, eds., *Revolucija in umetnost: Risbe iz zaporov in taborišč* (Nova Gorica: Soča, 1969).

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Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. A-CICR, C Sc, Service des camps, Italie, October 21, 1942.

2. *Novice izza zice* (camp newspaper), n.d.

MONTALBANO

The Montalbano camp, also called Rovezzano or MontalbanoRovezzano, was located in the Florence communal area. It was in the locality of Sant'Andrea in Rovezzano, an isolated area six kilometers (almost four miles) northeast of Florence and three kilometers (nearly two miles) west of the Compiobbi train station. It took its name from the Montalbano Castle (Firenza province), a private villa in which the camp was established in June 1940.

The camp had an assigned occupancy of 100 beds. However, in reality the number of internees often exceeded that number by about 50 people. The building's first and second floors consisted of some 20 rooms of various dimensions, and two small apartments with separate entrances housed the family of the custodian and one other family in the service of the house owners.

Although the rental agreement was signed on June 17, 1940, and the facility was declared operational by the end of the same month, the first internees, who were classified as "dangerous Italians" and "aliens" from Venezia Giulia, did not reach the Montalbano camp before mid-April 1941. In the following months, "ex-Yugoslavs" also arrived. Although the Italian Interior Ministry originally intended to designate Montalbano as a women's-only camp, the plan never came to fruition.

In its first several months of operation, the camp was headed by a vice brigadier who had at his disposal two police officers accommodated in a room formerly used as a barn. From mid-May 1941 onward, the number of security personnel was increased, and the direction of the camp was assumed by Commissioner Domenico Cecchetti, who was then the chief of a suburban office of the Florence Public Security.

The living conditions for civilians confined at the Montalbano Castle were harsh: the building lacked electricity, heating, and showers. Finally, in November 1941, a few stoves were installed,

but they only served the hall, which was used as a refectory. The internees consumed food on the premises; the kitchen was entrusted to an outside supplier (*vivandiere*), who was a landlord from the nearby locality of Anchetta named Guido Papini. Papini was assisted by a detainee, Gaetano Chimenti, who was compensated for his labor. Only with great difficulty did the internees obtain permission from the director to leave the camp, although some were authorized to work for local farmers in neighborhoods close to the castle.

After the coup of July 25, 1943, life at Montalbano camp continued as before. But the grievances of the Slavic internees, who were by now the only occupants and who demanded immediate liberation, became more and more strident. In the first days of September, because of recurrent protests, several of them were sent to prisons in Florence.

After the announcement of the Armistice on September 8, 1943, between Italy and the Western Allies, almost all of the remaining internees were able to leave the camp undisturbed. The camp continued to function, but in a reduced mode, and under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), it held Italian internees of the "Aryan race" until the end of the summer of 1944.

SOURCES A secondary source that describes the Montalbano camp is Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 185–186.

Primary sources documenting the Montalbano camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 124, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), sf. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 15 "Firenze," sf. 3; and ITS, 1.2.7.25 (Persecution measures in Italy and Albania), folder 6. The latter documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Jakub Smutný

MONTECHIARUGOLO

Montechiarugolo (Parma province) is located almost 77 kilometers (48 miles) northwest of Bologna and approximately 15 kilometers (9 miles) southeast of Parma. The Montechiarugolo concentration camp was established in the summer of 1940 in the Montechiarugolo castle. It confined British citizens including some Anglo-Maltese, Americans, Frenchmen, and a few foreign Jews.[1] At its peak in June 1941, Montechiarugolo held 146 internees. In August 1942, Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) inspectors found that there were 76 internees in the camp. One internee died of tuberculosis, and five prisoners escaped. Mario Maiello was the camp director. A Jewish internee from Poland who was a surgeon, Benjamin (Beniamino) Speiser, provided medical assistance. The castle afforded a few small luxuries for the internees, including a library of 200 volumes, a piano, and a violin.[2] On paper, the Montechiarugolo camp existed well into 1944, but 51 internees, nearly the camp's entire population at the time, were handed over to the German authorities in late October 1943.[3]

After the Armistice of September 8, 1943, a separate "provincial concentration camp for Jews" was established on the premises of the Terme and Bagni Hotels in Monticelli Terme, a neighborhood of Montechiarugolo. This camp's establishment followed Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI).[4] It held only Jewish women and children. The first prisoners arrived at Monticelli on December 6, 1943. Approximately 40 Jews, mostly Germans, Yugoslavs, and Italians, reached the camp by the end of the month. In January and February 1944, it held 35 detainees. In total, 10 children and 32 women—all foreign Jews or stateless individuals—were confined at Monticelli Terme during the camp's short existence. The oldest female internee was 63; the youngest children were barely a year old.

Internees were not allowed to leave their hotel-prisons and lived on a daily "allowance" of 9 lire; this money was distributed to adult women and permitted them, albeit with great difficulty, to manage collective food expenses through purchases in a hotel shop.

The Monticelli Terme camp was closed on March 9, 1944, when all the prisoners were transferred to the Fossoli transit camp in Italy. They were then deported from Fossoli to Auschwitz on a transport on April 5, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Montechiarugolo are Marco Minardi, *Invisibili: Internati civili nella provincia di Parma: 1940–1945* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2010); Marco Minardi, *Tra le chiuse mura: Deportazione e campi di concentramento nella provincia di Parma 1940–1945* (Montechiarugolo: La Comune, 1987); Matteo Stefanori, "'Ordinaria amministrazione': I campi di concentramento provinciali per ebrei nella Rsi," *Ss* 54: 1 (2013): 191–226; Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della Memoria: Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945)*, (1992; Milan: Mursia, 2002); Fabio Galluccio, *I lager in Italia: La memoria sepolta nei duecento luoghi di deportazione fascisti* (Civezzano: Nonluoghi libere edizioni, 2003); and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the Montechiarugolo camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, (Mobilitazione civile), B. 131 and 132, fasc. 16 (Campi di concentramento), sf. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 28 "Parma," sf. 3 to 6 and 13; ASP, Fondo Questura di Parma, B. 96, Corrispondenza tra il questore di Parma Bettini e il Capo della Polizia della Rsi; and ITS, collections 1.1.14.1 (Lager in Italien und Albanien), folder 2; and 3.1.1.3 (F18), folder 57. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. There are a number of documents and archival citations on the Montechiarugolo camp at www.campifascisti.it.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco and Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. See, for example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Isaak Rubel (DOB March 28, 1908), Doc. No. 344666109.

2. CRI, "Visite ai campi di concentramento per internati, 25/28 agosto 1942," ACS/CRI, Fondo PG, B. M10, fasc. Italia (Campi di concentramento in Italia), reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

3. Valli, Mi, Dgps, "Campo di concentramento di Montechiarugolo, Suppressione," October 27, 1943, ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, A4 bis, internati stranieri e spionaggio 1939–1945, B. 5, fasc. 30 (Parma); and Prefettura di Parma, Sudditi di stati nemici residenti nella provincia di Parma, June 9, 1944, ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, A4 bis, B. 5, fasc. 30, both reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

4. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

MONTEFORTE IRPINO

Monteforte Irpino (Avellino province) is a little town in the south of Italy, just over 6 kilometers (4 miles) southwest of Avellino and 37 kilometers (23 miles) east of Naples. In 1940 it had about 4,000 inhabitants. A concentration camp probably began to function there in June 1940, following the instructions of the Royal Decree (*Regio decreto*) of July 8, 1938, and the official letter (*Circolare*) of the Interior Ministry dated June 8, 1940, No. 442/12267.

The camp was located in a building that had once housed the Loffredo Orphanage, situated at the edge of town. It had three stories, with about 20 rooms, each capable of holding between 6 and 8 people, and a large room that could hold up to 50 people. It had a well and was also close to a public fountain; few buildings in the little town were connected to a water main. It had electric light and power, a garden, and various spaces used as storerooms and laundry rooms. Altogether it could hold 170 internees. The director of the camp was the *podestà* or mayor of the town, whereas guard service was provided by the carabinieri. The internees were all Italians—antifascists or those considered to pose a danger to the conduct of the war. In November 1940 there were 20 internees, a number that rose to 48 in March 1941; they were listed as "Arians." The number fluctuated between 28 inmates in August 1941 and 55 in June 1942. Between October 1942 and June 1943 there were no internees reported, but in August 1943 the number rose to 73.

The camp rules allowed the prisoners to visit a strictly defined area within the town. Because there was no dining hall in the camp, the internees could eat in restaurants. For specific urgent necessities they could go to Avellino, accompanied by a guard. Those with serious medical problems were accompanied by a guard to the nearby hospital. Relations between the inmates and the local populace were good. The camp remained open until August 1943 when, by order of the Interior Ministry, the

antifascists were set free.

SOURCES The Monteforte Irpino camp is briefly mentioned in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 229–230.

The Monteforte Irpino camp is documented in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 115.

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NERETO

Nereto is 20 kilometers (over 13 miles) northeast of Teramo and 15 kilometers (over 9 miles) southwest of San Benedetto del Tronto, not far from the Adriatic Sea, in Teramo province in the Abruzzo region. In June 1940, the Interior Ministry set up a camp in two private buildings in the town: the first, on Vittorio Veneto Way, was owned by the Santoni family, and the second, on Scarfoglio Way, belonged to the Lupini family. Intended only for male internees, the camp was initially run by the mayor of Nereto and then by the local public security commissioner. The carabinieri, who were responsible for securing the camp, set up a guard station in front of each of the two buildings.

The first internees arrived at Nereto on June 17, 1940. In time, their numbers increased so much that by October 1940 it was necessary to add a third building: the former "worm laboratory" located on Roma Avenue that belonged to the local agrarian consortium. Although the camp of Nereto could reasonably accommodate up to 160 people in the three sites, the number of prisoners reached 200 in October 1942. The internees belonged to several different categories: "dangerous Italians"; "foreign Jews" (Germans, Austrians, Polish, and stateless persons, in particular those from Fiume); "ex-Yugoslavs"; a small number of "aliens" from Venezia Giulia (the ethnic Slovene and Croat minorities whom the Fascist regime crudely sought to "Italianize"); and "enemy subjects."

As in other camps composed of multiple buildings, the living conditions varied greatly from one structure to another in the Nereto camp. The Santoni house was the most livable of the three, whereas the other two places, in particular the worm house, were dilapidated and lacked heating systems.

The internees residing in the Santoni and Lupini houses were allowed to move around a large part of the town's urban center, but were forbidden to enter Nereto's public park. The internees held in the worm house, which was considered a place of

punishment, were not allowed to leave the building. The worm house was equipped with a kitchen and an inner-courtyard refectory. Most of the internees in the other two buildings prepared food on their own using a small electric stove, although the most affluent ones dined at several restaurants in town. Medical assistance was available for all by a doctor residing at the camp. In cases of special medical treatment or urgent hospitalization, the internees were transferred to Teramo under the escort of camp officials or carabinieri.

Some cultural and recreation activities developed in the Nereto camp over time. There were choral concerts, sometimes held in the presence of the camp director, and lively debates about soccer matches. This development was especially pronounced following the arrival of 40 foreign Jews from the Ferramonti di Tarsia camp in early October 1941. Relations with the local population were largely good; indeed, three former internees married local women after the war. In contrast, the internees' relations with the director who replaced the mayor, Commissioner Francesco Alongi, were confrontational. Alongi, who had been the director of the nearby Corropoli camp, located almost two kilometers (just about a mile) northeast of Nereto, was reassigned to head the Nereto camp in August 1942.

On May 5, 1943, there were 151 internees in Nereto.[1] In that same month, 20 of these internees were transferred to the Rieti province as forced laborers for the construction of the new Farfa camp. Around the same time internees from the Tortoreto Stazione camp arrived in the Nereto camp, after the closure of that camp by the Interior Ministry for security reasons.

After the fall of Benito Mussolini on July 25, 1943, Nereto's Italian internees were gradually released. By August 20, 1943, when a delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited Nereto, there were still 148 internees present—all foreigners and mostly "ex-Yugoslavs."[2] None of the prisoners were granted release at the time of the Armistice, September 8, 1943. A few days later, a group of Slavs stole weapons from the guards and set off with the avowed purpose of fighting the Germans. The group was arrested by the end of the same day.

Meanwhile, the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale*

italiana, RSI) restored the camp's operation and appointed Commissioner Alongi as its new director, ushering in a more stringent regime. On December 4, 1943, German soldiers occupied the worm house and dispatched the internees to the other two buildings. Later that month, Commissioner Attilio Capurro, formerly the head of the Tortoreto camp, took over. On December 21, 1943, the new administration summoned to the Lupini house 70 internees in the process of being loaded onto trains for the ostensible purpose of protecting them from the Germans, especially the Nazi SS. The actual objective, however, was to transfer the Jews to the Germans. The camp was encircled by the National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr) to prevent the 70 internees from escaping. Realizing that a trap was being set, a group of internees tried to escape at the very last moment, but the Italian troops started shooting into the air in response. In the end, 61 people were handed over to the German authorities.

Forty-five internees, mostly Jews, were subjected to forced labor by the Wehrmacht at Giulianova for about a month in late December 1945; 19 other inmates were left at Nereto after being declared unable to work. One of the former Ferramonti internees dispatched on forced labor was Austrian-born Karl Kosidois. After his return to Nereto, he escaped, and his Italian girlfriend hid him for the remainder of the war.[3]

The camp closed on February 1, 1944, after the group of forced laborers returned, minus the ones who had managed to escape. The remaining 69 internees were eventually sent to the Corropoli camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Nereto camp are Italia Iacoponi, "Campi di concentramento in Abruzzo durante il secondo conflitto mondiale," *RASSFR* 4: 2–3 (1983): 325–336; Costantino Di Sante, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Italia: Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001), pp. 191–192; and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 219–220.

Primary sources documenting the Nereto camp can be found in

ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 136, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 41 “Teramo,” ss. ff. 10, 18; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis “stranieri internati,” B. 6/38 “Teramo,” A-ICRC, C Sc, Service des camps, Italia (August 20, 1943); and ITS, collections 1.1.0.7 (Lager und Haf tstätten in Italien) and 1.1.14.1 (Lager in Italien und Albanien), available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMA also holds an oral history interview with Nereto survivor Karl Kosidois under RG-50.120*0340.

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NOTES

1. “Elenco nominative degli internati del Campo di Concentramento di Nereto (Teramo),” May 5, 1943, ITS, 1.1.14.1, Doc. No. 459262.
2. ICRC, “Elenco degli internati civili del Campo di Concentramento di Nereto,” August 22, 1943, ITS, 1.1.14.1, Doc. Nos. 459206–459217.
3. USHMMA, RG-50.120*0340, Karl Kosidois, oral history interview, March 25, 1998.

NOTARESCO

The small town of Notaresco in Teramo province in the Abbruzzo region is located 142 kilometers (88 miles) northeast of Rome. At the beginning of July 1940, the Interior Ministry established an internment camp for men in the town in two buildings: the first was on De Vincenti Street and belonged to the De Vincenti-Mazzarosa family, and the second was on Giardino Street and was owned by the Liberi family. In total, these two sites accommodated approximately 100 inmates.

Initially, a prefecture-appointed commissioner (*commissario*) headed the camp, a responsibility that was later taken over by the town's mayor (*podestà*). Local police guarded Notaresco from a sentry post in the vicinity of the De Vincenti house. A doctor from Notaresco provided the internees with medical assistance. The camp's buildings lacked kitchens and dispensaries. Showers were available, but without hot water.

The first internees—"Jewish foreigners"—arrived in Notaresco on July 13, 1940. More internees came in the months of July and August. In September, following a polio outbreak in the camp, the chief of police temporarily suspended the in-take of new inmates. Also at this time the camp reached its near-peak capacity of 96 internees. In January 1941, after overcoming the health emergency, there were 68 Jewish inmates, including 19 stateless Jews from Fiume (today: Rijeka, Croatia), and 49 others (presumably Slavic). Another 32 foreign Jews arrived from the Ferramonti di Tarsia camp in October 1941. In early May 1942, the Jews present in the camp (only about 60 because of earlier transfers) were transferred to Ferramonti to make room for "ex-Yugoslav" inmates who started arriving in Notaresco soon thereafter.

In the camp's first two years of operation, Notaresco's internees were allowed to go to restaurants and engage in other public activities, but—according to regulations—only as necessary. In

daytime, the internees could also visit streets of the town as well as a nearby stretch of provincial roads. Starting in June 1942, internment conditions became harsher after the arrival of 60 "ex-Yugoslavs" (largely Croatians from Dalmatia) whom the Italian authorities deemed supporters of the Yugoslavian Partisans. New camp canteens were set up inside the buildings because daily access to the town was drastically reduced. However, the other wise untenable hygienic conditions improved markedly during this period.

In the spring of 1943, 32 Yugoslav internees were allowed to seek work with local farmers. The Notaresco camp continued to exist after the Armistice of September 8, 1943, although many internees were released. By the end of September, an additional 31 internees were allowed to leave; a second release of 14 people took place on November 7. At the end of November, there were 23 internees in the camp, a number reduced to just 5 in January 1944. The camp closed for good in May 1944.

SOURCES This entry is a slightly revised version of the Notaresco article found in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 220–221. Additional secondary sources on this camp are Italia Iacoponi, "Campi di Concentramento in Abruzzo durante il Secondo Conflitto Mondiale," *RASSFR* 5: 1 (1984): 131–151; and Constantino Di Sante, *I Campi di Concentramento in Italia: Dall'Internamento alla Deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001), pp. 192–193.

Primary sources on the Notaresco internment camp may be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 136, f.16 (Campi di concentramento), s.fasc.2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 41 "Teramo," ss. ff. 12, 17. A-ICRC C Sc, Service des camps, Italie (August 19, 1943).

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

PETRIOLO

Petriolo was a small town about 167 kilometers (104 miles) northeast of Rome in the province of Macerata, then one of the most isolated and impoverished areas of central Italy. With the closure of the province's female internment camp at Treia, a concentration camp opened in the town in December 1942. Established and run by the Interior Ministry, it held female citizens of states at war with Italy and "foreign Jews." Prisoners were sent here from the concentration camp of Treia, a facility that was in poor condition and whose rent was considered too high.

The camp was set up in a private country villa called "La Castelleta," in the area of the same name, located about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town. It had two floors plus an attic, with a total area of 318 square meters (348 square yards). It had electricity and drinking water from a well. The ground floor had four bedrooms, a living room, kitchen, and bathroom. The floor above had seven bedrooms, a living room, bathroom, and storage room. The villa's capacity was 42 occupants. The ministry leased the villa for an annual rent of 18,000 lire, but it needed to renovate and adapt the building at a cost of 80,000 lire. A report by the director of public works accused the contractors of doing shoddy work and wasting public money: the kitchen was replaced even though the old one was functional, the toilets were at the end of a frigid hallway and lacked windows, the showers did not work, the heaters had incorrectly installed asbestos pipes, the electric pump did not draw enough water for the cistern, the tap water was rusty because the contractors used old pipes, and so on.

The director in March 1943 was Police Commissioner Carmine Ferrigno. When the camp opened, the staff consisted of an electrician and carpenter and a cook, although by the end of 1942 two prisoners actually did the cooking. The prefect suggested therefore that the monthly stipend of 500 lire for the cook be paid to the internees. There is no other information about other work undertaken by inmates or about the guards, who were probably

local carabinieri.

The number of prisoners in April 1943 was 14 and rose to 18 by the end of the month, remaining stable until August of the same year when it increased again to 28. The internee list of April 1943 provided by the camp director to the Interior Ministry reported 11 "Aryan" women of British, Greek, Yugoslavian, Polish, and German nationality or background; 2 ex-Czechoslovak Jewish women; and 1 Jewish woman from Paraguay.

An August 1943 report by a general inspector of police describes camp discipline in the following terms: "In the camp of Petriolo everything goes on, as in the past, in the best possible manner to the complete satisfaction of all the inmates, apart from gossip, which is perhaps inevitable in an environment of this kind after many months of imprisonment."[1] By the order of the German command of Macerata, all the inmates from the province's camps (Petriolo, Pollenza, and Urbisaglia) were transferred to the camp of Sforzacosta between September 29 and 30, 1943, along with all the camp fittings (furniture, covers, kitchen materials, and so on); from there the inmates were transferred to the Fossoli di Carpi camp.

SOURCES There is very little published information on the camp at Petriolo. What does exist is found in Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, 2 vols., trans. Loredana Melissari (Scandicci: La Nuova Italia, 1993–1996), 2: 65; and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 188.

The main archival sources are in the ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 9; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 128, 129, and 136.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTE

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 136.

PIETRAFITTA-TAVERNELLE

Pietrafitta, an area in the commune of Piegaro, and Tavernelle, an area in the commune of Panicale, are just over 19 kilometers (12 miles) and almost 23 kilometers (14 miles) southwest of Perugia, respectively. The Fascist camp for Yugoslav civilian internees, set up there under the authority of the Italian War Ministry, was referred to by both names.[1] The camp consisted of three distinct outposts: Pietrafitta, which was capable of accommodating 300 internees; Ellera, with 200 beds; and Sereni Castle (*Castel* or *Castello Sereni*), with a capacity of 100 spaces. At its peak, however, the camp accommodated just under 400 forced laborers.

A thermoelectric power plant and a brown coal mine were operating in the area close to the Nestore River, and the Italian government had decided to construct a new railway, the Ellera-Tavernelle trunk line, primarily to handle freight traffic for the anticipated transports of extracted minerals. The last stop was planned in Pietrafitta, close to both the power plant and the mine, but alternative plans included extending the railway all the way to Tavernelle (about 4 kilometers or over 2 miles to the southwest). There was also the possibility of extending it even farther to Cittaducale and Chiusi to connect with the Florence-Rome line.

On October 7, 1942, the Italian Army carried out the necessary inspections for the establishment of the labor camp. The internees, who were transferred from the Gonars and Monigo camps, started arriving in November. Chained in groups of five, they were taken by train to the Ellera station, close to Perugia. From there, they walked for approximately four hours, under military escort, to the camp's outposts. The last transport with 240 people on board left the Monigo camp on December 28, 1942, and after a journey that lasted two days during which the internees received no food, the train finally reached the Ellera station.

Soldiers watched over the forced laborers during working hours. Farmers and people living nearby were told about the arrival of the

"rebellious Slavs." The work consisted mainly of earth moving, whether for the construction of a bridge over the Nestore River or for extracting rock used for building track ballast. The rock was taken from a pit located close to Castiglion della Valle and transported in wagons assembled on the tracks. The outposts at Pietrafitta, located close to Fontignano, a quarter of Perugia, and Ellera, not far from its namesake train station, were each made up of three military barracks 6 meters wide by 32 meters long (roughly 20 feet by 105 feet). The outpost of Sereni Castle, which was the first one to become operational, was set up in a stable owned by the Sereni family, located about 1 kilometer away from the town of Castiglion della Valle (Morsciano commune).

Pietrafitta served as the base camp, which also housed the facility's command and an infirmary. Capitano Valentino Munzi commanded the camp. He had at his disposal approximately 30 soldiers for each outpost and was assisted by Tenente Mario Farinacci, who was not the Fascist fanatic that the captain was. The forced laborers wore military uniforms without insignia and had to walk about a half hour to reach their respective workplaces. The barracks contained bunk beds with straw mats and were positioned on loam terrain that easily turned swampy in bad weather. The Zanetti Company, the contractor for the railway construction works, paid a specified sum of money to the camp's leadership for the internees' services. Each internee received 4.5 lire per day in the form of "vouchers" spendable only in the mine's grocery store. Even money received from family members was handed over to the recipients in the form of "vouchers." In spite of their hard work, the internees considered the daily regime more preferable than what existed in the other Italian camps where some had been detained. A Mass was celebrated on Sundays, and the commander generally allowed the internees from all three outposts to come together; a choir was even organized. He also permitted visitors from surrounding areas to come to the base camp.

After receiving the news of the September 8, 1943, Armistice, the camp commander took an uncompromising stance, ordering that the internees be held inside the barracks, despite their demands to be liberated. Capitano Munzi also informed Tenente Farinacci that he would go the next day to Perugia to contact the German command so they could take over command of the camp.

Knowing of the commander's decision and the likelihood of their being subsequently transferred to Nazi Germany, the internees turned directly for help to the soldiers who were guarding them.

On September 15, 1943, all the soldiers fled the base camp. On the same night, the guards from the other two outposts did the same thing. The internees also vanished and headed in many different directions.

SOURCES A secondary source that describes the Pietrafitta-Tavernelle camp is Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 261–263.

Primary sources documenting the Pietrafitta-Tavernelle camp can be found in ACS, USMME, M3, It, Raccolta 64, fasc. 2 (Ufficio AC, Campi concentramento); AVI, Anj, Br. Reg. 2/1-3. K. 1021; and ITS, collection 1.1.14.1. The latter documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTE

1. CICR, Service Yougoslave, Delegazione in Italia, "Listes nominatives … yougoslaves en Italie," August 14, 1943, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 1, Doc. No. 459314.

PISTICCI

Pisticci is located 86 kilometers (53 miles) southwest of Bari and almost 60 kilometers (37 miles) west of Taranto. In 1939 the Interior Ministry established the Pisticci concentration camp (Matera province) as the first non-isolated "confinement colony" in Italy situated on a state-owned estate of reclaimed land, 25 square kilometers (almost 10 square miles) in size; it was located in the area of Caporotondo to the southeast of town. Initially, the camp was a center of agricultural work (*centro di lavoro agricolo*) for the detainees; from June 1940, with Italy's entry into the war, it also became a concentration camp for the internment of Italian civilians and foreigners. In practical terms, however, there was no difference between being a "detainee" and "internee."

The camp was built around an existing settlement consisting of eight military buildings fenced in by barbed wire and including several watchtowers. The total capacity was 1,000, and the population was exclusively male. In July 1940, there were already 486 detainees and 38 internees; in late 1941, the total was 776, of whom 553 were deemed internees and the rest detainees; in mid-September 1942, there was a total 997 inmates: 440 internees and 557 detainees.

Most of the Italians held at Pisticci were classified as "dangerous individuals" (that is, perceived regime opponents), Pentecostals (followers of the Evangelical Pentecostal faith who were fiercely persecuted by the Fascists), and ethnic minorities from the region of Venezia Giulia—Slovenian and Croatian civilians whom the Fascist regime unsuccessfully attempted to "italianize." The foreigners were inhabitants of countries at war with Italy, mainly Greeks and Poles, as well as "ex-Yugoslav" civilians deported to Italy after the occupation and partition of their country in 1941. The Yugoslav civilians came mainly from the zone of Fiume and the Kvarner Bay islands. This group included the Croatian poet Josip Šuljić, who arrived at Pisticci on June 15, 1941. In late 1942, a group of former Greek officials from

the island of Corfu arrived at the camp; among them was an army medic whose aid work was of great help for the detainees. There were also some 50 Polish civilians from France (where they had emigrated in search of work during the Great Depression) who, at the outbreak of the war, were recruited into special units guarding the Maginot Line. After taking refuge in the French zone under Italian occupation, they were arrested by the Italians and sent to Pisticci.

Of particular note among the antifascist Italians at Pisticci were Dario Barbato, Giovanbattista Basello, Italo Belardi, Gustavo Comollo, Guglielmo Germoni, Agostino Ottani, Vito Pappagallo, Umberto Terracini, and Giacinto Varetto. The majority of them were convicted by a special tribunal and, as often was the regime's practice, were subjected to internment after serving their prison terms. In August 1940, Prince Filippo Doria Pamphili was interned at Pisticci; he went on to become the mayor of Rome after the liberation. One group of Italian communists, led by detainees Giuseppe Neri and Giuseppe Gaddi, and by internees Dario Bartato and Gustavo Comollo, was particularly well organized and resourceful, managing to obtain permission for all the prisoners to run the camp's canteen.

The camp director was Ercole Suppa (1888–1973), a public security commissioner appointed by the Interior Ministry. The real boss of the Pisticci camp, however, was the Fascist businessman and merchant Eugenio Parrini, who built the agricultural center and was the owner of a company for which the internees and detainees worked. A fanatical Fascist, a devotee of the Duce, and, according to many testimonies, even a fervent Nazi, he was nevertheless pragmatic in dealing with the prisoners. He preferred to collaborate with the many communist laborers instead of exhibiting open hostility toward them. Although there were still periods of repression in the camp, his collaborative be havior was largely reciprocated and increased productivity in the agricultural colony. The Fascist regime touted this colony as an example of "agrarian cultivation" accompanied by the "human cultivation" of regime opponents. Moreover, the detainees and internees received a daily payment of 11 lire and were able to reduce their period of internment by four months for every one year of performed labor. These practices produced remarkable results. The camp population

cultivated 800 hectares (almost 1,977 acres) of land and built 38 two-story farm houses, each capable of accommodating four nuclear families. Through these methods the prison company became a model enterprise with the Fascist regime's enthusiastic support and also provided Parrini with a great deal of easy money.

Some of the 900 Pisticci prisoners greeted the news of Mussolini's arrest on July 25, 1943, with shouts of joy and the singing of national anthems and antifascist songs. However, they also committed several acts of violence; for example, a Fascist militiaman was forcibly hurled into a gorge. In the days that followed, the colony's director slowly proceeded with the release of a number of detainees and internees chosen among the less politicized Italians. In mid-August the communists were released, while the anarchists, espionage suspects, and, most importantly, some 700 Slavs—both the minorities from Venezia Giulia and "ex-Yugoslavs"—had to stay. Many of them who were not released resorted to hunger strikes in protest. On August 17, at the request of the colony's director, 4 additional policemen and 12 militiamen reinforced the camp's security. At the same time, after having arrested and transferred to prisons the most unruly elements, the Matera prefect asked the Directorate General of Public Security to provide military reinforcements and to transfer at least half of the Slavs to other camps.

In response, the War Ministry issued an order to transfer 350 Slavs from Pisticci to the Chiesanuova concentration camp (close to Padua) on September 1, 1943, but because of many logistical difficulties at the time, it was not executed. This is why, despite all the protests and unrest, the Pisticci camp remained formally in operation until September 13, 1943, when one Slavic internee escaped and traveled secretly to the large port city of Taranto to establish contact with the recently landed British forces. The internee soon returned to Pisticci with a group of British soldiers who ordered the camp's closure. This situation ended on a bloody note, however, as the Fascist militiaman Antonio Blancagemma was killed while trying to resist the soldiers.

After the official closure of the Pisticci concentration camp, the place became a displaced persons (DP) camp under the authority of Commissioner Bartolomeo Malvasi and the supervision of two Allied soldiers, Colonel Lansill and Captain Eddeng. Some 18,000

refugees, including several Jewish ex-internees and displaced Italians from Abruzzo, Lazio, and Campania, moved through the camp until the end of World War II. The British officer who organized the DP camp was Lieutenant John C. Hanshaw, killed soon thereafter at the front at Cassino.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Pisticci camp include Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 232–234; Giuseppe Coniglio, *La colonia confinaria di Pisticci: Dal ventennio fascista alla nascita di Marconia* (Metaponto: Legatoria Lucana, 1999); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *Fašistična taborišča. Internacije civilistov v fašistični Italiji (1940–1943)* (Ljubljana: Publicistično društvo ZAK, prev. Nevenka Troha, 2011), pp. 210–212; and Arturo Dallepiane, *La lunga via della libertà: Testimonianze per servire la storia della Resistenza* (Milan: Silva, 1963).

Primary sources documenting the Pisticci camp can be found in the following collections at ACS: Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Ufficio confino di polizia (Affari generali), Cat. 710/50; and Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 131, fasc. 16 (Campi di concentramento), sf. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 24/"Matera," ss. ff. 6, 7. Additional documentation can be found in AUSSME, fond M3, B. 67; and A-RS, collection AS 1840 7. The camp is also briefly mentioned in a CM/1 file in the ITS. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. There are a number of documents and archival citations on the Pisticci camp available at www.campifascisti.it.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

POGGIO TERZA ARMATA

Poggio Terza Armata (also called Zdravščina or Sdraussina), literally "Third Army Hill" (probably named for a troop presence in World War I), is a village under the civic administration of the commune of Sagrado in the province of Gorizia, located some 103 kilometers (64 miles) east of Venice, not far from the Isonzo River and very close to the border of modern-day Slovenia. The camp there opened in September 1942 at the order of the Interior Ministry with the assistance of the Inspectorate of Public Security (*Ispettorato di Pubblica Sicurezza*), for the region of Venezia Giulia. It occupied a former textile factory that had closed in 1936 and had employed about 1,000 workers.

In a document from 1942, the camp was described as being in the

> site of the village (*frazione*) of Poggio Terza Armata of Sagrado, adapted as a subsidiary prison for the temporary detention of family members of elements ascertained to be, or strongly indicated as, members of rebel bands, in the face of which it is held necessary, considering the particular period of political emergency in this Province, to adopt measures of internment, which will take place from time to time, according to the previous *nulla osta* [a Latin term, used in Italian administration to mean 'let nothing hinder'] and following the orders of the said ministry.[1]

Poggio Terza Armata was a transit camp, where prisoners were kept before they were either transferred to their destination camps, such as the concentration camp at Cairo Montenotte; sent to the "special battalions" set up by the Royal Army for suspect Italians or *allogeni* (ethnically or linguistically Slavonic or Croat people of Italian nationality); or judged by the Special Court for the Defense of the State (*Tribunale Speciale per la Difesa dello Stato*). Its maximum capacity was about 3,000.

The camp lacked basic amenities such as proper toilets or bathrooms, exercise yards, shops, or other areas commonly found in Italian concentration camps or prisons. As a result the detainees were locked in their cells for long periods of time, and this prolonged confinement only added to the camp's discomforts. Indeed, only one hour of "air" a day was granted to inmates—an hour in which they were allowed to leave their cells to walk in a courtyard surrounded by walls 4 meters (13 feet) high. The paucity of food and health services made internment conditions particularly difficult. Documents describe inmates brought to Trieste for interrogation by the Special Inspectorate and then returning to the camp in a terrible state, yet they received no proper medical attention.

According to historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco there are no data indicating the number of detainees who came from the little towns of the Vipacco, Isontino, Tarnovano, and Postumiese regions. Most of the detainees were male, but there were a few women among the inmates, and even some entire family units: they were relatives of partisans or suspected partisans detained for preemptive action, as well as youths who resisted conscription. Some thousands of civilians (almost all of them *allogeni*), among whom were persons considered suspicious according to various categories and partisans real or presumed, passed from this camp to the Special Court.

The direction of the camp was under the jurisdiction of the police, (*Pubblica Sicurezza*), while the surveillance of the detainees was entrusted to the army and to the Volunteer Militia for National Security (*Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN, better known as the *Camicie nere* or Blackshirts).

The last extant document relating to the camp that survives is a telegram from the prefect of Gorizia to the Interior Ministry on March 18, 1944, which announced the closure of the camps at Poggio Terza Armata and Castagnavizza, following the September 8, 1943, Armistice, although both camps continued to hold some inmates until December 1943. By the time the German authorities attempted to establish their own camps at these sites, according to the telegram, the local population and inmates had destroyed or

looted the structures and building materials at the camps (see the entry on Castagnavizza for the full document).[2]

SOURCES The camp at Poggio Terza Armata receives a mention in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 267.

The most important archival sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 108 and 142.

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NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 142.
2. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 108.

POLLENZA (AKA VILLA LAURI)

Pollenza is a small town in the province of Macerata in central Italy approximately 167 kilometers (104 miles) northeast of Rome. The concentration camp at Pollenza opened in June 1940 on the orders of the Interior Ministry for the purpose of detaining foreign and Italian women. Situated in a private villa owned by Marchesa Isabella Piccolini Costa in the township of San Lucia and called Villa Lauri, it was surrounded by a fenced park of 6 hectares (almost 15 acres). Villa Lauri's original capacity was set at 150 inmates, but was reduced to 90 in the summer of 1942. The structure was adapted to its new use with the construction of kitchens, washrooms, and toilets and the provision of drinking water and electrical power. In June 1941, the showers were provided with hot water. A large living room on the ground floor was made into a refectory. For every internee, the camp provided a cot, a "little mattress," two sheets, a pillow, and a bedcover.

The internees were not required to work; they could stroll in the park surrounding the villa and for a time were allowed to attend church on Sundays. Through the intervention of the papal nunciature, a priest would come to the camp occasionally to hear confession from Catholic inmates. Until the Armistice of September 8, 1943, the number of internees varied between 40 and 80. On February 12, 1942, all 65 women from the Lanciano camp were brought to Pollenza. On December 31, 1942, there were 28 Jews in the camp. Between September 29 and 30, 1943, the German authorities transferred all the internees to the camp at Sforzacosta.

The camp had a high turnover in leadership. In September 1940, the director was Commissioner of Public Security Mario Bitozzi. Franco Giuseppe replaced him in November 1940, but was soon succeeded by Guilio De Mase, who served until May 1941. From January 1942 to June 1943, the director was Domenico Petriccione, who in turn was replaced by Giulio Dandolo. The female director in October 1940 was Fedora Lazzaroni Matteucci,

who was followed by Annunziata Spada, an elementary schoolteacher who served until October 7, 1942, when her position was taken over by Paola Millozzi. In February 1943, Anna Dalnegro took over from Millozzi as female director, but was dismissed from service on April 19, 1943. Spada returned as director on August 27, 1943.

Due to the incompetence of its directors, the camp had serious problems. On April 29, 1941, General Inspector Carlo Rosati dispatched a report to the Interior Ministry after inspecting the camp with representatives of the Italian Red Cross and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The report made some harsh judgments of the leadership of De Mase, whose manner of treating the internees was characterized as "rough" and who had not changed his behavior despite the exhortations of the provincial police chief (*questore*) of nearby Macerata. More than that, he had not improved the inmates' living conditions, as Rosati previously requested, and he could not even present an itemization of the camp's food provisions. In addition, he was extremely rude to the Red Cross inspectors, which led to Rosati's dismissal. The Interior Ministry removed director Anna Dalnegro because of her inability to run the camp: she was considered to be "weak and timid, without any experience of life due to her young age."[1]

After the Armistice of September 8, 1943, some inmates succeeded in escaping from the camp, which was probably unguarded, but they were quickly captured and brought back to the camp by the Germans and the Fascists. In January 1944, the Italian Social Republic's (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) Interior Ministry reopened the camp to contain foreign and Italian Jews residing in the province. The documents relating to the camp's RSI phase are scarce, the most important being a letter from the police chief (*questore*) of Macerata of March 26, 1944, to the Interior Ministry according to which "50 persons of the Jewish race" were in the camp. It also mentioned that "in recent days the camp has been assailed by rebel bands, which have taken away various objects from the guard barracks, disarming the camp director himself and the Carabinieri on guard duty."[2] During the attack on the camp, six Jews succeeded in fleeing and joining the partisans. On March 31, 1944, the Nazi SS closed the camp and transferred all the internees to the camp at Fossoli di Carpi.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the camp at Pollenza are limited to Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, 2 vols., trans. Loredana Melissari (Scandicci: La Nuova Italia, 1993–1996), 2: 62–65, which gives some information on the camps in the vicinity of Macerata; and an entry in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 189–190.

The principal archival sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 4 and 9; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 117, 121, 128, and 129.

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NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 4 and 9; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 128.

2. Ibid.

PONZA

Ponza is the principal island of the Pontine Archipelago, located off the Roman coast about 109 kilometers (68 miles) west of Naples in the Tyrrhenian Sea. One of the historical sites of Fascist internment, the prison colony had housed thousands of political opponents after the promulgation of the Exceptional Laws and the creation of the totalitarian regime (*Stato totalitario*). It began operation on July 29, 1928, and in only a few years held up to 450 prisoners. To oversee the mass of detainees, the guard corps consisted, in 1930, of 67 policemen and more than 300 members of the Volunteer Militia for National Security (*Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN, better known as the *Camicie nere* or Blackshirts). Among the prisoners were some of the most important and famous exponents of communist and democratic antifascism, including Umberto Terracini, Camilla Ravera, Pietro Secchia, Alessandro Pertini, Ernesto Rossi, and Riccardo Bauer.

Ponza closed in 1939, but in the summer of 1941 the Interior Ministry decided to reopen the old prison colony to house civilians arrested in the Balkans, who had been rounded up as part of the operations undertaken to suppress the Yugoslav resistance, on the request of the governor of Dalmatia. A line drawn from Piazza Chiesa, the Prefecture building, the Grand Parade, via Umberto, and ending at the Discesa Scalpellini delineated the camp's new perimeter. Along the sea the perimeter was drawn from Piazza Principe di Napoli, then to Corso Principe Napoli and via Dante, and all the way to the second big grotto, for a total of 1,800 square meters (2,153 square yards).

The Ponza camp is one of the few for which camp regulations are available. The prefect of Littoria, Cimoroni, set down these rules in October 1941:

1. The internees will not be able to cross the perimeter of the concentration camp without special authorization, signed by

the camp director;

2. The internees will be forbidden to leave the occupied area (the *abitato*, the inhabited area of the town of Ponza) without the written permission of the Ministry;
3. The inmates will not be allowed to leave their respective quarters without special authorization and a due reason, before dawn, or to return after the Ave Maria;
4. There will be three daily roll calls, one in the morning before leaving quarters, one at midday before the meal, and one at the point of the return to camp;
5. The internees may eat in communal dining halls with the army or with private families, with the permission of the camp director;
6. The internees have the duty of behaving well and above suspicion, and to maintain the appropriate discipline;
7. Those who break the abovementioned rules will be punished to the full extent of the law.[1]

The inmates could move freely within the camp perimeter, under the surveillance of armed guards, and in the hot months they could swim in the sea, but only if required for "personal cleanliness."

The first contingent of prisoners—193 Montenegrins (178 men and 15 women) defined as "nationalist Communists"—arrived on the island on March 5, 1942. A second group of 112 men and 24 women arrived on March 24. In June 1942, a group of "undesirable intellectuals" arrived from the Albanian internment camps at Prezë and Puke: this group consisted of Serbs from Kosovo, an area assigned to "Greater Albania" in the Italian-occupied Balkans. In November 1942, nine Greeks were sent to the camp from the island of Corfù. In the course of 1943 other groups of Montenegrins were dispatched to the Ponza camp. The number of inmates thereby rose from 193 on March 5, 1942, to 708 by July 15, 1943.

An April 1943 list compiled by the camp director divides the detainees into the following categories:

Nationality	Women	Race

Montenegrins	2392	Aryan
Greeks	103	Aryan
Albanians	2186	Aryan
Ex-Yugoslavs	49	Aryan
Bulgars	0	Aryan
Russians	0	Aryan
Hungarians	0	Jewish

Within the Montenegrin groups, tensions developed because of political differences. After a nationalist faction positioned itself against a politically neutral group, a brawl broke out between some of the female prisoners on September 30, 1942. Only the intervention of a carabiniere contained the fight, which ended with the arrest and transfer to prison of some of the women.

As in all the camps run by the Interior Ministry, a police officer from the *Pubblica Sicurezza* (police) was made director. The first was Commissioner Attilio Bandini, who was later replaced by an officer from the secret police (*Organizzazione Vigilanza Repressione Antifascismo*, OVRA) Sebastiano Vassallo. Assisting the director were 35 policemen and about 50 carabinieri. The island's state-funded doctor, assisted by an intern—a medical student who acted as an "all-purpose nurse"—provided health services. Sanitary conditions of the camp rapidly worsened due to the difficulty of provisioning Ponza. Moreover, the camp personnel mismanaged the camp. On October 7, 1942, the head of the camp canteen was arrested due to irregularities in the running of the food service. After this scandal the director, Bandini, was removed from the camp and replaced. The food service was thereafter put in the hands of the prisoners themselves, who ran it autonomously. After a protest from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in January 1943, an inspector general sent a long report to the Interior Ministry describing the poor sanitary conditions of the camp in dramatic terms.

A power struggle between the carabinieri, responsible for camp surveillance, and the camp director at that time, Sebastiano Vassallo, also began in January 1943. The director reported the marshal (*maresciallo*) of the carabinieri for his rough handling of various internees and for having slapped the inmate Giucchin

Milutin di Arso in the doorway of a shop. In this report, Vassallo suggested that the marshal be replaced. Then, in a memorandum to the Interior Ministry, the carabinieri accused the director of laxness, denouncing the total lack of discipline among the Montenegrins and Vassallo's inability to maintain order. More than six months later, on July 30, 1943, the carabinieri sent another memorandum criticizing the director's complete ineptness. They accused him of visiting the prisoners' quarters and saying "Mussolini and Fascism no longer exist. In a few days it will all be over and you will all be freed."[2]

After Benito Mussolini's arrest on July 25, 1943, the soldiers stationed on the island joined the antifascists and foreign prisoners in a spontaneous demonstration of joy for the fall of Fascism, mistakenly believing that the toppling of the dictator also meant the end of the war. Two days later Mussolini was transferred to the island on the order of the new prime minister, Pietro Badoglio. Mussolini stayed for 12 days in Ponza in the house where Ras Immirù (an Ethiopian military chief) was interned after the Italo-Ethiopian War. The carabinieri kept him under close guard. In the night of August 6, 1943, Mussolini was taken aboard the ship *Pantera* and transferred to the Sardinian island of Maddalena, because Ponza was not considered secure enough.

On August 28, 1943, the Interior Ministry decided to close the camp because of the difficulty of supplying it. Half the prisoners were sent to the Italian mainland on September 7, and the remainder on the next day, September 8, when the Armistice was signed between Italy and the Allies. The prisoners were then transferred to the camps of Renicci and Le Fraschette of Alatri.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the camp at Ponza are limited to Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 202–203; and Silverio Corvisieri, *La villeggiatura di Mussolini: Il confino da Bocchini a Berlusconi* (Milan: Baldini Castoldi Dalai, 2004), pp. 267–285. There is some information about the camp director, Attilio Bandini, in Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, *Poliziotti* (Rome: Cooper, 2004), pp. 59–60. For the period before 1939, see Adriano Dal Pont, *I lager di Mussolini:*

L'altra faccia del confino nei documeti della polizia fascista (Milan: La Pietra, 1975); and s.v., *Enciclopedia dell' antifascismo e della Resistenza*, 6 vols. (Milan: La Pietra, 1968–1989).

The principal archival sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 4 and 9; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 117 and 127.

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Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 9; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 127.

2. Ibid.

PRIGNANO SULLA SECCHIA

The commune of Prignano sulla Secchia is located nearly 30 kilometers (more than 18 miles) southwest of Modena in the region of Emilia Romagna. The town is located in the lower Apennine Mountains close to Modena, nestled in the valleys formed by the Secchia River and one of its tributaries, Rossena Creek. The administrative area encompasses more than 80 square kilometers (31 square miles), with an altitude ranging between 168 and 870 meters (551 to 2,854 feet) above sea level.

On September 11, 1940, the chief of the Italian police, Arturo Bocchini, issued Circular No. 63462/10 ordering a roundup of all "Gypsies" (Italian: *zingari*, Roma and Sinti) of Italian nationality, known or presumed, who still enjoyed freedom.[1] The letter instructed the prefects of all provinces of the Kingdom of Italy to identify places suitable for the concentration of Sinti in territories under their jurisdiction.[2] In response, the authorities of the Modena province chose to establish a concentration camp in the town of Prignano sulla Secchia.

The first Sinti families arrived on November 11, 1940, escorted by the carabinieri; they had been arrested while resting with their caravans in the city of Modena for their usual winter break. The caravans were taken to the communal sports field while those families without caravans were accommodated in a house—referred to as Ca' Iantella—rented by the Prignano commune from Giuseppe and Angela Fantini.[3] It appears that the ground floor of the house, a stable, was used as a dormitory, and the upper floor was used as the kitchen.[4] The internees' living conditions were very difficult because there were a large number of children and each family received only a paltry allowance (5.5 lire per day for the head of the family in addition to 1 lira per day for all other family members) to pay for heating, clothing, and medicine. For those internees who did not have their own caravan, an additional amount of 50 lire per month was provided per family to rent one of the commune's stables. The scarcity of food and the hardships

caused by the lack of drinking water, latrines, and firewood for heating were described in communications between the mayor, Interior Ministry, the police, and Modena's prefect.[5]

The carabinieri from the Prignano barracks checked the sports field and the stables every evening to see that the internees had not escaped. The internees could only move around the town during the day. A written permit from the public security authorities was required to travel to other communes or engage in labor activities outside the communal area.

It is difficult to reconstruct the internment of Sinti in this locality, both because of the number of internees and the arrangements through which the camp was eventually disbanded. In fact, there is only one file compiled by the communal authorities with personal data for 79 Italian Sinti, and there is no indication of its date. The summary chart compiled by the Interior Ministry on January 13, 1941, mentions 67 people interned at Prignano sulla Secchia, of whom 44 were minors.[6] But this document does not provide any personal data about the internees. More documentation related to this place of internment can be found in the Modena State Archives, according to which there were around 90 internees there in the spring and summer of 1941.[7] That number dropped to 25 to 30 in the summer of 1942.[8] Some documents show that, starting in April 1942, the internees' ability to move about was restricted, which also resulted in the first attempts to flee the camp.

In addition to the varying numbers of internees, the archival documents confirm that by the summer of 1943 there were no longer any Sinti in Prignano. Some had escaped in early 1942, and the last remaining families left the country in March 1943, either with official permission from the authorities or because there was no opposition to their leaving.[9] Yet several Sinti who had escaped before this date were found by the police and sent back to the camp throughout 1943. For example, Truzzi Eva Marsiglia, who escaped from Prignano along with her husband, children, and a grand daughter, was eventually arrested in Piacenza in July 1943 and immediately sent back to Prignano sulla Secchia. Six days later, July 30, 1943, she escaped again, and the police searched for her until December 1943.[10]

Male adults regularly enlisted into the Italian Army and, to pay for their training, several families were stripped of the military aid they previously received.[11]

SOURCES Evidence of the internment of Sinti in Prignano sulla Secchia is included in Gnugo De Bar, *Strada, patria sinta: Cento anni di storia nel racconto di un saltimbanco sinto* (Florence: Fatatrac, 1998). De Bar's parents were interned there. Other testimonies were collected by Paola Trevisan, *Storie e vite di Sinti dell'Emilia* (Roma: CISU, 2005). Early analyses of the documents in the Modena State Archives on Prignano are found in Paola Trevisan, "Un campo di concentramento per 'zingari' italiani a Prignano sulla Secchia," *L'Almanacco* 29: 55–56 (2010): 7–30, and "The Internment of Italian Sinti in the Province of Modena during Fascism: From Ethnographic to Archival Research," *RomS* 23: 2 (December 2013): 139–160.

Primary sources documenting the Prignano sulla Secchia camp can be found in ASMo, especially the prefecture: Prefettura di Modena, Atti Generali, 1943, B. 502; Prefettura di Modena, Atti Generali, 1942, B. 474, fasc. Prignano; Prefettura di Modena, Atti Generali, 1941, B. 441; and the prefectural cabinet: Prefettura di Modena, Gabinetto, 1941, B. 598; Prefettura di Modena, Gabinetto, 1942, B. 630/2; Prefettura di Modena, Gabinetto, 1943, B. 653. Documentation related to the internees' expenses can be found in ACS, Mi, Polizia Amministrativa e Sociale, già Divisione di Polizia, sezione III, 1940–1975, B. 221, fasc. Modena (1940–1943); a preliminary survey of Roma and Sinti inducted into the Italian military can be found in ACS, Mi, Dir. Gen. Pubblica Sicurezza, Divisione polizia, B. 23. A testimony about the camp is available at www.prignanoinforma.it.

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Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Pubblica Sicurezza, M 4, B. 105.
2. ACS, Mi, Polizia Amministrativa e Sociale, già Divisione di Polizia, sezione III, 1940–1975, B. 221.

3. Ibid., fasc. Modena, 1943.

4. Interview of Lella Boilini with Sista Ternelli Macchioni of Prignano, available at www.prignanoinforma.it.

5. ASMo, Prefettura di Modena, Gabinetto, 1943, B. 653; Prefettura di Modena, Gabinetto, 1942, B. 630/2; Prefettura di Modena, Gabinetto, 1941, B. 598.

6. ACS, Mi, Polizia Amministrativa e Sociale, già Divisione di Polizia, sezione III, 1940–1975, B. 221, fasc. zingari fermati, 1940.

7. ASMo, Prefettura di Modena, Atti Generali, 1941, B. 441.

8. ASMo, Prefettura di Modena, Atti Generali, 1942, B. 474, fasc. Prignano.

9. ACS, Mi, Polizia Amministrativa e Sociale, già Divisione di Polizia, sezione III, 1940–1975, B. 221, fasc. Modena, 1940; ASMo, Prefettura di Modena, Atti Generali, 1943, B. 502.

10. ASMo, Questura, Divisione II, categoria II, Casellario Polizia.

11. ACS, Mi, Dir. Gen. Pubblica Sicurezza, Divisione polizia, B. 23.

RENICCI DI ANGHIARI

Anghiari, in the Arezzo province, is approximately 186 kilometers (116 miles) north of Rome. The Italian Army established a concentration camp some 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) northwest of Anghiari's historical center in the neighborhood of La Mòtina, an agricultural area with sandy terrain (hence, the toponym "renicci") close to the Tevere River. The area was known for its small oak forest. The Renicci camp was on an 11-hectare (27-acre) parcel of land, to which another 6 hectares were later added. The camp was projected to hold approximately 9,000 interned civilian Slovenes and Croats.

Construction began in July 1942, but only two of the camp's three planned sectors were ever completed. These two sectors included 24 large brick buildings for the internees, lodging for camp guards, canteens, ware houses, offices, and bathrooms. The camp management had its own section set up in the front of the camp. The facility was fenced in with barbed wire flanked by watchtowers.

Colonello di fanteria Giuseppe Pistone commanded the Renicci camp. He developed a reputation for having a tough and uncompromising attitude. Tenente Colonello Fiorenzuola and Maggiore Rossi acted as sector commanders and had at their disposal approximately 200 police and soldiers. The first internees, all males, arrived on a transport from the Gonars camp (Udine province) on October 7, 1942, soon after the construction of Renicci began: the only completed structures were those for housing the guards, as well as the barbed-wire fence and watchtowers. Hence the first group of prisoners lived in tents, with the smallest tents cramming in 15 to 20 people and the large tents holding up to 60. Only in May 1943 were the internees moved to brick buildings.

Many other transports followed from the camps at Chiesanuova (Padova) and Arbe (Fiume). By the end of October, Renicci already held 1,300 internees, a number that grew to 3,950 by

December 1942: the population consisted of men aged 12 to 70. The first transfers and releases from Renicci only began after December 1942. Internment at Renicci was particularly harsh because of the cold and food shortages. Life in small and overcrowded tents fostered the spread of parasites and infectious diseases. The Italian Army doctor, assisted in his work by three internees, could do little, given the scarce medication, poor food, and poor sanitary conditions. Indeed, the internees had no access to running water (which was often unavailable even in the kitchens), and the latrines, which were insufficient in number, were placed out in the open and sheltered by crumbling canopies that were often blown down by the wind. Due to continuous hunger, a reality complained about in January 1943 by the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI), the Interior Ministry, and the Foreign Affairs Ministry, many internees resorted to eating acorns from the many oak trees nearby. Only a small number of internees who managed to secure "employment" as barbers or shoe makers or the ones engaged in the construction of camp buildings fared a little better.

Due to dysentery, malnutrition, and starvation, there were some 100 deaths among the internees by the end of January 1943; 159 deaths were recorded throughout the entire period of the camp's existence, with 3 to 4 cases occurring daily during the coldest months. A nearby village graveyard, hitherto abandoned, had to be reopened to allow burials of those who died in the camp. Except for a few notable cases (for example, Tenente Rouep is clearly remembered as being supportive), the Renicci camp's administration treated the detainees as if they were criminals; for instance, 70 were identified as hostages against whom the army could retaliate in case of riots or collective insubordination.

The living conditions of internees began to improve at the end of January 1943. The situation changed because the authorities decided to stop delaying food supplies sent to the internees by their families, the weather improved, and supplies of shoes and clothing were delivered. In addition, during this period many internees were released or transferred, whether due to the intervention of the Vatican or the Italian authorities. Very often such releases were conditional by a commitment on the part of the liberated internees to join collaborationist militias. The apostolic

nuncio to the Italian government, Monsignor Francesco Borgongini-Duca, visited the camp on February 16, 1943, bringing the internees (at that time all civilians from occupied Yugoslavia, including several Jews) greetings from the pope, along with a sum of money donated by the pontiff. The Jewish aid organization, Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM), also intervened on several occasions to help the few Jews held at Renicci.

Between late July and August 1943 (with Mussolini's regime crumbling), the Renicci camp was selected by the new government of Pietro Badoglio as a place of confinement for a large number of deportees, both Italians and foreigners, evacuated from the south (mostly Sardinia and the small confinement islands of Ustica, Ponza, and Ventotene) following the Allied advance. To separate Italian internees from foreigners, the camp management put up a double-wire mesh fence to divide each of the camp's two sectors, thus virtually creating a third one. There were some prominent antifascist figures present among the newly arrived internees, such as Albanian Lazar Fundo, Slovenian Jože Srebrnić, and Italians Vincenzo Gigante, Alfonso Failla, and Giorgio Jaksetich, yet all remained prisoners despite the end of the Fascist government.

"Young Concentration Camp Inmate" by Drago Vidmar, 1942–1943. Renicci, Italy. USHMM WS #27613, COURTESY OF MUZEJ NOVEJSE ZGODOVINE. SLOVEN WE/NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY, SLOVENIA.

In early 1943, the Slavic internees created a clandestine antifascist political organization at Renicci. With the fall of Mussolini, this group abandoned its clandestine structure and organized paramilitary groups that later began "patrolling" the camp. Such a state of affairs set the tone for continuing tension between the Italian guards and the prisoners. The latter demanded immediate release in the knowledge that the Fascist dictatorship had already fallen. Tension grew notably following the news of the proclamation of the Armistice on September 8, upon which the internees asked the camp's command if they could take up arms, as well as take full control over the camp, in order to defend themselves in case of a German attack. When this request was turned down by the Italian command, numerous protests broke out

in the three sectors of the camp, culminating in a fierce confrontation with the guards during which four internees were injured.

At last, on the afternoon of September 14, the approach of German troops led to the flight of the frightened Italian soldiers. Except for the sick who were incapable of movement, the camp emptied out completely within a short period of time, with more than 3,000 Slavic internees vacating the facility. Many made their way toward the Apennines. In large part, they joined the Italian partisans. Another group of about 700 Slavs was captured by the Germans and taken back to Renicci where, on September 23, 1943, they were deported to the Reich. In November, a "second Renicci camp" (first guarded by the militias and then the police) was opened by the newly founded collaborationist state of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI). However, this camp only accommodated political internees and was not part of the provincial camps for Jews set up at the time (even in Italy) to carry out deportations of the Jews.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Renicci di Anghiari camp include Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *Renicci: Un campo di concentramento in riva al Tevere* (1998; Milan: Mursia, 2003); Giorgio Sacchetti, "Renicci: Un campo di concentramento per slavi ed anarchici," in Ivano Tognarini, ed., *Guerra di sterminio e Resistenza: La provincia di Arezzo (1943–1944)* (Naples: Edi zioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1990), pp. 225–261; Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *Fašistična taborišča. Internacije civilistov v fašistični Italijia (1940–1943)* (Ljubljana: Publicistično društvo ZAK, prev. Nevenka Troha, 2011), pp. 235–238; Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 259–261; Daniele Finzi, *La vita quotidiana di un campo di concentramento fascista: Ribelli sloveni nel querceto di Renicci-Anghiari (Arezzo)* (Rome: Carocci, 2004); Božidar Jezernik, *Struggle for Survival: Italian Concentration Camps for Slovenes during the Second World War*, trans. Martin Cregreen (Ljubljana: Društvo za preučevanje zgodovine, literature in antropologije, 1999); and Irma Taddia, *Autobiografie africane: Il colonialismo nelle*

memorie orali (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1996).

Primary sources documenting the Renicci di Anghiari camp can be found in VaB, Anj, Rednoi broj 17/8-4, K. 316; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime," M4, B. 110, ins. 43/r "Campo di Renicci di Anghiari"; AUSSME, F. H8-Crimini di guerra, Racc. 104, Relazione dell'ex direttore del campo; and ITS, collection 6.1.1 (Predecessor Organizations), folder 106. The CNI of the ITS also contains a few references to Renicci prisoners. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

ROCCATEDERIGHI

Roccatederighi is located 85 kilometers (53 miles) southwest of the regional capital of Florence and 29 kilometers (18 miles) north of the prefectural capital of Grosseto. It was the site of a provincial camp for Jews under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI). With characteristic diligence, the provincial head (*capo*) of Grosseto—Alceo Ercolani, who was in power from October 1943 to June 1944—adopted anti-Jewish measures even before receiving precise directives from the RSI. This pattern repeated itself in the case of the establishment of the Roccatederighi camp, which preceded Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi.[1]

In fact, on November 24, 1943, in a letter addressed to the director of the newly established camp, the command of the local legion of the Volunteer Militia for National Security (*Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN), the Interior Ministry, and the Grosseto police headquarters, Ercolani ordered as follows:

> It is henceforth instituted in the part of Roccatederighi (commune of Roccastrada) a concentration camp where all Italian Jews from the province of Grosseto will be detained, even if under discriminatory conditions. A responsible director will oversee the camp's watch and administration, and will have at his disposal Public Security (*Pubblica Sicurezza*) agents, an assigned militia unit and an adequate number of Carabinieri. Thus, I order that the said camp be put into operation from the 28th. For this purpose, I appoint Rizziello Gaetano as the director of the camp effective from Friday 26th …. Three PS agents, or auxiliaries, will be assigned with the director and will provide for internal surveillance of the camp's premises. By Saturday the 27th, the command of the 98th Legion will send to the site 20

> militiamen along with one officer, munition for at least two machine guns and two submachine guns, and a sufficient number of bombs (grenades) for each militiaman.[2]

In a communication the next day addressed solely to the Interior Ministry, Ercolani specified that he would examine, on a case-by-case basis, those prisoners meriting "special consideration." He further noted that, to cover the costs of the "first purchases," he had identified 100,000 lire in the prefecture's general funds that would then "be reinstated by proceeds from movable and immovable pieces of property pertaining to the said Jews."[3] The Interior Ministry responded testily, writing "that the establishment and organization of concentration camps … [was] … in the competence of this Ministry only." It also asked for "clarifications regarding the establishment of the concentration camp in question, preferring a detailed account from the camp's designated director, Rizziello Gaetano."[4]

It remains unknown how many Jews in total were detained at Roccatederighi. However, it was reported that, on March 25, 1944, 80 Jews were brought there, of whom 39 were foreigners and 41 were Italians. It is believed that 17 prisoners may have been liberated due to poor health or old age.[5]

There is some information available on the camp's lodging situation and its overall capacity. The Grosseto chief of police, Vincenzo Mancuso, stated,

> Every body is accommodated in four large rooms. The two rooms on the first floor are for men while the other two, on the second floor, are for women. Discipline and decency are followed, and the camp has always functioned normally to the extent that, ever since its establishment, there has not been reported any attempt to escape, nor any other incident of even a slight importance. Based on mutual agreement with the commissioner of the Roccastrada prefecture, the necessary camp supplies are provided through monthly ration vouchers while there is also an up-to-date camp's registry regarding loading and unloading of the rationed items. There would be a space for thirty more people; a corresponding number of beds is missing, however.[6]

Italian Jews tended to receive preferential treatment over foreign Jews. Some Italian Jews from the Grossetano region benefited from their friendship networks in the province, which enabled them to avoid deportation north of the Alps.

One group was transferred, in two successive waves, to other camps in Italy before deportation, mostly to Auschwitz. In contrast, the other group largely remained in Italy. On April 17, 1944, 21 detainees, of whom there were only 9 Italians, were transferred to the Fossoli transit camp. On June 7, another 25 were sent to Scipione di Salsomaggiore in the Parma province. In the end, 10 Italians and 4 foreigners remained at Roccatederighi, and the total number deported to Nazi Germany was 38.

Testimony on the Roccatederighi camp is sparse. Historian Luciana Rocchi notes that the detainees had some freedom of movement in the neighboring town and cultivated friendly relations with the locals.

A veil of ambiguity surrounds the behavior of the bishop (*Vescovo*) of Grosseto, who entered into a rental agreement with the provincial head, because the camp was established on property that was the site of an annual episcopal seminar. After the liberation of Roccatederighi, the local prefecture was given back the rent paid to the episcopate of Grosseto, which the bishop's offices had never deposited. Under such a circumstance, it can be argued that the episcopate of Grosseto was forced to cede its seminar space without compensation for the establishment of the camp.[7]

The Roccatederighi camp was closed on June 9, 1944, during the Allied liberation of Grosseto.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the provincial camp for Jews at Roccatederighi are Luciana Rocchi, ed., *La persecuzione degli ebrei nella provincia di Grosseto nel 1943–1944* (1996; Grosseto: Istituto Storico Grossetano della Resistenza e dell'Età Contemporanea, Amministrazione Provinciale di Grosseto, 2002); Rocchi, "Ebrei nella Toscana meridionale: La persecuzione a Siena e Grosseto," in Enzo Collotti, ed., *La Persecuzione contro gli ebrei in Toscana 1938–1943*, 2 vols. (Rome: Carocci, 1999),

1: 254–325; and Enzo Colloti, ed., *Ebrei in Toscana tra occupazione tedesca e RSI: Persecuzione, depredazione, deportazione (1943–1945)*, vol. 2 (Rome: Carocci, 2007).

Primary sources on the provincial camp for Jews at Roccatederighi can be found in ACS, Mi, Pubblica Sicurezza, "Massime" B. 142; and ACV-G. These sources are reproduced in Rocchi, ed., *La persecuzione degli ebrei nella provincia di Grosseto*.

Giovanna D'Amico
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

2. Comunicazione della Prefettura di Grosseto firmata da Ercolani e rinvenuta in ivi, November 24, 1943, ACS, Mi, Pubblica Sicurezza, "Massime" B. 142, reproduced in Rocchi, *La persecuzione degli ebrei nella provincia di Grosseto*, pp. 41–42.

3. La comunicazione è a firma di Ercolani, ACS, Mi, Pubblica Sicurezza, "Massime" B. 142, reproduced in ibid., p. 43.

4. Riposta, December 7, 1943, ACS, Mi, Pubblica Sicurezza, "Massime" B. 142, reproduced in ibid., p. 47.

5. Risposta del questore di Grosseto, Vincenzo Mancuso, al telegramma n° 451 della Dgps, March, 25, 1944, ACS, Mi, Pubblica Sicurezza, "Massime" B. 142, reproduced in ibid., p. 50.

6. Ibid.

7. Contrato, November 26, 1943, ACV-G, f. Seminario di Roccatederighi, reproduced in ibid., pp. 44–45; Il Vescovo di Grossetto, al il Mi, Roma, September 19, 1944, ACV-G, f. Seminario di Roccatederighi, reproduced in ibid., p. 54.

SAN TOMASO DELLA FOSSA

Located in the province of Reggio Emilia, in the Emilia Ro-magna region, San Tomaso della Fossa is a small village roughly 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the town of Bagnolo in Piano and approximately 141 kilometers (87 miles) southeast of Milan. The internment camp of San Tomaso della Fossa opened on January 9, 1944, for internees sent from the closed internment camp at Montechiarugolo in the Parma province. Originally set up to hold citizens of "enemy nations," the Montechiarugolo camp had been closed down by the Germans for security reasons. The few internees left in the camp after the arrival of German forces were subsequently sent to the city of Santa Croce where they temporarily occupied one of the local school buildings. After a heavy bombardment by the Allied Air Forces on Reggio Emilia on the night of January 8, 1944, during which several buildings, including the school where the prisoners were staying, were damaged or completely destroyed, the internees were relocated to a former school building in San Tomaso della Fossa.

According to Peter Grant, the youngest San Tomaso internee, the camp held approximately half the number of detainees living in the Montechiarugolo camp at the time of the German troops' arrival.[1] More precisely, the contingent sent to San Tomaso della Fossa consisted of 60 men aged between 17 and 62, most of whom were from Great Britain (47 detainees); there were also citizens of France (13), the Netherlands (1), United States (1), Canada (1), and Australia (1), as well as one stateless Armenian Turk among the internees. An International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) report, which also identified the camp as Bagnolo in Piano, indicated that the internees' leader was Thomas Sydney.[2]

The camp was established in a former school building set back from the street, surrounded by a small vegetable garden and encircled by barbed wire. The prisoners occupied one of its three floors. On the ground floor, there were kitchens serving both the internees and the guards. The three bedrooms for internees each

contained eight beds and were located on the second floor, along with four toilets. However, there were no showers available in the building, a subject of internees' complaints to the ICRC inspector during one of several visits to the camp.

With the German occupation of Italy that began on September 9, 1943, the vast majority of Italian concentration camps came under direct German military rule. However, as was the case with the San Tomaso della Fossa camp, their de facto administration and daily surveillance fell to the Italian authorities, in this case to the Reggio Emilia provincial police or the "Black-shirts" (*camicie nere*). In addition, with the Germans technically in power, the former internment facilities were transformed into individual transit camps, with the subjected internees—largely citizens of "enemy nations" and people identified as "Jews"—now facing the threat of deportation to the Reich.

From the first few weeks of its existence, life in the camp became very difficult because of the lack of washroom facilities and the overcrowding of the detainees. After a series of arrangements made between the Interior Ministry of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) and the German military command, the prisoners were gradually released beginning in March 1944; they were then housed with various families in the town. On July 3, 1944, there were still 29 internees in the camp: 22 British, 2 Americans, 1 Dutch, 1 Armenian Turk, 1 Iraqi, 1 Russian, and 1 Latvian.

On October 6, 1944, the German military command ordered the camp's closure. Six civilian internees were transferred to the prison of Verona. The large majority of ex-inmates succeeded in avoiding being transferred to territory still held by the Germans, due to the intervention of the prefect commissioner of Bagnolo in Piano, as well as the civilian population. Some internees appear nevertheless to have been taken to Germany where they were subjected to further imprisonment.

SOURCES Further reading on San Tomaso della Fossa may be found in Marco Minardi, *Tra chiuse mura: Deportazione e campi di concentramento nella provincia di Parma 1940–1945* (Parma: Comune di Montechiarugolo, 1987); Minardi, "I

priogioneri di San Tomaso della Fossa: Internati civili nel comune di Bagnolo in Piano, 1943–1945," *RS* 37: 93 (July 2002): 51–71; Minardi, "La cancellazione: le leggi razziste e la persecuzione degli ebrei a Parma (1938–45)," *RSD* 1: 2 (July–December 1989): 65–93; and Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della memoria: Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945)* (Milan: Mursia, 2002).

The main archival sources are found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 145. Other mentions are in ACP, Cat. Beneficenza e Leva e Truppa. An ICRC report on San Tomaso della Fossa may be found in NARA, RG-389 (US Army Provost-Martial General). A translation of this report from French to Italian is appended to Minardi, "I priogioneri di San Tomaso della Fossa."

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NOTES

1. Written testimony by Peter Grant, June 13, 2000, as cited in Marco Minardi, "I Prigioneri di San Tomaso della Fossa," p. 53.

2. B. Beretta, ICRC, Report on San Tomaso della Fossa near Bagnolo in Piano, June 25, 1944, as reproduced in ibid., pp. 62–63.

SASSOFERRATO

Sassoferrato is a remote small town in the hilly parts of the province of Ancona, 52 kilometers (32 miles) northeast of Perugia. It was the site of a concentration camp that began operation on February 27, 1943, according to the instructions of the Royal Decree (*Regio decreto*) of July 8, 1938, No. 1415, and the Interior Ministry's letter (*Circolare*) of June 8, 1940, Number 442/12267, for the internment of civilians from the former Yugoslavia in the Italian-occupied Balkans.

The camp was set up in the Abbey of the Holy Cross (*Abbazia di Santa Croce*), 1.5 kilometers (almost a mile) from the railway and 2.5 kilometers (1.6 miles) outside the town. It was a historic building, founded in the twelfth century for the Camaldolese monks and rebuilt many times subsequently. On October 25, 1941, the Inspector General of Public Security (*Ispettore Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza*) sent a report to the police chief, Guido Lo Spinoso, about the possibility of turning the abbey into a concentration camp. The report described a building of three floors. On the ground floor there was a large room that could be used for the guard corps, kitchens, and a vast refectory capable of holding more than a hundred people. On the second and third floors, up to 140 inmates could be housed in rooms of four persons each. There was also space for other guardrooms. The abbey was still occupied by four monks who could stay in their cells. Finally, there was a chapel and a large square that could serve as a place for the inmates to exercise. The building already had water and electricity, but needed some repairs and renovations. Twelve toilets were considered sufficient for 140 prisoners plus the guards. To augment the water supply, which came from a nearby spring, the report suggested cleaning and renovating a cistern in the center of the cloister to collect rainwater.

Five carabinieri, under the command of a chief, were employed to guard the prisoners from a guard post. Policemen were assigned

to patrol the interior and maintain order. There was no camp director: the mayor (*podestà*) of Sassoferrato ran the camp. Once a week the director of the nearby camp of Fabriano, Antonio Vecchio, came to check that all was in order.

There were always far fewer inmates, all "ex-Yugoslavs," than the 140 anticipated. After it opened, the camp held 60 prisoners in March 1943; the population was 30 in May 1943 and 38 in August of that year. On September 3, when the delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross visited the camp, there were 34 Slovenes and 3 Croats in residence, all from the provinces of Gorizia, Fiume, and Zara. On September 15, 1943, following the Armistice, all the prisoners were freed. There is no definite information about the camp's functioning under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI). The only document known is a telegram of December 30, 1943, from the prefecture of Osimo to the Interior Ministry that stated that no prisoners were to be transferred to Sassoferrato.[1]

SOURCES There is a brief mention of the Sassoferrato camp in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 190–191.

The only available sources on the Sassoferrato camp are in the ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 114 and 105.

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NOTE

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 105.

SCIPIONE

Scipione (Parma province) is almost 29 kilometers (18 miles) west of Parma and 391 kilometers (243 miles) northwest of Molat, Croatia (Italian: Melada). The Fascist Interior Ministry opened the Scipione concentration camp in July 1940 in the neighborhood (*comune*) of Salsomaggiore in an old castle, the property of the Victor Emmanuel II Orphanage in Parma, which was located some 4 kilometers (almost 3 miles) from the town of Salsomaggiore. In Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) documentation, the camp is referred to as "Salsomaggiore."[1] Equipped with electricity, plumbing, and a telephone, the castle accommodated up to 200 people in approximately 30 rooms of various sizes. In addition, it had a refectory, kitchen, laundry, and other amenities, as well as spacious inner courtyards enclosed within massive walls. Other than the castle, there were only a few other houses in Scipione at the time. Initially, public security agents, who were subordinate to the camp director, conducted internal and external security. From 1942 onward, the police assumed external security.

The internees confined at Scipione belonged mostly to the category of "dangerous Italians," although there were a few foreign Jews and enemy subjects. Beginning in August 1940, the camp was emptied when a large contingent of internees were transferred to the nearby Montechiarugolo camp. The transfer was so substantial that it led to Scipione's temporary closure in September 1940.

The Scipione camp reopened in the second half of August 1942 to accommodate "Slavic" civilian internees. They largely consisted of conscription-aged males from Slovenia, Dalmatia, and, more rarely, the disputed Venezia Giulia province. Some of the Slavic prisoners, according to documentation submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), were dispatched to Scipione from the Melada concentration camp.[2] Between late June and mid-July 1943, 120 Slavic prisoners were transferred to the Ferramonti di Tarsia camp (Cosenza) and 8 to the Farfa camp (Rieti), leaving

only about 20 inmates at Scipione. A short time later, 139 internees and 8 Montenegrin prisoners, including 4 women, were sent to the camp. They were evacuees from the Lipari Islands camp and were all in very poor physical condition. Scipione reached a maximum occupancy of 173 internees on July 31, 1943.

Group portrait of prisoners in the Italian internment camp of Scipione di Salsomaggiore, c. 1942–1943. USHMM WS #97271, COURTESY OF IVAN SINGER.

Living conditions were poor because of dankness, poor heating, and an inadequate water supply. The situation was particularly miserable for "Slavic" internees who were denied Red Cross aid per the regime's orders. Insufficient food and poor health care resulted in illness and several cases of tuberculosis, pneumonia, and other debilitating diseases.

At the time of the Armistice, Scipione contained approximately 150 internees. On September 9, 1943, some managed to escape by climbing over the camp fence. Escapes continued the following day and became more numerous once German military vehicles appeared on the facing road. Thirty-one internees escaped within two days. Ten escapees were eventually recaptured by security personnel, who zealously carried out a manhunt. Later, the German command decided to release some prisoners deemed "less dangerous" and transferred others to other detention sites.

The castle in Scipione continued to function as a camp under the

Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI). In late 1943, it held political internees and both Italian and foreign Jews who had been previously rounded up in the Parma province. As of December 27, 1943, there were 130 people interned there. The facility was thus considered a "provincial camp for Jews" (*campo di provinciale per ebrei*), in accordance with Police Ordinance No. 5 of November 30, 1943, issued by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the RSI. One of the Jews held in the camp's RSI phase from January 18 to April 20, 1944, Samuel Spritzman, ended up in Dachau/Landshut after an ordeal that took him from the SS police camp at Bolzano to Auschwitz in December 1944 and Gross-Rosen.[3] In June 1944, Scipione also served as a transit camp for 15 Jews from the Roccatederighi provincial camp (Grosseto) bound for Fossoli before deportation. The camp was finally disbanded in September 1944 after numerous partisan attacks.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Scipione camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 180–181; and Marco Minardi, *Invisibili: Internati civili nella provincia di Parma 1940–1945* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2010).

Primary sources documenting the Scipione camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 131, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s.f. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 28 "Parma," s. fasc. 2 and 8. This camp is well documented in ITS collections: 0.1 (CNI); 1.1.14.1 (Camps in Italy and Albania); 1.1.14.6 (RCI index cards); 1.2.7.23 (Persecution Measures in Serbia); and 6.3.3.2 (T/D cases). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. ACS-CRI contains a listing of prisoners with French citizenship who were dispatched to Scipione. It is available in digital form at www.campifascisti.it.

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Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. For example, see CRI card for Giovanni Zeigler, ITS, 1.1.14.6.

2. See the report by Pero Damjanović, “Le Camp de concentration dans l’Isle de Molat,” ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 8, Doc. No. 82205664.

3. ITS, 6.3.3.2, T/D case 763679, Doc. No. 105667887.

SCUOLA SANTA CROCE

On September 9, 1943, after hearing word of the Armistice signed by Italy with the Allies, a group of prisoners incarcerated in the Montechiarugolo concentration camp in the province of Parma attempted to flee to avoid capture by German troops. Most of the fugitives found shelter in the surrounding countryside. They were foreign civilians, including some British and other citizens of states at war with Italy. Most were recaptured soon thereafter by the Germans and Italian public security (*Pubblica Sicurezza*) forces. The day after the attempted escape, the German military commander decided to close the Montechiarugolo camp for security reasons and to transfer the internees to the province of Reggio Emilia.

The prisoners were taken to the Santa Croce elementary school (*scuola*) on Via Antonio Veneri in the municipality of Reggio Emilia some 38 kilometers (24 miles) southwest of Florence. On October 1, 1943, the German authorities handed over the new camp and its internees to the command of the MVSN's militia (*milizia*). On December 28, 1943, the head of the province, Enzo Savorgnan, wrote to the Interior Ministry indicating that it would be impossible for the militia to continue running the camp; he requested the ministry's intervention either to transfer the internees to some "already extant" camp in the province of Parma or to contruct a new camp, to be set up under the control of the police agents.[1] This request was denied. In December 1944, the camp held 53 foreign civilians and some Italians. The camp closed on January 9, 1944, when the school was ground zero for a heavy Allied aerial bombardment, which did not cause any casualties. After the bombing, the camp population was transferred to the internment camp at San Tomaso della Fossa (Reggio Emilia Department).[2]

SOURCES The Scuola Santa Croce camp is briefly mentioned in Marco Minardi, *Tra chiuse mura: Deportazione e campi di*

concentramento nella provincia di Parma 1940–1945 (Parma: Comune di Montechiarugolo, 1987), p. 40; Minardi, "La cancellazione: le leggi razziste e la persecuzione degli ebrei a Parma (1938–45)," *RSD* 1: 2 (July–December 1989): 65–93; Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 180; and Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della memoria: Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945)* (Milan: Mursia, 2002).

The main archival sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 145. Other mentions of the camp can be found in ACBP, Cat. Beneficenza e Leva e Truppa.

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Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 145.

2. Ibid.

SENIGALLIA

Senigallia, located some 95 kilometers (59 miles) northeast of Perugia, was a site of a concentration camp set up in December 1943 to confine Jews of the Ancona province. The Interior Ministry of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), the puppet regime set up by the Germans under Mussolini in September 1943, decreed in Police Order No. 5 on November 30, 1943, that all Jews be arrested and imprisoned in special provincial camps, until specialized camps could be built for them.

The Senigallia concentration camp was set up in the UNES (*Unione Esercizi Elettrici*, Union of Electrical Concerns) estate, formerly a seaside vacation camp for children, and opened in January 1944. In May 1944, a letter that accompanied the monthly camp report sent by Ado Lusignoli, the Ancona prefect, to the Interior Ministry, noted the camp's transfer from provincial to municipal administration. He wrote, "For your ratification I present the accounts of the concentration camp [*Colonia UNES*] of Senegallia from 5/12/43 to 31/3/44, with attached receipts of the ordinary expenses. The corresponding salaries are for the service personnel responsible for the kitchens, cleaning, etc., while the personnel of the National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr) are exclusively responsible for guard duties. I note also that from 1 April the running of the aforementioned Camp was put into the charge of the town of Senigallia."[1]

According to historian Gilberto Volpini, the camp initially held 11 Jews and 4 Slavic prisoners. The first group of prisoners included the former president of the Jewish community of Gorizia, Attilio Morpurgo, as well as the Viterbo and Foà families.

Morpurgo and fellow prisoner Gina Viterbo jointly kept a diary of persecution while at Senigallia. The diary gives some insight into life for the small number of detainees, which was characterized by a blend of anxiety over the behavior of the Fascist

militia with everyday kindnesses displayed by camp staff. Excerpts from the diary follow:

> **7 December** [1943]. Some days ago, laws were made public that were harsh against all Jews: the gathering in concentration camps of all Jews under the age of 70 and the confiscation of all their goods. Unfortunately we hadn't taken this news seriously, whereas all the others tried to hide in other places, changing their names ….
>
> **24 February** [1944]. Accompanied by Officer Fanucci and another Carabiniere we leave early in the morning with the courier Maganini for Senegallia, our destination the UNES, a concentration camp. It is a vacation camp for children, a lovely clean building with a nice garden and in a good position. We are treated fairly well, it's just that we are constantly agitated by the fear of being sent elsewhere, and we are always under the eyes of the Carabinieri.
>
> **1 March** [1944]. The Foà cousins arrive. I thought they had come from Marzocco to visit me but instead they tell me they too have been interned. We're all staying in one room and living a communal life. To leave the UNES requires the permission of the marshal of the Carabinieri and one must be accompanied. For the rest we stroll up and down in the courtyard like prisoners. The director, Signora Iolanda Diamantini, is fairly kind to us. Every now and then there is some change in the hierarchy with a chief who is more or less good. Days of joy when we receive mail with good news of our dear ones … Luckily, thank the Lord, the colony was never hit even though bombs fell nearby and we collected their fragments in the garden. More often, in late evening, we were frightened by the sudden entry of Fascists with guns and criminal faces and ugly ways, who with the excuse of having seen light from outside came in to see the Jews as if looking at rare animals.[2]

On May 5, 1944, Lusignoli ordered the camp's closure in advance of the possible deportation of the Jews. According to

Morpurgo's diary, some of Senigallia's prisoners were subsequently dispatched to the small town of Osimo, 49 kilometers (about 30 miles) southwest of Senigallia. They briefly enjoyed freedom, thanks to the town's temporary takeover by the Italian partisan unit, Squad of Patriotic Action (*Squadre di azione patriottica*, SAP). Morpurgo and Viterbo were finally freed when British forces captured Ancona on July 19, 1944.[3]

SOURCES The history of the Senigallia concentration camp is briefly recounted in Gilberto Volpini, *Una città in guerra: Senigallia 1943–1944* (Milan: Edizioni Codex, 2009), pp. 62–65. There is also online documentation, prepared by the Civic Committee for Safeguarding the Former UNES Colony and Waterfront (Comitato Civico salvaguardia ex Colonia UNES e Lungomare), found at www.genitor.it/istanza/ExUnesEnelIstanza.pdf.

The most important archival documentation on the Senigallia camp may be found in Ac Se, B. 557 and 566. A brief reference to the camp may also be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 114. The Morpurgo/Viterbo diary was published as "Diario," ed. Gioia Fugace, *Una città*, 11 (March 1992), www.unacitta.it/newsite/articolo.asp?id=54.

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NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 114.
2. Attilio Morpurgo and Gina Virterbo, "Diario," ed. Gioia Fugace, *Una città* 11 (March 1992), www.unacitta.it/newsite/articolo.asp?id=54.
3. Entries for June 12 and 18 and July 19, 1944, in ibid.

SERVIGLIANO

Servigliano is located about 82 kilometers (51 miles) east of Perugia. The concentration camp in the town began during World War I as a prisoner of war (POW) camp to contain Austro-Hungarian and Turkish prisoners. The structure took up 3.5 hectares (6 acres) of space, surrounded by a 3-meter-high (9.8-feet-high) stone wall and divided into two sections. Inside the wall there were 32 wooden barracks that could hold, in total, 4,000 persons. Outside the wall were offices and living quarters for the camp administrators and the guards.

After it was renovated at the end of 1940, the camp officially reopened as a POW camp in January 1941. Greek, British, American, and French prisoners were held there until 1943. After the signing of the Armistice of September 8, 1943, the prisoners escaped, fearing they would be taken into German custody. Indeed the Germans appeared in the first days of October, occupying the camp and confiscating much of the remaining supplies. On October 5, 1943, the German military authorities decided to use the camp to hold Jews captured in the province. The Germans captured 41 Jews on that date and confined them in the camp. Another 28 Jews, arrested by the carabinieri on the order of the Ascoli Piceno provincial police chief (*questore*), joined this first group in the following days. Ten prisoners managed to escape during the night of October 15, 1943.

After the formation of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) in September 1943, the province of Ascoli Piceno—and thus the camp of Servigliano—once again came under Italian control. Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the RSI, stated that all Jews on the Republic's soil be interned in provincial camps. Given that the Servigliano camp was one of the few structures still working efficiently in central Italy, it was designated to concentrate all the prisoners of the neighboring areas. However, because the German troops had already taken the

beds and other materials from the camp, its operational capacity was limited. In March 1944 there were only 306 prisoners in the camp: 245 Anglo-Maltese and 61 Jews, both Italian and foreign. In June 1944 the director of the camp was Di Carlo, the adjutant of the National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr). Surveillance was entrusted to 12 carabinieri who, without weapons, faced the constraints posed by the large size of the camp, the age of the barracks, and a lack of means to keep the inmates in place (the surrounding wall was not topped with barbed wire, and indeed had partly fallen down).

Living conditions for the prisoners were terrible. Food was distributed in a common dining hall set up by the camp director, but there was not sufficient food for every one. Furthermore, the internees had no right to any cash subsidy. In March 1944, a group of partisans entered the camp secretly, urging the prisoners to flee, but they were ignored because the inmates feared for their survival outside the camp. In April, however, 10 Jews, helped by the inhabitants of the town, succeeded in escaping. On May 3, 1944, a British air attack on the camp set fire to the barracks, killing a woman and wounding another three people. The internees fled the bombardment, some remaining outside the camp as late as the following day; others found refuge in the town's schools, because the barracks provided no cover against additional attacks.

According to a report on the events by police officer Mario Bestoso, on the following day, May 4, a convoy of German soldiers arrived at the camp to transfer the Jews to the Fossoli camp. Of the 50 Jews still being held in the camp, at least 19 succeeded in saving themselves because they had been warned in time about the arrival of the Germans and had already escaped. The others, however, were taken and brought to Fossoli, where in May 1944 some of them were deported to Auschwitz. Ten were killed on arrival in Auschwitz, and others died later of starvation.

After the deportation, the police command (*questura*) ordered the camp commander to fix the damage caused by the bombardment and sent an additional 20 guards to prevent further escapes. On May 18, 12 Jews arrived at Servigliano from the camp at Corropoli; on May 27, another 38 inmates arrived, of whom 33 were Jews; and at the end of May the last group of prisoners

arrived: 32 Chinese from the concentration camp of Isola del Gran Sasso.

With the approach of British troops, the local resistance began to press harder on the camp. On May 25 a group of perhaps 50 partisans surrounded the guard corps and encouraged the internees to flee, but only two—a Jewish married couple—decided to escape. The partisans returned during the night of June 7, after the guards had already fled, and ordered the camp's closure: All the internees dispersed into the nearby area. One internee was killed by the retreating Germans on June 17. On June 25, the British army occupied the area.

Servigliano functioned from immediately after the war until 1955 as a gathering center for refugees, housing Italians from Yugoslavia or from the former colonies of eastern Africa. A plaque set into the remains of the surrounding wall by British soldiers in 1993 records the presence of the camp.

SOURCES The camp at Servigliano is mentioned in Costantino Di Sante, *L'internamento civile nell'Ascolano e il Campo di Concentramento di Servigliano (1940–1944)* (Ascoli Piceno, Istituto Storico, 1998).

Primary sources on Servigliano may be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 140.

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SFORZACOSTA

Sforzacosta is almost 6 kilometers (almost 4 miles) southwest of Macerata and more than 39 kilometers (over 24 miles) southwest of Ancona. In 1940, the Italian War Ministry established the Sforzacosta prisoner of war (POW) camp in the commune of Macerata (Marcerata province). The designated building was a former tobacco factory located at the intersection of the Macerata-Tolentino-Foligno roads and 78 Picena Highway, situated not very far from a local train station (Civitanova-Fabriano route) and a small airport.

The camp was divided into three sectors and identified as a POW (*prigionieri di guerra*, PG) camp, PG No. 56.[1] Until September 8, 1943, it held primarily British POWs. After the Armistice, many POWs managed to escape and went into hiding. On September 30, the German authorities decided to consolidate all the prisoners kept in camps and confinement in the Marcerata province at Sforzacosta; control of the camp was transferred from the Italian to the German authorities on October 23, 1943. The first to arrive were 58 Jews from Urbisaglia, followed by 19 women from Petriolo and, finally, 50 more women from Pollenza. According to historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, the new prisoners included some non-Jews.

In February 1944, the Sforzacosta camp was dismantled. It was reopened toward the end of April 1944 for the detention of several young draft evaders and antifascists. They were divided into three groups: those capable of working in Nazi Germany, those capable of working in the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), and individuals unable to work. Internees belonging to the first group were first sent to the Suzzara camp (Mantua province) before deportation to the Reich. Suzzara is 288 kilometers (179 miles) northwest of Sforzacosta.

The Allied bombardment on May 17, 1944, accelerated the process of dismantling the camp. Sforzacosta closed for good a

few days before the liberation of the Macerata province in June 1944. The closure occurred shortly after a small group of the remaining internees had fled the camp during the German retreat to the north.

SOURCES Secondary sources documenting the Sforzacosta camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 192; Giancarlo Leggi, "Angoscia e terrore nel campo di concentramento di Sforzacosta," in *Tolentino e la Resistenza nel maceratese* (Tolentino: Edizioni Accademia Filelfica, 1966), pp. 117–123; and Roberto Cruciani, ed., *E vennero 50 anni di libertà, 1943–1993: L'internamento nelle Marche* (Macerata: Cooperativa Artivisive, 1993).

Primary sources documenting the Sforzacosta camp can be found in ACS, Mi, DGPS, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 129; USSME, fondo Diari Storici; and ASM, fondo Questura, B. 2. For a testimony about Sforzacosta as a POW camp, see Raymond Ellis, *Al di là della collina, memorie di un soldato inglese prigioniero nelle Marche*, ed. Maria Grazia Camilletti, trans. Elisabetta Da Lio (Ancona: Affinità elettive, 2001).

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NOTE

1. SME, Ufficio PG, Situazione campi concentramento PG, March 31, 1943, USSME, fondo Diari Storici, B. 1243, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

SOLOFRA

The town of Solofra, which in 1941 had a population of 7,500, is located 22 kilometers (13.6 miles) southeast of Avellino and 50 kilometers (31 miles) east of Naples in the province of Naples. The concentration camp at Solofra was one of the camps established at the beginning of the war for the internment of foreign civilians and antifascist Italians. Like all such camps, it fell under the Interior Ministry's control, with local supervision being provided by the police chief (*questore*) of Avellino.

Solofra opened as a women's concentration camp in July 1940 for the detention primarily of "prostitutes or politically suspect women" (*prostitute e sospetta in linea politica*).[1] It was set up in a private house belonging to the Bonanno family, on Via Misericordia in the center of town. It had two floors and a small garden. The kitchen, dining hall, and offices were on the first floor; on the second floor were about 10 rooms, each of which held from three to six women. There were also two showers and two bathrooms with sinks. Once a week, the showers had hot water. An outside company initially provided the food service, being paid 5.90 lire per meal. Later, two cooks in the camp prepared the meals.

By July 15, 1940, there were 14 foreign women in the camp. The number rose quickly, and by October 17 the number of imprisoned women had increased to 48; of these, 31 held French citizenship, and another internee was French by birth, but held Italian citizenship. There were also two Belgians, one British woman, one Brazilian, one Pole, one Russian and one Russian-born woman without a passport, four Greeks, two Turks, one Chilean, one Venezuelan, and one Egyptian.

The women in Solofra were interned because they were suspected of being dangerous to the war effort. Although Amelia G. was interned as a "suspected prostitute," she was imprisoned because she had traveled extensively abroad, and the prefect of

Trento, who had requested information from the counterespionage center at Bolzano (the city where the woman had lived), indicated that she should be incarcerated in a concentration camp. Amelia G. was interned on July 17, 1940, little more than a month after the war began, and remained at Solofra until August 1943.

Another prisoner, Maria C., was imprisoned because she was a French citizen. However, she worked in Ragusa as a waitress in a brothel (*casa di toleranza*). The prefect of Ragusa ordered her to be interned because in the course of her alleged work in a brothel she could have come into contact with soldiers and so gained access to military secrets. Maria C. remained at the Solofra camp for a few months and then, because of health problems, was confined in the town of Pennabilli; in October 1942, she was repatriated to France.

The number and nationality of the internees fluctuated. By February 12, 1941, there were 44 inmates at Solofra; by June 15, 1942, there were only 27. On July 1, 1942, there were 24; 23 on August 1, 1942; 26 on September 30, 1942; 23 on October 15, 1942; 29 on December 31, 1942 (of whom 27 were described as Aryan and 2 as Jewish); 26 in February 1943; 25 on March 31, 1943; 26 on April 15, 1943, and 30 on June 30, 1943, the eve of the fall of Mussolini's regime. In February 1943 there were three Russians without passports, two Belgians, two Greeks, one Turk, one Englishwoman, one Czechoslovak, one Romanian, one Dutch, three Italians, and one German-born Italian.

In all that time, the only documented work for these prisoners was to clean the concentration camp. An unsigned note on Interior Ministry letterhead dated July 7, 1941, stated, "In all the concentration camps there was a staff member responsible for cleaning, who was initially not chosen from the prison population; but now, following pressure from some internees, the staff member will be chosen from among the internees themselves, who will be assigned a small monthly payment."[2] In fact, inactivity was the main problem facing the internees, who, apart from strolling in the garden, reading, or playing cards or chess, had absolutely nothing whatsoever to occupy their time, creating not a few problems of discipline and conflicts among the residents.

The camp was formally under the command of the town mayor

(*podestà*), Costatino De Maio. As in all Italian women's camps, there was also a female director, in this case Giuditta Festa, who took the job beginning in July 1940 with a payment of 500 lire a month; she was assisted by Pasqualina Troise, who was paid 300 lire a month. Festa remained in her job at least until April 1942, when she wrote a letter to the Internal Ministry that outlined her employment history: "After the foundation of the Fascist Party branch of Avellino in 1925, I was part of the Directorate of Fascist Women, I worked the whole time as Patroness of Maternity and Childhood, Director M. R. Fascist Visitor [of the Needy], and member of the Red Cross in summer camps for children [where children were sent to enjoy fresh air], in 1921 I poured my efforts and labors into the organization of the Party with a truly Fascist spirit."[3] In the letter she spoke proudly of her work as director of the camp and of helping her country in time of war.

The director could count on a few carabinieri to help supervise the camp and keep the prisoners in order, which does not seem to have been a particularly burdensome task. A fixed sentry station for the carabinieri had been planned about 100 meters (328 feet) away from the Solofra camp. There is no trace, at least not in surviving documents, of any attempts to escape the camp, even though there was no shortage of opportunities to do so. Three times a week, in fact, the internees were allowed to have a two-hour stroll along the road leading into the countryside. Only on being informed of the Armistice of September 8, 1943, did some inmates succeed in escaping, by climbing over the garden wall.

Most likely because the internees had nowhere else to go, the camp did not disband until January 1944.

SOURCES There is a brief mention of the Solofra camp in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 230–231.

The available primary sources on the Solofra camp are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 115, 120, and 123. Information about the women interned at Solofra is contained in their personal files in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis (internati).

NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4, B. 115, as quoted in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del Duce: l’internamento civile nell’Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 230.

2. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4, B. 120.

3. Ibid.

SONDRIO

Sondrio is located in the Lombardy region, 94 kilometers (almost 59 miles) northeast of the regional capital of Milan. The Sondrio concentration camp was set up in a commune-owned building on Nazario Sauro Street in the town of Sondrio in late 1943, and it opened in January 1944. The Sondrio police managed the camp, whereas the commune was responsible for expenses related to heating and water consumption. This division of responsibilities prompted a financial dispute between the commune and the provincial administration.[1]

Despite the description in an oral account (*procès-verbal*) of the concentration camp as being intended for Jews, there is no definitive evidence that any Jews were ever held in the camp. Some testimonies and memoirs refer to the detention of Jews in local prisons in the Sondrio province; for example, those by Alberto Cavaliere and Sofia Schafranov.[2] In fact, most Jews in the area were arrested in December 1943 before the camp was fully operational.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the camp at Sondrio are Bianca Ceresara Declich, "L'8 settembre in provincia di Sondrio: I vari aspetti della resistenza civile. Dal contrabbando di beni al contrabbando di persone," *GR:Sr* 18: 1 (2009): 107–121; and a newspaper article, "L'ultima rivelazione storica: Un campo lager a Sondrio," *PdS*, January 27, 2012, www.laprovinciadisondrio.it/stories/Cronaca/581317/.

Primary sources documenting the Sondrio camp can be found in ASC-S and ISSREC. Two published primary sources on the deportation of Jews in the Sondrio province are Ferruccio Scala, *Io, il Ferry: Storia, cronaca e costume nella penna di un giornalista* (Sondrio: Bettini, 2006); and Alberto Cavaliere, *I campi della morte in Germania: Nel racconto di una sopravvissuta a Birkenau* (1945; Milan: Paoline, 2010).

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NOTES

1. Comune di Sandrio, Estratto del Pro cesso Verbale di Seduta del Commissario Prefettino, No. 826, Ogg.: “Campo di concentramento ebrei,” May 29, 1944, ISSAEC.

2. Cavaliere, *I campi della morte in Germania*, p. 21.

TOLLO

Tollo concentration camp (Chieti province) was located in a small village on the Adriatic Sea, approximately 8 miles east of Chieti. The Interior Ministry opened it in late 1941 for the specific purpose of interning "ex-Yugoslavs" from Dalmatia. The facility was set up in a private building belonging to the industrialist Giuseppe Foppa Pedretti and was deemed suitable for holding a hundred people.

A local mayor directed the camp, with security provided by the police, who set up three points of surveillance around the building and one guard post inside. Health care was assigned to a local doctor. The internees were allowed to move around a designated area of the neighborhood during daytime hours.

The building had electricity and consisted of two floors with a total of 15 rooms. The first floor contained a kitchen-refectory, common room, toilets, and offices for security personnel; the second floor was reserved for the internees' lodgings. The first inmates reached Tollo in February 1942 from Zara-Trieste. The group comprised 42 Dalmatians labeled as "dangerous communists," who came from Italian concentration camps located in Albania and Montenegro. The maximum occupancy (99 internees) was reached in July 1942.

Located in the village center, this camp did not have effective security measures. The building was constructed as a private residence and did not even have balcony railings or window bars. In fact, many internees were able to leave the building unnoticed. For this reason the prefect of Chieti sent a request to the Interior Ministry in February 1943 demanding the closure of the camp and the subsequent transfer of the internees to places capable of guaranteeing better security. In May, after several investigations (which largely confirmed the concerns voiced by both the prefect and police) the Interior Ministry made the decision to move all the 98 Yugoslav internees then living at Tollo: 50 were sent to the concentration camp of Bagno a Ripoli (Florence), approximately

290 kilometers (180 miles) northwest of Tollo, and the other 48 to Corropoli (Teramo), approximately 66 kilometers (41 miles) to the northwest.

Later, the camp was used to hold Italian civilian internees who had committed rationing violations. The facility remained officially open until October 1943, but with long periods of inactivity.

SOURCES A secondary source that describes the Tollo camp is Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the Tollo camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civilie), B. 118, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), sf. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 12 "Chieti," s. fasc. 9.

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TONEZZA DEL CIMONE

Tonezza del Cimone is some 89 kilometers (55 miles) northwest of Venice in Vicenza province. In accordance with Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), the provincial prefect designated Tonezza del Cimone as the site for a provincial camp for Jews.[1] On December 10, 1944, a message arrived from the prefect that the Umberto I Alpine estate (*Colonia alpina Umberto I*) was to be temporarily requisitioned for the concentration of Jews. Its establishment entailed the arrest and internment of all Jews in the province, which began that same day; the seizure of their property; and the preparation of suitable space for a temporary camp while they awaited orders concerning their subsequent fate.

The camp officially opened on December 20, 1943. Three days later 45 Jews arrived from Arsiero—6 kilometers (3.7 miles) south of Tonezza—accompanied by 5 carabinieri. On reaching the estate, the prisoners were examined by a doctor. From the very beginning, the health situation appeared to be difficult because the majority of those arrested were elderly people or children, whose clinical cases were extremely diverse and required special care. Taking into account the medical condition of each person examined, the doctor asked for dietary supplements, such as butter, rice, milk, and sugar, in accordance with regulations.[2]

All but 42 prisoners were taken to Vicenza, nearly 37 kilometers (almost 23 miles) southeast of Tonezza, which was also a point of collection for Jews interned at the Olympic Theater (*Teatro Olimpico*) camp. From the Vicenza station the Jews were transported to Verona, located more than 44 kilometers (almost 28 miles) southwest of Vicenza, where convoy no. 6 was in the process of being assembled. Convoy no. 6 left Milan Central Station, which is about 141 kilometers (almost 88 miles) west of Verona, on January 30, 1944, reaching Auschwitz on February 6. None of the remaining 42 Jews imprisoned at Tonezza del Cimone

survived.

The Tonezza camp closed on January 30, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Tonezza del Cimo ne camp are Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *L'alba ci colse come un tradimento: Gli ebrei nel campo di Fossoli, 1943–1944* (Milan: Mondadori, 2010); Paolo Tagini, *Le poche cose: Gli internati ebrei nella provincia di Vicenza* (Verona: Cierre edizioni, 2006), in particular the contribution of Antonio Spinelli, "Il campo provinciale di Tonezza del Cimone," pp. 191–226; and Ranzolin Antonio, ed., *Un'azione umanitaria: La Colonia alpina Umberto I di Vicenza* (Vicenza: Grafiche Urbani, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the Tonezza del Cimone camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, "Massime" M4, B. 106; AFCDEC, fond Comitato Ricerche Deportati Ebrei, fond DU (documents photocopied from A-UCEI: "Inventory of the Jews deported from Vicenza, who were interned at the Umberto I estate of Tonezza and handed over to the Nazi SS on January 30, 1944"); and ACT.

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NOTES

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

2. Comunicato del Ministero dell'Agricoltura e delle Foreste, July 16, 1943, Ogg.: "Trattamento alimentare internati civili (rastrellati)," ACS, Dgps, Dagr, Mi, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 106, f. 16, s.f. 1, ins. 24/7.

TORTORETO

Tortoreto is a small town in the province of Teramo, 45 kilometers (28 miles) northeast of Pescara and 57 kilometers (36 miles) south of the Adriatic port city of Civitanova Marche. In July 1940, the Interior Ministry established a men's internment camp in Tortoreto. It operated in two buildings that, despite being located in the same communal district, were at a distance of about 8 kilometers (almost 5 miles) from each other. One was located in Tortoreto Alta, the city's historic center atop a hill, in a private house that was the property of the De Fabritiis family and could accommodate up to 25 people. The other building was in Tortoreto Stazione (still part of Tortoreto, but later was an autonomous commune named Alba Adriatica) in an old mansion, Villa Tonelli, close to a railway station; it could accommodate roughly 75 people. These buildings were not fenced in.

The camp began operation at the end of July 1940 and had six different directors during its existence; initially the mayor ran the camp, followed by public security officials who resided in Tortoreto Alta and who would periodically inspect the other camp. Responsibility for guarding the exterior of the camp and providing security inside was entrusted to several officers and policemen (*carabinieri*); in the summer of 1942, the combined force reached a total of 64. Several local doctors provided medical care to the internees.

Initially, the camp of Tortoreto (whose population peaked at 103 internees in September 1940) accommodated exclusively foreign Jews and stateless persons, many of whom came from Fiume (later: Rijeka, Croatia). They were followed by "aliens" from Venezia Giulia (i.e., those belonging to Slavic ethnic minorities whom the Mussolini regime persecuted with great vigor); and, lastly, Italians. Among the Jews interned in this camp was Saul Steinberg, a Romanian who became a famous cartoonist and illustrator for *The New Yorker* after the war.

Conditions in the two facilities differed. The Casa de Fabritiis (the building in Tortoreto Alta) had significant drawbacks, mainly in terms of water supply and hygienic services. In addition, there was no proper kitchen in the building, so the authorities permitted the internees to seek food in various local inns. The Villa Tonelli building, although damaged, was more spacious, better organized, and was equipped with both an infirmary and refectory; it also had seven rooms on the first floor and several others on the second floor, each housing between 10 to 15 people. During the day, all internees were permitted limited access to nearby areas. Initially, the internees of Villa Tonelli were even allowed to visit the historic city center on the days when the local marketplace was open, and in the summer, they could go swimming in the sea twice a week. But as the months passed, the authorities gradually imposed tighter restrictions on their movement.

In May 1943, after receiving several anonymous reports and complaints by military officials, who were leery of contacts between the internees and possible fifth columnists and about possible acts of sabotage at a nearby railroad, 90 Tortoreto inmates, mostly Jews, were transferred to other camps. Those interned in Tortoreto Stazione were sent to Nereto, after which this detention site ceased functioning. The site in Tortoreto Alta, however, resumed activity in July 1943 as a main internment facility for Italians charged with rations-related offenses. The camp was closed on September 6, 1943, following the transfer of the last two internees.

SOURCES This slightly edited entry on the Tortoreto camp is based on the author's "Mappatura dei Campi—AbruzzoMolise," in *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia Fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 222–223. See also Costantino Di Sante, *I campi di concentramento in Italia: Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001), pp. 193–194; and Pasquale Rasicci, *Alba Adriatica: I 50 Anni, Ieri-Oggi 1956–2006* (Colonnella: Grafiche Martintype, 2005).

Archival holdings on the camp at Tortoreto are held in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 136, f.16 (Campi di

concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 41 "Teramo," ss. ff. 9, 11.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
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TOSSICIA

Tossicia is almost 14 kilometers (more than 8 miles) southwest of Teramo, more than 25 kilometers (almost 16 miles) south of Civitella del Tronto, and 120 kilometers (nearly 75 miles) northeast of Rome. The Interior Ministry set up the Tossicia camp (Teramo province) in August 1940 in two buildings located in the town's center owned by the Mirti and de Fabi families. The Tossicia camp is also known as the Mirti House (*Casa Mirti*). In November 1941, a third building belonging to the di Marco family was added to the camp. The three structures accommodated approximately 120 people. Even though the Mirti House was equipped with a small dining room and lacked bathrooms and an infirmary, the Italian authorities nevertheless held 80 people there. Similar conditions existed in the de Fabi and di Marco houses.

The living conditions in the Tossicia camp were some of the worst among the camps established by the Interior Ministry. Government subsidies were insufficient, hygienic and sanitary conditions were poor, and rooms were constantly overcrowded. The three buildings were never modernized or renovated.

The mayor of Tossicia, Nicola Palumbi, directed the camp, and the carabinieri provided security for all three buildings. Initially, the internees were foreign Jews, in large part Germans, to whom a substantial group of Chinese was added later. The camp reached its peak population of 127 internees on January 31, 1941. In the following month, the Jews were transferred to the Civitella del Tronto camp, while more Chinese internees arrived in Tossicia.

On May 12, 1942, the Interior Ministry ordered the transfer of all internees from Tossicia to provide room for Yugoslav Roma families from Slovenia. On June 22, 1942, 35 Roma were transferred to the camp.[1] Eventually, more than 100 Roma lived in Mirti House under gruesome conditions. In the summer of 1942, several men engaged in agricultural work for which they received a small salary or food. The women were left to beg. Between August 11, 1942, and September 6, 1943, nine babies were born

inside the camp. Eight of the Roma managed to escape.

Italy's apostolic nuncio, Francesco Borgongini-Duca, and a Franciscan priest, Giuseppe Ravaioli, visited the camp in April 1943. On August 19, 1943, a delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) met with the internees.[2]

The camp shut down on September 26, 1943, after the prisoners collectively abandoned it before disappearing into the surrounding areas.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Tossicia camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 223–224; Costantino Di Sante, *I campi di concentramento in Italia: Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001), pp. 177–206, esp. pp. 194–195; Italia Iacoponi, "Campi di concentramento in Abruzzo durante il secondo conflitto mondiale: 1940–1945 Tossicia," *RSSFR* 6: 1 (1985): 199–210; and Italia Iacoponi, *Il Fascismo, la Resistenza e i campi di concentramento in provincia di Teramo: Cenni storici* (Colonnella: Grafiche Martintype, 2000), pp. 194–201.

Primary sources documenting the Tossicia camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 136; and ITS, 1.1.0.7 (Informationssammlung des ISD zu verschiedenen Haftstätten und Lagern), and 1.1.14.2 (Italienische Kartei), available in digital form at USHMMA. Some documentation on the Tossicia camp is available at www.campifascisti.it.

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NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Uffici dipendenti dalla sezione prima (1894–1945), Ufficio internati (1939–1945), A4 bis, internati stranieri e spionaggio, 1939–1945, B. 5, fasc. 38 (Teramo), as cited by www.campifascisti.it.

2. A-ICRC, C Sc, Service des camps, Italy, August 19, 1943, as

cited by Capogreco, *I campi del duce*, p. 224.

TREIA

Treia is a small town about 78 kilometers (49 miles) northeast of Perugia in the province of Macerata in central Italy. On Italy's entry into the war in June 1940 the Interior Ministry opened the camp to house foreign female civilians in a villa called Villa Spada or Villa La Quiete, a huge structure belonging to the local noble family atop a hill. The two-story building was approximately a kilometer (0.6 miles) outside the town in an isolated location within a huge fenced park. The villa had a large kitchen, an interior courtyard, two large verandas, four toilets with running water, and two rooms with baths. It was also the only camp in the area that was furnished with a bathtub, but not hot water. Because it had nearly 30 rooms, the camp had a nominal capacity of 100 internees, but the camp's population never rose above 40. In October 1942, when the camp was about to be closed, there were 28 inmates: female citizens of states at war with Italy, mostly British and French, and one Italian Jew.

The camp's biggest problems stemmed from the incompetent police personnel (*Pubblica Sicurezza*) sent to the camp to act as its director. The first was Cavaliere Nicola Martinez, a retired police commissioner (*commissario a riposo*), who was replaced in December 1940 by Nicola Ferrigno, another retired commissioner, who held the post until the camp closed. The carabinieri furnished the guards and had a small guard post inside the villa.

A female director was standard in Italian women's camps: here the female directors came and went in rapid succession. The first, Luisa Marchesini, quit on August 16, 1940, for health reasons. Her replacement, Alberta Villa, quit in October 1940 to resume her previous post as an elementary schoolteacher. Severa Bianchini took her place, but she too only lasted for a short while, and her replacement, Maria Appignanesi, was fired in March 1941 for not being up to the job. The last female director, as noted in the records, was Irma Mancini, who took the job in March 1941.

As in all the women's camps, problems of "morality" among the staff were numerous. The first director, Martinez, was replaced because of the numerous rumors circulating about him, his favoritism, and his poor running of the camp. After an inspection of the camp, in December 1940, Chief Inspector Francesco Ciancaglini sent a very harsh letter to the Interior Ministry describing Martinez as a man of "little moral sense" with

> absolute incomprehension of his duty, ignorant, and weak (*infrollimento*) …. Having taken over all relations with the inmates, he entered into the intimate life of each one, depriving the female director of all authority toward whom no regard was shown. From this behavior of his derived an excessive intimacy between him and the inmates, some of whom, more clever and of doubtful morality, took advantage of this to offer him words of flattery and enticements, with the goal of obtaining preferences and favors.[1]

Martinez's replacement, Ferrigno, found on arrival that he had to sort out a relatively difficult situation caused by widespread corruption among the camp personnel. In April 1941, an anonymous denunciation made to the police chief suggested that a staff member was systematically opening mailed packages intended for inmates and stealing some of their contents. In a long report from July 1941, Ferrigno related that he had fired both a servant, who had made her house available to the internees to liaise with their lovers, and a food supplier who had been delivering rotten food to make some money on the side. Ferrigno also suggested that the camp physician be replaced, because he was selling fake illness certificates and had taken over various rooms of the camp, cramming the inmates into the rooms that he did not want for himself. More than that, he rented out the land surrounding the camp, which was state property, to a tenant farmer, requiring him to hand over the produce he cultivated. Ferrigno also discovered that the camp physician, as the property's former administrator, was charging rent for the villa of 3,500 lire, rather than the 3,000 lire that the physician himself had initially asked for, thanks to the good graces of a state official. Ferrigno dismissed a carabiniere who took payments from the inmates in exchange for favors and stole provisions from the camp's food

supply. In short, the physician, the carabiniere, and the camp servant, who all had taken the villa's park as a tenant farm, had created a little company to make as much money as possible out of running the camp. The physician was sent away, and Dr. Appignanesi, the director of the Treia hospital, became the camp's doctor in November 1940.

Notwithstanding the new director's efforts, a visit from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) undertaken by W. De Salis on June 27, 1942, found extremely primitive conditions, above all regarding the bathing arrangements, because of a lack of showers and hot water. Despite these privations, the internees' spirit was high, thanks to the camaraderie that had developed in the camp. Through the director's help, the report continued, the inmates were able to raise rabbits, canaries, and a pig. They also cultivated vegetables, which improved the nutritional value of the camp's food. They were permitted to write two letters a week, and the director granted them many favors.

Despite the new director's efforts, visits by ICRC and the U.S. Embassy (which as the Protecting Power looked out for the interests of British citizens until hostilities broke out between Italy and the United States) noted a very difficult situation in the camp due to the lack of maintenance. The building's owner, in fact, had refused to pay for repairs, with the result that the roof was in danger of collapsing and the walls dripped with water. The windows were also in a very bad state. In December 1942, the ministry decided to close the camp and to transfer the inmates to the nearby camp of Petriolo.

SOURCES There are few mentions of the camp in published literature beyond Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Ital ia dal 1933 al 1945*, trans. Loredana Melissari, 2 vols. (Scandicci: La Nuova Italia, 1993–1996), 2: 62–65, which gives information about camps in the Macerata area; and the entry in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 193–194.

The main archival sources on the camp at Treia are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 104, 128, and 129.

NOTE

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4, B. 128.

TREMITI ISLANDS

In the Adriatic, the Tremiti Islands consist of San Nicola island, located some 24 kilometers (15 miles) north of the Gargano Peninsula (Puglia region), and San Domino, the largest of the archipelago. The island group is 73 kilometers (46 miles) north of Foggia, the provincial capital. San Nicola had been used as a place of confinement since ancient times, and the Fascist regime continued this tradition by sending political and other prisoners there. San Domino was already home to a colony of common criminals when a decision was made in 1937 to abolish that camp and to confine instead a group of political detainees—women and approximately 200 homosexuals—who exhibited poor discipline in other colonies. From this point onward, confinement on the Tremiti Islands assumed an essentially punitive function by keeping mainly those considered "undisciplined" and "incorrigible." The detainees worked as agricultural laborers.

After the general expansion in 1940, the Tremiti Islands had the capacity to receive 780 prisoners. While maintaining one director and administrative staff, the confinement colony split into two parts: the island of San Nicola continued to receive mostly detainees, while San Domino became a concentration camp. Internees at Tremiti belonged to different categories: "enemy subjects," foreign detainees, "dangerous Italians" (among whom were some Jews), and "aliens." In the beginning, the living conditions were not particularly difficult. At the San Domino camp the internees oversaw their canteens and even set up a library later on. Many internees were allowed to work for local farmers who lacked the manpower to maintain and cultivate their farmlands. The situation worsened beginning in the autumn of 1941 because of problems with provisioning. The Tremiti Islands were the only deportation islands whose internees were not evacuated in the summer of 1943 following the fall of Benito Mussolini. Nonetheless, on September 20, 1943, approximately 100 internees (in large part Slavs) seized a large vessel and fled to Bari, where

they united with a group of partisans operating in the area.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Tremiti Islands camps are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); Adriano Dal Pont, *I lager di Mussolini: l'altra faccia del confino nei documeti della polizia fascista* (Milan: La Pietra, 1975); and Vito Antonio Leuzzi, Mariolina Pansini, and Francesco Terzulli, eds., *Fascismo e leggi razziali in Puglia: Censura, persecuzione antisemita e campi di internamento (1938–1943)* (Bari: Progedit, 1999). A study on the persecution of homosexuals by the Mussolini regime, which includes a description of the Tremiti Islands camps, is Gianfranco Goretti and Tommaso Giartosio, *La città e l'isola: Omosessuali al confino nell' Italia fascista* (Rome: Donzelli, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Tremiti Islands camps can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Ufficio confino politico, Affari generali, B. 13, 740/14, s.f. 2 "Tremiti" (1939); and ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), B. 125, s.f. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 17 "Foggia," s.f. 5 "S. Domino di Tremiti"/5.

Frida Bertolini
Trans. Jakub Smutný

UGLIANO

The island of Ugliano (Slovenian: Ugljian) lies 203 kilometers (126 miles) southwest of Zagreb and just west of the city of Zara (today: Zadar, Croatia). Occupied in 1941 by the Italian Army, it then formed part of the Civil Governorate of Dalmatia and lay in the jurisdiction of the prefecture of Zara.

On June 24, 1941, the prefect of Zara wrote to the Interior Ministry to state that the Italian VI Army Corps had set up a concentration camp for political internees—those suspected of undertaking anti-Italian activities—on Isolotto Calogero, a little island next to Ugliano. The camp was established on May 10 and received its first eight internees five days later. The prefect provided the names of the inmates and the reason for their internment:

1. Dragomir Bačić, son of Antonio and Marinovic Frada, born at Blatta on December 16, 1908, teacher, resident there, belonging to the Serbian national party and Anglophile;
2. Dr. Ivo Separavac, son of the late Martino, and Maria Petkovich, born on March 18, 1898, at Blatta, resident there, member of the Croat party and noted anti-Italian;
3. Inka Orel, son of Giovanni and the late Filomena Javovic, born November 23, 1911, at Vallegrande, postal worker, active communist at Blatta;
4. Marco Zanetc, son of the late Giovanni Otaz and the late Mara Separavic, born November 23, 1898, at Blatta, secretary of the city administration, Serbophile and bitter anti-Italian, resident at Blatta;
5. Franco Cetenic, son of Antonio and the late Amicizia Ivaz, born September 6, 1903, at Blatta, lawyer, Serbophile communist, resident at Blatta;
6. Ioro Dimitrovick, son of the late Emilio and Iecla Vovacovi, born June 26, 1908, at Bencovazzo, anti-Italian propagandist;

7. Voja Zirojevic, son of Spascijc and Mirka Bsatica, born at Brche on April 1, 1901, resident at Livne, communist propagandist;
8. Ante Buljan, son of the late Stefano and the late Caterina Panza, born at Sanj on March 12, 1900, spreader of false news about the new Croat state and incidents that supposedly took place at Zagabria, absolutely unfounded.[1]

It is not known how long this first concentration camp at Ugliano functioned.

On August 10, 1941, an Interior Ministry memorandum expressed the concern of the governor of Dalmatia, Giuseppe Bastianini, over the arrival of four to five thousand refugees from Serbia and included a request for the creation of new concentration camps. In March 1942 the Office of the Prime Minister (*Presidenza del Consiglio dei ministri*) asked the Ministry of Finance to grant the necessary funds for the construction of a concentration camp on the island of Ugliano for the internment of Dalmatian Jews. His request was approved quickly: on April 30, 1942, the Interior Ministry requisitioned from the Undersecretary for War Building a good supply of lumber for the construction of a concentration camp on that island. The construction company belonging to Eugenio Parrini received the contract; this company had already undertaken the construction of the camps of Pisticci and Ferramonti di Tarsia.

In the initial plan the camp was to have a capacity of 1,000 prisoners, but on September 7, 1942, Governor Bastianini wrote to the Interior Ministry to ask for an additional five million lire to double the camp's capacity. The governor intended to move at least half of the 2,300 prisoners in the Melada camp to Ugliano, because those prisoners were living in tents that would not survive the imminent autumn rains. To this end, the civil engineer of Zara presented a project that foresaw the construction of three pavilions, each capable of holding 372 internees. It would, however, be possible to triple the capacity by building "special" camp beds with four levels: "The rooms are 18.55 by 5 meters [61 by 16 feet], with a height of 4.30 meters and 4.20 meters [14.1 and 13.8 feet] on the first floor, and as in each of these will be 32 × 4=128 internees, and with four large rooms per floor there will be 128 ×

4=512 internees per floor, and thus 512 × 2=1,024 internees for each pavilion."[2]

The construction proceeded slowly, because the local populace refused to work on the construction of the camp, and the Italian workers, despite their very high pay, were frightened of attacks and behaved with extreme nervousness. It was not until the end of June 1943 that the buildings were finally completed and the camp was ready to house more than 2,000 internees. However, there were still no guards assigned to the camp, and so on June 19, 1942, the prefect of Zara wrote to the Interior Ministry to ask for a police commissioner to serve as camp director and for 50 policemen, with at least 12 machine guns.

According to historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, the camp hosted 300 inmates for a very short time: they arrived in August 1943 and left immediately after the Armistice of September 8, 1943.

SOURCES All secondary information on the Ugliano camp comes from Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 136.

Archival holdings on the camp may be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 138.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 138.

2. Ibid.

URBISAGLIA

Located in the province of Macerata, the town of Urbisaglia is approximately 32 kilometers (20 miles) west of Civitanova Marche, a port city on the Adriatic coast, and 106 kilometers (66 miles) northwest of Pescara. Opening on June 1, 1940, the men's internment camp at Urbisaglia was one of the first set up by the Interior Ministry in advance of Italy's imminent entry into World War II. It was established in several rooms of a large mansion that belonged to the Princes Giustiniani-Bandini, located roughly 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from Urbisaglia's city center. The mansion is adjacent to the famous gothic abbey of Chiaravalle di Fiastra located on the boundary line between the Tolentino and Urbisaglia municipalities.

The mansion had already been used as an internment facility for prisoners of war (POWs) during World War I. The large hall on the building's ground floor had been used as a refectory; there was also an old kitchen previously in place that was put back into operation. The upper floors (large rooms on the second floor and small rooms on the third floor and in the attic) were equipped with 100 beds for prospective internees. The canteen's management was entrusted to a female cook from a nearby village and her several assistants.

A public security commissioner directed the men's-only camp. Over time, different functionaries assumed this duty in succession. The Urbisaglia commissioner's authority also extended to the nearby camp of Pollenza. Several policemen (*carabinieri*) stationed inside the mansion conducted external surveillance.

The first inmates, Italian Jews, arrived in the camp on June 16, 1940, and another 80 foreign Jews and stateless persons (mostly Germans, Austrians, Poles, and Romanians) arrived at the end of July. In the beginning of the spring of 1941 foreigners from Venezia Giulia (those belonging to Slavic ethnic minorities whom the Mussolini regime persecuted vigorously) arrived, followed by "ex-Yugoslav" civil internees who started arriving in 1942. Allied

nationals were also interned at Urbisaglia, albeit for very short periods of time.

The 60 Italian Jews interned in the camp included some relatively well-known figures: Raffaele Cantoni, Carlo Alberto Viterbo, Eucardio Momigniano, Gino Pincherle, Renzo Bonofigli, Odoardo Della Torre, and Leone Del Vecchio. After several months of internment, many of them were either transferred or released.

In the first two years of the camp's operation, living conditions were decent. There was a large and lush park directly overlooking the villa, which had a positive impact on the prisoners' psychological condition, providing them with a place to exercise. The inmates could work together with local farmers on the estates of the Princes Giustiniani-Bandini; they could even go to Urbisaglia or Macerata for group shopping or medical visits. In addition, their relatives were free to visit them.

The building had a heating system and was generally well maintained. During the first several months of camp life, the internees had the opportunity to listen to a radio apparatus that they could rent by subscription. The Jews had a room at their disposal in which they set up a very small synagogue; they also formed an "assistance committee" that provided monthly economic support to needy co religionists. There were language courses organized for the internees, along with a newly set-up library. Health care was officially entrusted to an Austrian Jew, Dr. Paul Pollak, who was remunerated by the Interior Ministry on a monthly basis.

Yet, among the most unpleasant aspects of the internment in Urbisaglia, especially in the first several months of the camp's operation, was overcrowding. Because of this problem, Raffaele Cantoni complained strongly about camp conditions, appealing to the international standards regarding the protection of POWs. In response, he was labeled as a troublemaker and transferred to the Tremiti Islands camp. Furthermore, according to a report drawn up by the camp's director in September 1941, two law enforcement officers (Cosimo Carlucci and Antonio di Stefano) were guilty of acts of harassment toward the internees. In the winter of 1942, there were also reports about difficulties in obtaining food along

with several cases of malnutrition.

The fall of Mussolini on July 25, 1943, did not bring about any changes in the conditions of the Urbisaglia camp internees, then including both foreign civilians and Italian "aliens." Later, with the announcement of the September 8 Armistice, the fear of German capture circulated among the prisoners and the security staff. Many inmates jumped over a small wall separating the camp from the main road and fled to the countryside. Those who had no money or did not know where to take refuge decided to remain inside the camp.

On September 13, 1943, acting on the general provisions issued by the chief of police, the camp's director formally released all of the internees still remaining in the camp. However, on September 27, all the former internees were required to reenter the camp following an order issued by the Macerata police. The majority obeyed the new order because they trusted the authorities, who claimed to be guarantors of their safety. However, between September 29 and 30, both the internees who had reentered the camp voluntarily and those rounded up across the countryside (including many escapees from the nearby camps of Pollenza and Petriolo—approximately 100 people, both men and women)—were loaded onto several trucks escorted by German soldiers and transferred to a POW (*prigionieri di guerra,* PG) camp, PG No. 56, located in Sforzacosta in the Macerata province.

After serving as a collection center for civilians rounded up in the area, Urbisaglia remained formally under Italian direction and surveillance until October 23, 1943.

SOURCES This entry is a slightly edited version of the author's works, "L'Internamento degli Ebrei Italiani nel 1940 e il Campo di Urbisaglia-Abbadia di Fiastra," *RMI* 697: 1 (Jan.–Apr. 2003): 347–368; and "Mappatura dei Campi—Marche," *I campi del duce: I'internamento civile nell'Italia Fascista, 1940–1943* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 191–193. See also Roberto Cruciani, *E Vennero … 50 Anni di Liberta: 1943–1993—L'Internamento nelle Marche* (Macerata: Cooperativa Arti Visive, 1993).

Archival sources for the Urbisaglia internment camp are found

in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4, B. 128, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 22 “Macerata,” and A-ICRC, C Sc, Service des camps, Italie (August 23, 1943).

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

USTICA ISLAND

Ustica Island (*Isola di Ustica*) is approximately 65 kilometers (40 miles) north of Palermo in the Aeolian Islands. The island was used as a colony of confinement (*colonia di confino*) following the promulagation of the Exceptional Laws of November 1926 and, during World War II, as a concentration camp.

A number of prominent antifascists, many of whom were leading members of the Italian Communist Party (PCd'I) of the early 1920s and the Italian Social Democratic Party (PSI), were interned at Ustica in the colony during the early years of the Fascist regime: They included Amadeo Bordiga (PCd'I), Antonio Gramsci (PCd'I), Nello Rosselli (PSI), Giuseppe Romita (PSI), and Giuseppe Scalarini (lead cartoonist for the socialist newspaper, *Avanti*). Also interned at Ustica was an early Fascist turned regime opponent, Alfredo Misuri, the founder of Fatherland and Liberty (*Patria e libertà*). Additional prominent internees during the island's phase as a confinement colony included the anarcho-syndicalist Spartaco Stagnetti and a former Turkish colonel from Libya, Hessein Queri Pasha (Italian: Pascià).[1]

The cartoonist Scalarini commented extensively on Ustica's phase as a colony of confinement. He felt that his experience at Ustica was tolerable: "The island makes a good impression on me: the hills are covered in greenery and, down at the basin, there is a bunch of little white houses above which towers the facade of a church, all painted in yellow."[2] But what really made a difference was that, as a man with health problems and of advanced age (he was older than 50 when he was sent to the colony), he was allowed to bring along his family: "They say that Galileo developed his theory of motion by observing with his feet on the ground a lamp on the cathedral in Pisa; my own theory, in itself no less luminous, of calling my family to come to Ustica, was developed on a steamship while watching a detainee embracing his dear wife."[3]

The island's charm and the greater liberty that the internees

could enjoy were evident in correspondence from the inmates, and at least in the beginning they helped ease the suffering of imprisonment, even for men in poor health, such as Antonio Gramsci, who was assigned to confinement on November 18, 1926, after being arrested in a roundup 10 days earlier that had targeted leftists. He arrived on the island on December 7. From what he writes in a letter to his wife, Gramsci appeared calm: "You have no idea how happy I am to be able to wander about from one place to another, both in the country and on the island, and to breathe the air of the sea." But he had a politico-cultural project in mind: to create a "prison university," with classes organized together with the roughly 30 fellow politicians in the less than 40 days of his imprisonment at Ustica. They were "lessons in literacy but also culture," both under the direction of Amadeo Bordiga.[4] It was a civic education workshop with great moral and intellectual potential opening to the locals on the island who could certainly reap the benefits of the presence of men of such an intellectual attainment. In addition, the classes were "an opportunity for many detained anti fascists to deepen their political knowledge and to strengthen the motivations for their activism."[5] Gramsci was removed from Ustica on January 20, 1927, and confined to the prison at San Vittore of Milan.

The internees also ran an agricultural cooperative that offered not only staples, such as pasta and bread, but also lard and marmalade at reasonable prices. In 1927, the cooperative was closed and was later merged with detainee-run canteens. According to Scalarini, the detainees with different culinary traditions, such as from Rome, Tuscany, Trieste, and EmiliaRomagna, took turns doing the cooking.[6]

Although Scalarini and Gramsci had favorable impressions of the confinement colony, former Fascist Alfred Misuri took a different view. Detained at Ustica in May 1927, he wrote, "The island is overpopulated, poor, dirty, with scarce food resources, and very little water; there are around 1,500 inhabitants there, 400 convicts, more than 400 political detainees, and an unspecified number of law enforcement officers with their respective families."[7]

According to historian Camilla Poesio, the medical services were very poor, and the infirmary, although not completely lacking

in medication, lacked oil for heating water. There was only one doctor available, but his competence was questionable. Gradually, the visits of relatives were reduced, as occurred on other confinement islands as well. Between 1926 and 1930, the size of the contingent of the Volunteer Militia for National Security (*Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN) was increased by more than two-thirds, but even the enhanced guard force was inadequate. On August 15, 1927, an Ustica detainee, described as a common criminal, murdered the political internee Spartaco Stagnetti. The Ustica confinement colony closed in 1932, with most of the remaining political internees dispatched to camps at Ponza and Ventotene.

During World War II, the Italian authorities established a concentration camp on the northeastern part of Ustica. As of March 1941, the concentration camp had 318 internees, but had a total capacity of 2,020. The camp's population increased when a group of "ex-Yugoslav" communists was sent to the island. By November 1, 1942, there were 2,065 inmates in the camp: 895 were prisoners (the majority were common-law prisoners and only a few were political), and the remaining 1,170 were internees, mostly Slavs, who were subjected to very poor hygienic and sanitary conditions. Some of the Slavic internees had been sent from the Pukë camp in Italian-occupied Albania and had under gone investigations by the Italian military tribunals in the Balkans, which were dropped for insufficient evidence. They were nonetheless interned at Ustica and elsewhere as security threats.[8] When the island was cleared out in late June 1943, the "ex-Yugoslavs" were sent to the camps at Le Fraschette di Alatri, Chiesanuova, and Renicci.[9]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Ustica colony of confinement and concentration camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); Camilla Poesio, *Il confino fascista: L'arma silenziosa del regime* (Rome: Laterza, 2011); Riccardo Albani, Massimo Castera, and Giovanna Delfini, eds., *Non a Ustica sola …, Atti del Convegno "Nello Rosselli storico e antifascista"* (Florence: Giunti Editore, 2002); Nino Giacino, "Antonio Gramsci un 'concittadino onorario,'"

LCSDIU 3 (April 2001): 15; and Franco Foresta Martin, "Ustica sul finire degli anni Venti," *LCSDIU* 8 (September 2005–April 2006): 54–55.

Primary sources documenting the Ustica camp can be found in ACS, USSME, and ITS (1.1.14.1). The ITS documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. A published testimony from the confinement colony period is Giuseppe Scalarini, *Le mie isole* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1992).

Giovanna D'Amico
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Governo della Libia, Direzione Affari Politici, Rap-porto e assegnazione al confino per il libico musulmano Hussein Queri Pascià, September 25, 1942, ACS, MAI, Dgap, Archivo segreto, B. 16, Fasc. 9, Sf. 1.2-4 (Indigeni processati e condannati), cited at www.campifascisti.org.it.

2. Scalarini, *Le mie isole*, p. 71.

3. Ibid.

4. Quotations in Giacino, "Antonio Gramsci un 'concittadino onorario,'" p. 15.

5. Ibid.

6. Scalarini, *Le mie isole*, pp. 92–94.

7. As quoted in Martin, "Ustica sul finire degli anni Venti," pp. 54–55.

8. XVIII CdA to Supersloda, Rapporto sui nove internati richiesti dai partigiani per uno scambio di prigionieri, February 28, 1943, USSME, fondo M3, B. 78, reproduced at www.campifascisti.org.

9. For the Ustica prisoners sent to Chiesanuova, see "Liste von Internierten im KZ-Lager Renicci (Anghiari)," ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 1, Doc. No. 459314.

VALLECROSIA

Vallecrosia is located 125 kilometers (78 miles) southwest of Genoa, the regional capital, in the Imperia province, Liguria region. The provincial camp there was established inside a building already in use by the Italian Army. The camp became operational on February 9, 1944. Ninety-two soldiers of the National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr) oversaw the camp. Despite the camp's maximum occupancy of 150, only 40 people were detained at Vallecrosia. The prisoners were mostly antifascist political detainees and relatives of draft evaders. According to a report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), there were also some French prisoners held at Vallecrosia. The report complained that they were periodically taken out of camp to remove unexploded ordnance. The German authorities took the French detainees into custody on September 4, 1944.[1]

The majority of Jews living in Imperia province were arrested in November 1943 during roundups, involving primarily the towns of Sanremo, Ventimiglia, and Bordighera. A second wave of arrests took place in April 1944. Six Jews passed through the Vallecrosia camp: five females (two daughters, ages 12 and 20, arrested together with their mother in Bordighera on February 15, 1944, and two elderly women captured in Sanremo) and one male, a doctor previously held at the Calvari di Chiavari camp in the Genoa province.

The camp closed on August 2, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Vallecrosia provincial camp are Circola Brandale di Savona, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Liguria* (Acqui Terme: Impressioni Grafiche, 2009); Gustavo Ottolenghi, "Il campo di Vallecrosia," *PI* 19: 93 (2002): 24–25; Rosario Fucile and Liana Millu, *Dalla Liguria ai campi di sterminio*, ed. Gilberto Salmoni (Genoa: Associazione

nazionale ex deportati, 2004); Paolo Veziano, "La persecuzione antiebraica in provincia di Imperia (1938–1945)," *Itinerari della Memoria in provincia di Imperia* (Imperia: Provincia di Imperia, 2005), available at www.memoryofthealps.net/download/GRUPPO01~pdf_imperia/Imperia-Libro.pdf; and Matteo Stefanori, "'Ordinaria amministrazione': I campi di concentramento per ebrei nella Repubblica sociale italiana" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Università degli studi della Tuscia and Université de Paris X Nanterre, 2011).

Primary sources documenting the camp at Vallecrosia can be found in IsrecIm and ITS, Hängemappe Italien/Bolzano.

Nicoletta Fasano
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTE

1. ACVG, "Liste indicative des prisons et des camps situés en Italie ou en territoire exclusivement administre par l'ennemi," May 24, 1949, pp. 7–8, ITS, Hängemappe Italien/Bolzano, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it/scheda_campo.php?id_campo=517.

VENICE

Venice is almost 394 kilometers (245 miles) north of Rome. When the German Army took control of Mestre and Venice on September 9, 1943, the German authorities began to implement the "Final Solution" in Italy. On December 5, 1943, in an urgent communication, Superintendent Cordova ordered the local authorities of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) to proceed with the immediate arrest of full Jews (those without non-Jewish ancestry).[1] The roundup took place during the night of December 5, 1943. It was particularly harsh. A squad of public security agents broke into the houses of Venetian Jews, rousted them from their beds, and arrested them. The police then went to the Venetian Jewish community's nursing home, broke the locks, and stormed in; the elderly, frightened and stunned, were brutally removed from their beds. These unfortunates were first deported to the Marco Foscarini Boarding School and later transferred to the prison of Santa Maria Maggiore where they awaited dispatch to a concentration camp. Arrests continued on the following days. On December 7 and 8, 105 men and women were registered in the prison of Santa Maria Maggiore, while their 19 children, ages 3 to 14, were confined in three different institutions for minors.

In the week that followed, the Venetian detainees were transferred from prison to the Jewish nursing home, which had been converted into a provincial camp for Jews (*campo provinciale per ebrei*); its purpose was to detain them for a short time while preparations were made for their transfer to the Fossoli camp. During the 15 days of the camp's existence, children also arrived from boarding schools in order to be re united with their families.

On December 28, 1943, Superintendent Cordova announced the deportation of some 100 Venetian Jews. Food supplies provided by the nursing home were distributed among those selected. On December 31, the public security commissioner for the Venetian

Railways informed the provincial chief of the departure of 93 Jewish prisoners accompanied by a military escort on board a train headed to the Fossoli concentration camp. On January 18, 1944, another deportation train, which included some children, left Venice for the same destination. On February 22, 1944, every one then being held in the Fossoli camp was deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. On August 17, 1944, an additional 21 of the 32 patients over 70 years of age were deported from the nursing home, along with their community chief Rabbi Adolfo Ottolenghi, who chose to share the same fate.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Venice camp are Renata Segre, ed., *Gli ebrei a Venezia 1938–1945: Una comunità tra persecuzione e rinascita* (Venice: Il cardo, 1995); and Paolo Sereni, "Gli anni della persecuzione razziale a Venezia: Appunti per una storia," in Umberto Fortis, ed., *Venezia ebraica: Atti delle prime giornate di studi sull'ebraismo veneziano (Venezia 1976–1980)* (Rome: Carucci, 1982), pp. 129–151.

Primary sources documenting the Venice camp can be found in AFCDEC and ASVen. Two published accounts are Letizia Morpurgo Fano, *Diario: ricordi di prigionia* (Venice: Comunità Israelitica di Venezia, 1966); and *Israel* 30: 24 (May 24, 1945).

Frida Bertolini
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTE

1. Fonogramma della Questura a tutti i commissariati di Pubblica sicurezza, Comando Carabinieri e 49th Legione MVSN, e per conoscenza al capo della provincia in sede, Venezia, December 5, 1943. ASVen, Gabinetto di Prefettura, vers. 1, 1943, fasc. 4099.

VENTOTENE

Ventotene is a little island outside the Gulf of Gaeta in the province of Latina some 70 kilometers (43 miles) west of Naples, with a surface area of less than 1.5 square kilometers (0.6 square miles). The island had been used as a place to isolate prisoners under the Bourbon dynasty of Naples. From 1861, the unified Kingdom of Italy continued its use as a detention site for prisoners considered particularly dangerous. After the promulgation of the Exceptional Laws in 1926, the Fascist regime began to send its political opponents to Ventotene. At first the antifascists were held in a Bourbon-era, nineteenth-century fortress, a massive structure with the appearance of a medieval castle that also held the local section of the Volunteer Militia for National Security (*Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN, also called the *Camicie nere* or Blackshirts) that guarded the inmates. In the 1940s, large rooms (*cameroni*) were constructed to serve as common cells for the prisoners, giving the internal exile colony (*colonia di confino*), as it was called, its final form. The building complex included barracks and twelve identical pavilions. Each was divided into two rooms, with shared washrooms divided from the rest of the pavilion by a wall that did not reach the ceiling. Each also had an anteroom where roll call took place every evening. Each room was equipped with 20 beds, separated by bedside tables.

In 1939, political prisoners previously kept on the nearby island of Ponza were transferred to Ventotene, increasing its population to its peak size; most of the inmates were communists. The political detainees were prisoners who were brought to the island to undergo "political confinement" (*confino politico*), a type of imprisonment used by the Fascist police against antifascists. In December 1942, the total number of inmates was only 45, including Italians, foreigners, and one Jew. In February 1943, there were 77 Italian internees, 33 of whom were Jewish. In May 1943, there were 191 internees, mostly Italians, and in June this

number rose to 225. In February 1941 the political detainees numbered 676; in January 1943, 675; in July 1943, 660. Among the prominent antifascists were the future president of the Republic of Italy, Alessandro (Sandro) Pertini, and the future Secretary-General of the General Italian Confederation of Labor, Giuseppe Di Vittorio.

With Italy's entrance into the war, living conditions in the camp quickly became very difficult. Food was rationed and became very hard to find. For every detainee the government provided a daily subsidy of 5 lire, of which 3.5 were given to the camp food administrator, a functionary chosen by the inmates. The internees who were able to receive food from their families could survive; those who had only the money given from the government had great difficulties because the subsidy was inadequate to buy sufficient food of good quality. The camp food was of such poor quality in part because local merchants capitalized on the situation by providing practically inedible food to the kitchens. Some inmates, like Oliviero Natali, died of hunger and were buried in the island's tiny cemetery. The communists were among the internees who fared better because they pooled all the food parcels sent to them by their families. In one instance, the communist "collective" succeeded in providing supplementary rations that helped counteract a serious caloric deficiency. Political prisoner Pertini conducted an extensive correspondence while confined at Ventotene, at times complaining to the Interior Ministry, the mayor (*podestà*) of Ventotene, and then-camp director Francesco Meo about rations for detainees who, like himself, suffered from tuberculosis.[1]

Some of the inmates could work. A document from November 1942 from Police Inspector General Salvatore Li Voti, informed the Interior Ministry that the colony director had authorized 87 "individual agricultural workers" to work in the fields for various families of the area.[2] The number of inmates permitted to work was 237, even though the document did not specify what type of work they were permitted to undertake. Li Voti suggested that other inmates should perform road maintenance; for that work they would be given an additional 2 lire daily and a supplementary bread ration. Taking advantage of this opportunity, one of the most well-known political prisoners, Altiero Spinelli, a future deputy of

the Italian and European parliaments, tried in vain to raise chickens, but had to give up due to the lack of chicken feed. Other political prisoners, particularly the communists, set themselves the task of producing potatoes, but driven by hunger, they ended up eating the seed potatoes provided by the colony's administration.

The first war time director of the colony was the head Police Commissioner Francesco Meo, replaced at the end of 1941 by Marcello Guida. Both of these directors left a poor record of running the camp, although this did not prevent Guida from becoming police chief (*questore*) of Milan in the 1970s. The directors counted on a detachment of a special police unit (*Milizia confinaria)* formed especially to provide surveillance of political prisoners.

The coup d'état of July 25, 1943, against Mussolini brought great jubilation to the inmates, although the director, Guida, and members of the *Milizia confinaria* remained at their posts. The director and inmates reached an agreement that, while awaiting their liberation by the new government, the prisoners would behave themselves. In exchange, the director abolished practically all the restrictions on freedom of movement, the morning and evening roll calls, and the nightly closure of bedroom doors.

One of the first actions of Marshal Pietro Badoglio's new government was to free some internees and political prisoners. On July 27, the chief of police, Carmine Senise, decreed the freedom of all the imprisoned antifascists, except for communists, anarchists, and those guilty of spying. Subsequently, even foreign civilian prisoners and communists were liberated, though with great difficulty, in part because of the Allied sinking, on July 22, of the postal boat *Santa Lucia*, which had maintained the link between the island and mainland. On August 8, 1943, Pertini petitioned Badoglio for liberation from Ventonene, in a letter signed by fellow prisoners Francesco Fancello, Altiero Spinelli, Mauro Scoccimarro, Lazar Fundo, Ante Babich, and Antonio Francovich. They were released shortly thereafter.[3]

In August 1943, a proposal called for removing the island camp from the militia's control. According to a report of the prefect of Littoria dated August 18, 1943, the Blackshirts had maintained the "old mentality of the party," and violent episodes had only been

prevented through the mediation and work of the ordinary police of the island.[4] The colony, along with that on the island of Ponza, closed in August 1943 due to provisioning difficulties.

SOURCES The sources of information on Ventotene are relatively rich because of the internment of many prominent anti-fascists there. See Adriano Dal Pont, *I lager di Mussolini: L'altra faccia del confino nei documeti della polizia fascista* (Milan: La Pietra, 1975). Other references may be found in Silverio Corvisieri, *La villeggiatura di Mussolini* (Milan: Baldini e Castaldi, 2004), pp. 267–285. See also entries in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 203–204; and *Enciclopedia dell' antifascismo e della Resistenza*, 6 vols. (Milan: La Pietra, 1968–1989).

The most important archival sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 9; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 111 and 127. For a personal account of life in Ventotene, see Alti ero Spinelli, *Come ho tentato di diventare saggio—Io Ulisse* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1984). Pertini's correspondence is found in *Sandro Pertini: dal confino alla Resistenza; lettere 1935–1945*, ed. Stefano Carretti (Manduria (Taranto): Piero Lacaita Editore, 2007) and is collected in several archives, especially ANSP, and ACS, collection Casellerio politico centrale, fasc. Pertini Alessandro.

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NOTES

1. See Pertini to Francesco Meo, November 19, 1939; Pertini to the mayor of Ventotene, October 11, 1941; and Pertini to Mi, May 3, 1942, in *Sandro Pertini*, pp. 83, 95, 108–109, and culled from ACS, Casellerio politico centrale, fasc. Pertini Alessandro.

2. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 127.

3. The Badoglio petition is found in *Sandro Pertini*, p. 121, and

copied from ACS, Casellerio politico centrale, fasc. Pertini Alessandro.

4. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4, B. 127.

VERONA

Verona, located on the Adige River in northern Italy, is 168 kilometers (104 miles) east of Milan. The establishment of a camp for Jews at Verona followed the promulgation of Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI); it directed the creation of "provincial concentration camps" for Jews in all parts of the RSI.[1] According to historian Liliana Picciotto, the Verona camp was located on Pallone Street.[2] The most detailed document about this camp found to date is a dossier of the 40th Legion of the local National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr), dated December 5, 1943.[3] It stated the need to "set up a guard for the concentration camp for Jews" on the basis of the provisions given by the head of the province, as well as per various agreements reached between him and the "German command." The order further stipulated the following:

> Available force: (1) A platoon of 30 legionnaires under the command of one particularly energetic subaltern officer will report at the Cittadella Bridge tomorrow, December 6, at 12 P.M., in order to take over the premises designated to accommodate those in charge of guarding the Jewish detainees. (2) The legionnaires will be carrying their own individual armaments and other equipment. (3) The designated official commander, in addition to his responsibility over the guards, will provisionally assume the task of director of the concentration camp. (4) Based on the inspection carried out today by Aiutante Maggio of the Legion, and with regard to the verbal dispositions given by Aiutante Maggio to SCM [sublieutenant; *Sottocapomanipolo*] Raffaele Colucci, the commander of the guard will assign sentries to their posts based on the location of the occupied premises, bearing in mind that the

entire responsibility for the service rests solely with him. (5) This command will ensure that the already acquired rations will be distributed properly. (6) Further orders relating to the functioning of the camp follow.[4]

No information exists as to the overall size and capacity of the camp, such as the number of prisoners and their living conditions. Altogether, according to Picciotto, there were 460 Jews deported from Verona to German-occupied Poland via the Fossoli transit camp.

SOURCES Some information on the provincial concentration camp for Jews at Verona can be found in Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della memoria: Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945)* (1991; Milan: Mursia, 2002). Citations in the notes refer to the 1991 edition.

Primary sources on the camp at Verona can be found in ASVR. The order for the establishment of such provincial concentration camps for Jews is found in ACS.

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NOTES

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

2. Fondo prefettura di Verona, "Amministrazione Beni Ebraici," cartella Loewenthal Roberto e Rosenwald Anna, ASVR, as cited in Picciotto, *Il libro della memoria*, p. 834.

3. Comunicazione del Comandante della legione della GNR di Verona, December 5, 1943, ASVR (collection unknown).

4. Ibid.

VICENZA

Vicenza (Vicenza province) is more than 44 kilometers (almost 28 miles) northeast of Verona. Although the prefect of Vicenza designated Tonezza del Cimone as the provincial concentration camp for Jews, the Olympic Theater (*Teatro Olimpico*) in Vicenza held eight Jews during this period as well. According to documentation submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the three men and five women confined to the Olympic Theater were born between 1869 and 1893, and seven of the eight prisoners were foreigners.[1] In late January 1944, the Jews held at the Olympic Theater were dispatched along with the Jews from the Tonezza del Cimone camp as part of convoy no. 6, which departed northern Italy from Milan Central Station. The convoy arrived at Auschwitz on February 6, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Vicenza (Olympic Theater) camp are Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della memoria: Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945)* (1991; Milan: Mursia, 2002); Paolo Tagini, *Le poche cose: Gli internati ebrei nella provincia di Vicenza* (Verona: Cierre edizioni, 2006), in particular the contribution of Antonio Spinelli, "Il campo provinciale di Tonezza del Cimone," pp. 185–220; and www.campifascisti.it.

Primary sources documenting the Vicenza (Olympic Theater) camp are ACS, Mi, Dgps, A5G II GM, B. 151, f.230, ebrei, s.f. Ebrei, "Elenco di ebrei prelevati dal Teatro Olimpico, Atti pervenuti dalla Segreteria del Capo della Polizia, senza lettera d'accompagnamento"; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, RSI 1943–1945, B. 8, f., Questura di Vicenza, "Operazioni di polizia nella provincia, Vicenza 1944," December 29, 1943, in the same folio, "Vicenza, Relazione settimanale sulla situazione politica ed economica della provincia"; and ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 2, available in digital form at USHMMA.

NOTE

1. Elenco degli Ebrei presenti al Teatro Olimpico (Vicenza), January 30, 1944, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 2, Doc. No. 459450.

VINCHIATURO

Vinchiaturo is a town in the province of Campobasso about 77 kilometers (48 miles) northeast of Naples, in one of the poorest regions of southern Italy. In 1940, the town of Vinchiaturo numbered fewer than 5,000 inhabitants and was chosen as a site for a detention facility because it lacked any industrial or military significance.

The concentration camp opened in June 1940, according to the instructions of the Royal Decree (*Regio decreto*) of July 8, 1938, No. 1415, and the Interior Ministry letter (*Circolare*) of June 8, 1940, No. 442/12267. The Interior Ministry organized and ran the camp that was designated as a camp for civilian women, Italian and foreign, considered dangerous to the war effort.

The Vinchiaturo camp was located at Via Libertà 13, a three-story building, in the built-up part of town that was the property of Dr. Domenico Nonno. Inside there were three rooms capable of accommodating a total of 60 beds. The building had running water and electricity, two kitchens, and three toilets.

The number of inmates varied from 25 in August 1941 to 56 in May 1943, with a median of around 45. Some of them were Jews: 20 in February 1941 and 20 in December 1942. In May 1943 there were 39 inmates, all women, of whom 7 were Italian, 2 Polish, 1 Spanish, 5 German (of whom 2 were Jewish), 3 Croats, 15 Yugoslavs (2 Jews), 3 Russians, and 3 of "uncertain" nationality.

In May 1943, the camp director—who, based on the size of the camp, probably headed the camp for the entire time it was operational—was the mayor (*podestà*). As in all the women's camps, there was also a female director. Following up some complaints from a note sent, probably anonymously, to the Interior Ministry, Inspector Antonio Panariello came to the camp for an inspection. His report of March 5, 1942, provides insights into many forms of "disservice" done to the internees.[1] For example, inmates could attend Mass only on Thursdays, so as to avoid too

much contact with the populace: “Finding, however, that these complaints were fair, it was arranged that the aforementioned inmates should hear Mass on Sunday and on the other feast days, sitting together in the first pew of the church, carefully overseen by the female director.” The female director was also accused of sitting too close to the confessional in order to listen to the confessions.

From a health viewpoint the camp’s greatest failing was the lack of a bathroom. As Panariello noted in his report, “There are two little rooms for washing oneself with running water, sufficient for the internees who find themselves in the camp.” However, the inspector did not “consider it worthwhile to spend money installing a bathroom, as there is the possibility of adapting other rooms for washing. If there are women with syphilis or other venereal diseases, they are not contagious in the act of cleaning.”[2]

Many problems arose from the “oppressive social misery” stemming from the fact that the internees were from different social backgrounds; Panariello felt these issues could not be resolved. Among the internees were both middle-class women and women interned because they were prostitutes. There were two suicide attempts. Immediately after her internment, Elsa Ratz tried to throw herself out a window, and a little later Ietta Engl tried to poison herself. Other inmates got into a slapping match and were punished with various numbers of days of imprisonment. Other discipline problems also existed: “Almost all the internees speak Italian. It is prohibited to speak in one’s own language except during meals and in the meeting room, because this has often provoked arguments.”[3] Problems also stemmed from boredom, owing to the lack of any means of distraction; in addition the delivery of mail was slow because letters had to be censored before being given to the inmates. Letters in German had to pass through the police (*questura*) of Campobasso because there was no one capable of reading German at Vinchiaturo, which provoked complaints from the German-speaking inmates. On the food, Panariello noted,

> The internees have, for six lire a day, 200 grams [7 ounces] of bread, a quarter-liter [half-pint] of milk in the morning, at midday a sufficient soup of pasta, or pasta and vegetables, and

> a second dish like liver, or meat when it can be found, or eggs, and in the evening minestrone and cheese, or greens. The cards [of accounts] are, naturally, kept by the directors. It is not forbidden for the inmates to procure something else with their other two daily lire, and some, with their own means, buy a piece of meat or some eggs on top of the rest, or indeed some other dish.

Panariello concluded his report by recommending the greatest possible understanding and humanity necessary to make life in the camp as pleasant as possible.

In June 1943, to relieve overcrowding in the camp and on the insistent request of the delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 10 internees were transferred. The camp was closed on September 10, 1943.

SOURCES There is a brief mention of the Vinchiaturo camp in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 224–225.

The only available primary sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 116; and in Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 9.

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NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 116, Panariello report, March 5, 1942.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

VISCO

Visco (Udine province) is 21 kilometers (13 miles) southeast of Udine and 22 kilometers (14 miles) southwest of Gorizia. The camp at Visco was one of the largest concentration camps for civilian internees in Fascist Italy. It was also one of the last built before the Armistice of August 8, 1943, and remained in operation for just a few months. It was established in the Borgo Piave barracks (today known as the former Luigi Sbaiz barracks), a military complex built in 1915 on the outskirts of Visco on a road leading to the neighboring walled town of Palmanova. The decision to set up the camp on this site was made by Generale di Brigata Umberto Giglio, an Intendant of the Superior Command of the Italian Armed Forces "Slovenia and Dalmatia" (*Comando Superiore FF. AA. "Slovenia e Dalmazia," * Supersloda).

The Italian authorities established the Visco camp with great urgency in December 1942 because they anticipated receiving a great influx of "ex-Yugoslav" prisoners as a result of the major German, Italian, and Ustaša anti-partisan offensive planned for the coming January, Operation White (*Weiss*). The original plans called for Visco to accommodate 10,000 people, while providing an extensive infrastructure that was to distinguish it from similar sites. However, Visco's capacity never exceeded 4,500.

All military equipment was taken out of the Borgo Piave barracks to make room for this renovation and expansion. Nine of the 18 preexisting structures were repurposed as a 400-bed hospital, equipped with toilets and sinks. The other nine buildings were either cleaned up or turned into offices, accommodations, an Italian officers' canteen and, in part, kitchens for internees. Among the improvements made in the site's conversion to a camp was expansion of the water system. The prisoners' accommodations consisted of 332 barracks and 22 large tents. A 2-kilometer-long (1.2-miles-long) double barbed-wire fence enclosed the camp, which in turn was divided into four sectors. Three sectors were reserved for men, and the fourth was for women and children.

Several watchtowers were erected outside the perimeter, spaced about 100 meters (328 feet) apart.

A carabinieri officer, Tenente Colonello Salvatore Bonfiglio, commanded the Visco camp. His deputy was Tenente Raffaele Covatta. From June 7, 1943 onward, a little more than 300 soldiers, including officers, doctors, noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and the rank and file, provided security. In terms of organization and prisoner movement, the camp was under the close watch of the Italian Second Army's Superintendency, which designated Visco and Arbe (Rab) as its principal camps for operational needs.

The first major group of internees, consisting of 300 exhausted Slovenes and Croats bearing signs of hunger edema, arrived from Arbe in late February 1943. Between February and March several other large transports arrived from the camps at Gonars and Monigo and directly from Ljubljana. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), at least one prisoner was deported from the Diaz Barracks camp in Fiume (Croatian: Rijeka) to Visco during this period.[1] On June 15, 1943, 435 Montenegrin internees from the Prevlaka camp joined the camp's population.[2] The latter group consisted largely of former Royal Yugoslav Army officers and troops. On arrival, the new internees were shaved, undressed, and searched, and their belongings were seized.

In comparison with other Italian camps for "ex-Yugoslavs," the living conditions at Visco were relatively tolerable. Twenty-two people died during the camp's existence, most of whom were prisoners who entered the camp in a debilitated state. Seven of these deaths were reported between March and May 1943.[3] Three more internees perished in the civilian hospital in Palmanova. No children died. The accommodations were mostly clean and dry, but food was scarce, amounting to approximately half of the daily caloric requirements. To compound matters, the Italian Army suspended all aid shipments of food from the archbishop of Gorizia, Monsignor Carlo Margotti.

The adult men and women internees were put to work in various labor assignments to prevent their organizing in other ways, such as plotting revolts. There were specific provisions for the treatment of children and teen agers: they were confined in a fenced-in area,

where they could play games and receive age-appropriate instruction. Some of the adult women prisoners served as their teachers and caregivers.

The prisoners formed a choir and fielded several soccer teams. They also published a mimeographed bulletin, *The Highlight—Visco* (*Višek—Visco*). The first copy appeared on March 8, 1943.[4] The internees also established clandestine political and military training courses and formed a liberation committee representing the camp's three Yugoslav nationalities: Slovenes, Croats, and Montenegrins.

The arrest of Benito Mussolini on July 25, 1943, prompted the Italian authorities to gradually take a more lenient attitude toward the internees. In consequence, the prisoners' political activities, whose objective was a revolt to liberate the camp, came out into the open. A few days before the Armistice of August 8, 1943, Supersloda ordered the release of some 1,000 internees. The release was in response to pressure from the local Catholic Church and labor shortages in occupied Slovenia. At the Palmanova train station, the released prisoners boarded a special convoy bound for Ljubljana. The train was unable to depart, however, because of railway disruptions in Ajdovščina (Italian: Aidussina), Slovenia. After the Armistice, the Italian authorities continued to hold the remaining internees.

The news of Gorizia's liberation by partisans reached the camp by September 11. In turn the liberation committee went to the camp director with two proposals. The first sought permission to contact the insurgents to arrange for the evacuation of Visco's internees, and the second requested permission for the internees to take charge of maintaining internal order. With the acceptance of these proposals, three internees, after agreeing to return before nightfall, left the camp in a truck headed for Gorizia. On their return, the small delegation found the camp already deserted. Fearing the worst, on the morning of September 14, the liberation committee had given instructions for the camp's evacuation. In the meantime, the soldiers on guard had spontaneously abandoned their positions, thus creating, with the camp director's knowledge, conditions for peaceful liberation. In many cases, the former Visco internees seized what ever arms were available.

More than 3,000 former internees—split into several groups that each included women, elderly, and children—left Visco heading slowly eastward. A platoon formed by the internees' military organization headed each group, leading the march along the Romans-Gradisca-Miren route with the aim of reaching the Slovenian partisan zone. Occasional armed clashes with German and Italian units along the path near the Romans road and across the Isonzo River claimed a number of lives.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Visco camp include Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 237–238; Alessandra Kersevan, *I campi di concentramento per internati jugoslavi nell'Italia fascista: I campi di Gonars e Visco, Atti del Convegno, Palmanova, 29.11.2003* (Udine: Kappa Vu, 2004); Ferruccio Tassin, "Da fratelli in una Europa più grande a nemici per il culto della nazione: Il campo di concentramento di Visco," in Boris M. Gombač and Dario Mattiussi, eds., *La deportazione dei civili sloveni e croati nei campi di concentramento italiani: 1942–1943: I campi del confine orientale* (Gorizia: Centro "Leopoldo Gasparini," 2004), pp. 63–78; Božidar Jezernik, *Struggle for Survival: Italian Concentration Camps for Slovenes during the Second World War* (Ljubljana: Društvo za preučevanje zgodovine, literature in antropologije, 1999); and Ferruccio Tassin, *Sul confine dell'Impero* (Visco: Comune, 1998).

Primary sources documenting the Visco camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 109 and 110; AUSSME, fond M3, B. 64 and 69; A-RS, collections AS 1840 10 and 1887 105; and ITS, collections 0.1 (CNI) and 1.2.7.23 (Persecution measures Serbia). The latter documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. Some of these documents are reproduced online at www.campifascisti.it.

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NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Josip Blečić, Doc. No. 53794455.

2. VI CdA al Supersloda, Telescritto Nr. 4606, AUSSME, fond M3, B. 69, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

3. Supersloda, Decessi verificatesi nei campi concentramento dal 1 gennaio al 31 maggio 1943, June 26, 1943, AUSSME, fond M3, B. 69, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

4. *Višek—Visco*, A-RS, 1887 105, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

VO' VECCHIO

Vo' (Padova province) is more than 167 kilometers (104 miles) southwest of Trieste and almost 21 kilometers (13 miles) southwest of Padova. The history of the Vo' Vecchio (also called Vo' Euganeo) camp is emblematic of the numerous small provincial camps for Jews (*campo provinciale per ebrei*) set up in haste and with insufficient means. Such camps often appeared in isolated places and lacked essential facilities and goods, such as cots, mattresses, blankets, and eating utensils. The Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) established the camp in the Venier Villa in the village called Vo' Euganeo (Padova province; today: Vo' or Vò) in accord with Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the RSI. Located on the Euganean Hills between Este and Abano Terme, the camp opened on December 3, 1943, and remained in operation for the next seven and a half months.

In terms of anti-Jewish measures, the Padova province fell under the region called the "Adriatic Coastal Zone of Operation," the capital of which was Trieste. The Jewish internees at Vo' Vecchio had not been sent to the large national concentration camp of Fossoli, but had remained in place awaiting decisions from the German Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo) of Trieste. On July 17, 1944, 47 Jews from Vo' Vecchio were dispatched to Trieste and stayed there in detention for the amount of time necessary to prepare the "transport."[1] At that time, the German-run Risiera di San Sabba camp had already been functioning for several months, dispatching trainloads of deportees on a regular basis. The prisoners from Vo' Vecchio had been assigned to leave on convoy no. 32T scheduled for departure on July 28, 1944, but the train was canceled. They finally left on July 31 on convoy no. 33T headed to Auschwitz. On the day of their arrival, August 3, most of these deportees, who were unable to work, were sent to their death.[2]

Following the deportation, the Vo' Vecchio camp closed, and

Venier Villa came under German command. The German authorities quickly installed an Organisation Todt (OT) post in the villa, whose workers fortified the area's canals.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Vo' Vecchio camp are Francesco Selmin, ed., *Da Este ad Auschwitz: Storia degli ebrei di Este e del campo di concentramento di Vo'* (Este: Editrice Cooperativa Giordano Bruno, 1988); Fabio Galluccio, *I lager in Italia: La memoria sepolta nei duecento luoghi di deportazione fascisti* (Civezzano: Nonluoghi libere edizioni, 2002); Giuseppe Mayda, *Storia della deportazione dall'Italia 1943–1945: Militari, ebrei e politici nei lager del Terzo Reich* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2002); and Italo Baratella, *Este, 4-12-1943: L'arresto delle Zevi* (Padua: Zielo Edizioni, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the Vo' Vecchio camp can be found in AFDEC; ACS, and ITS, collections 1.1.14.1 (Persecution Measures in Italy and Albania) and 3.1.1.3 (F18 files). The latter documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. Questura di Padova all' Mi, Dgps, Ogg.: "Documentazione relativa ad israeliti," June 15, 1956, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 2, Doc. No. 459477.

2. "List of the formerly Interned in Concentration Camp of Vo Eugane (Padova)," July 6, 1945, ITS, 3.1.1.3, folder 59, Doc. Nos. 78782355–78782356.

ITALIAN-OCCUPIED ALBANIA*

FIER

Fier (Italian: Fieri) is a major city in southwestern Albania, located approximately 32 kilometers (20 miles) to the west of Berat and 70 kilometers (45 miles) southwest of Tiranë. The city is in the Myzeqe Plains and is an important agricultural area rich in deposits of petroleum, natural gas, and bituminous coal. At the time of the Italian occupation Fier was under the authority of the Berat Prefecture and sub-prefecture. The camp at Fier was established in 1940, and the city also served as a place of compulsory residence, largely in relation to the Italian conflict against Greece.[1] The camp was used for civilians evicted from war zones and for political detainees, although the presence of British prisoners of war (POWs) was also reported.[2] The civilians—150 women and 100 children ages 2 to 6—were sent to the camp in late November 1940.[3] At the end of December, 169 political prisoners were dispatched to Italy for one year's confinement. Most of these political prisoners were Greek, but some were Albanians suspected of anti-Italian activities based on intelligence gathered by the Italian military police on behalf of the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania.[4] After this transfer, more than 420 prisoners remained at Fier.

In 1941, after the political prisoners were sent to Italy, the camp entered another stage of existence.[5] Following the occupation of Yugoslavia the Italian authorities transferred Serbian POWs to Fier. However, they only stayed for a few months: on April 30, 1941, a communiqué announced that 500 of the POWs were soon to be transferred again to Italy through the nearby port of Valona (Albanian: Vlorë).[6] At this time, the Albanian mayor of Fier, Abdon V. Micillo, directed the camp. The numerous sick prisoners were treated at the nearby Hospital No. 403 before being returned to the camp.[7]

As of January 29, 1942, the camp's registered political prisoners included Serbs, Kosovar Serbs, and Montenegrins; several ended up later being released, whereas others deemed too dangerous remained in confinement.[8] Later that year detainees from other Albanian concentration camps, including Kolonjë, arrived in Fier. Deemed unusable because of its dilapidated buildings and frequent flooding, Kolonjë closed around February 14.[9] Additional prisoners arrived from the camp at Peqin. Many of the Peqin prisoners were transferred in the first four months of 1942; some were later liberated.[10]

Available sources on these detainees provide only partial clues as to the prisoner population at Fier. Judging from the events surrounding the release of 112 people from Peqin (from late February through early June 1942), it appears they were Kosovars as so designated by the Italian military authorities. Twenty-six of these prisoners, ages 21 to 70, received positive evaluations: this group consisted of 15 Serbs, 8 Croats, and 3 Montenegrins. Eighty-six other prisoners, ages 23 to 65—49 Montenegrins, 30 Serbs, 3 Russians, 2 Croats, 1 Bulgarian, and 1 Bosniak—received negative reports. It is unclear whether any of the 112 were Jewish. In the end, the Royal General Lieutenancy (*Regia Luogotenenza Generale*, RLG), the Italian governing authority in Albania, having noted the opinion of the Albanian authorities from March 1942 favoring the release of all 112 prisoners, decided on June 11 to defer action because it found it inappropriate, "considering the current general situation and the state of public order," to return the 86 prisoners who received negative reports to their places of residence. The Italian Interior Ministry had already specified which individuals would not be allowed to work as laborers.[11] On or around July 1942, 52 Fier prisoners signed a petition declaring their innocence and pointing out that they had been in Albanian internment for more than a year, solely on administrative grounds, and that they now found themselves in economic distress. The petitioners were likely Serbs and Kosovar Serbs, almost all of whom had been arrested in July 1941, taken to Peqin, and transferred to Fier in January 1942.[12]

The administration of the Fier camp gradually passed from the military authorities to the Albanian Interior Ministry, particularly the local sub-prefecture. Throughout 1942, the Italian Army

continued to send POWs to the Fier camp who had been captured in military operations or roundups. Among the prisoners was a Bulgarian Jew of "ex-Yugoslav" nationality captured on April 7 and released on May 18. He was supposed to return to his place of origin, but stayed in Tiranë.[13] Some internees continued to be released, and there were also escapes.[14] In late 1942, a number of Fier political internees (Kosovar Serbs from Prizren and Pejë) were the subject of a release request by the Orthodox bishop of Prizren. However, the majority of the prisoners remained in the camp because the Italian police deemed them dangerous as communists or opponents of the Axis.[15]

Available documents indicate that the essential characteristics of the Fier concentration camp remained unchanged through 1943, and interned Kosovar Serbs continued to be held in great numbers. One important change should be noted, however: in the first half of the year, the Fier camp held Jewish detainees from Serbia who most likely came from Priština where, according to confidential information, the vice commissioner of the local Albanian police had demanded that some likely suspects provide payoffs to avoid being handed over to the Germans. According to this report, he proceeded to conduct mass arrests of those accused of harboring communist sympathies and then had them dispatched to the camps.[16]

SOURCES On the regime's system of repression within the context of Fascist policy in the Balkans, see Bernd Jünger Fischer, *Albania at War (1939–1945)* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1999); Brunello Mantelli, ed., "L'Italia fascista potenza occupante: lo scacchiere balcanico," *Qualestoria*, 30: 1 (June 2002): 13–184. Secondary sources mentioning the Fier camp and giving general information on the political, economic, and cultural situation in Albania under Italian occupation are Silvia Trani, "L' unione tra l'Italia e l'Albania (1939–1943)," *Clio* 30: 1 (January–March 1994): 139–168; Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire*, trans. Adrian Belton (2003; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and Silvia Trani, ed., *L'Unione fra l'Albania e l'Italia: Censimento delle fonti (1939–1945) conservate negli archivi pubblici e privati di*

Roma (Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 2007). For more detailed information and documents, see Edmond Malaj, *Hebrenjtë në trojet shqiptare: Me një përqendrim në historinë dhe kulturën hebraike* (Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike Instituti i Historisë, 2012). For a first guide to the records about Jews in the AQSH and some of the concentration camps where they were interned, see Nevila Nika and Liliana Vorpsi, eds., *Guidebook: A Reference to Records about Jews in Albania before, during, and after the Second World War* (Tirana: General Directorate of Archives of the Republic of Albania, 2006).

For what seems to be the first plan for a camp organized by the Italian Ministry of the Interior for the political confinement of Albanians considered undesirable by the Lieutenancy dating back to May 1939, see Asmae, Sottosegretariato di Stato per gli Affari Albanesi (SSAA), Ufficio I, Questioni politiche 1939, b. 13, fasc. 29, Notiziari politico-militari per S.E. il Ministro, Appunto 15 maggio 1939. For the joint commission of Italians and Albanians created in June 1939 with the task of identifying those individuals held to be politically dangerous, criminals, and the families of fugitives who would face confinement, compulsory residence, and close surveillance or later internment in camps, see Decreto Luogotenenziale 2 giugno 1939, n. 15 "Provvedimenti a carico di alcune persone pericolose per la P.S.," *Gazzetta ufficiale del Regno d'Albania*, April 12–July 15, 1939.

Primary sources documenting the Fier concentration camp can be found in AQSH and ACS. For Fier both as a site of compulsory residence and a concentration camp in its first period, see AQSH, F154 KPK, V1940, D14, pp. 24–31; AQSH, F153 DQP, V1940, D31, pp. 52–102 (concerning the forced residence); AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D396; AQSH, F153 DQP, V1940 D31, pp. 251–294; and AQSH, F154 KPK, V1940–1942, D134 (concerning the camp and the interned Greek and Albanian civilians, political prisoners, and British POWs). For history of the camp in 1941 and 1942 (general information; evacuation in 1941; release of prisoners; numbers of Serbs, Kosovo Serbs, and Montenegrin inmates interned; Jewish inmates; prisoners coming from Peqin and Kolonjë; deportation to Italy; POWs; and escapes),

see the following sources: AQSH, F154 KPK, V1941, D252-255, pp. 1–4; AQSH, F154 KPK, V1941, D255, pp. 5–12; AQSH, F154 KPK, V1941, D69, pp. 32–41; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1941 D32; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, DI/302, pp. 1–6; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 23–38; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 48–56; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942 DI-303, pp. 94–103, 150–169; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943 DI-1198, pp. 85–93; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 222–223, 338–351; AQSH, F153 DQP, V1943, D386/2; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942 D303, pp. 294–303; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942 D303, pp. 315–327; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 112–121; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbë-sia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D396; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942 D306, pp. 167–175, 186–195. For the last period, and for the Jews and Serbs from Priština, see: AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1943, D65; AQSH, F164 PFS, V1943, D77, pp. 1–56; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana (1939–1943), B. 3, fasc. 254. VHA holds one testimony by a Greek Jewish POW held in Fier: Solomon Saltiel, (#39393), February 22, 1998.

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NOTES

1. To respect the uniformity of the editorial guidelines of the *Encyclopedia* it has been decided in references to Albanian archive sources not to use the abbreviation Fl for Fleta or F for Faqja but rather the abbreviation pp. Therefore the fonds are cited as follows: V (Viti=Year), D (Dosja=Folder), F (Fondi=Archival Fond) and pp. (for Fleta and Faqja). AQSH, F154 KPK, V1940, D14, pp. 24–31; AQSH, F153 DQP, V1940, D31, pp. 52–102.

2. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D396, December 9, 1940; AQSH, F153 DQP, V1940 D31, pp. 251–294, December 17, 1940; AQSH, F154 KPK, V1940-1942, D134.

3. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D396, December 9, 1940.

4. AQSH, F153 DQP, V1940 D31, pp. 251–294, December 17, 1940.

5. AQSH, F154 KPK, V1941, D252-255, pp. 1–4.

6. AQSH, F154 KPK, V1941, D255, pp. 5–12.

7. AQSH, F154 KPK, V1941, D69, pp. 32–41.

8. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1941 D32.

9. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 23–38, February 2 and 4, 1942.

10. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 48–56, February 19, 1942.

11. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942 DI-303, pp. 94–103, February 27, 1942; pp. 150–169, March 26, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943 DI-1198, pp. 85–93, June 11, 1942.

12. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 222–223, July 27, 1942, and pp. 338–351.

13. AQSH, F153 DQP, V1943, D386/2; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 294–303.

14. Ibid., pp. 315–327; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 112–121, September 28, 1942.

15. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D396; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1943, D65.

16. AQSH, F164 PFS, V1943, D77, pp. 1–56; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana (1939–1943), B. 3, fasc. 254, June 1943.

* For a map of the camps in Italian-controlled Albania, see page 396.

FUSHË ARRËZ

The municipality of Fushë Arrëz (Italian: Fush Arstit or Fusha Arsit) is located in northern Albania, approximately 44 kilometers (27 miles) east of Shkodër and 84 kilometers (52 miles) north of Tiranë. The concentration camp at Fushë Arrëz was constructed as early as September 1940; this date marked the signing of the first contracts and the beginning of construction carried out by the Italian company Simon-cini based in Durazzo on behalf of the Italian Army Engineers.[1] The camp was most likely constructed in anticipation of military operations against Greece and the subsequent in-flux of prisoners of war (POWs) and/or arrested civilians. In the following days and months the building site manager, surveyor Mario Ruggieri, constructed the Fushë Arrëz supply center, a furnace, and a group of winterized buildings.[2] By November 1940, Ruggieri was already engaged in military engineering activities on the Greek-Albanian front during war operations, and construction of the camp's principal structures was probably finished by the end of that month.[3]

In the aftermath of the occupation of Kosovo and the revolt in Montenegro in 1941, the camp was used to incarcerate Kosovars (Serbs and Montenegrins) as part of the camp system in northern and central Albania.[4] In the first months of 1942 there were reports of a group of Montenegrins from Pejë being interned at both Pukë and Fushë Arrëz.[5] Kosovars originally destined for internment at Gërman beginning in January 1942 were sent as well to those two camps because of their additional need for forced labor for road maintenance, particularly building the connection between Krujë and Burrel for which funds had already been obtained.[6]

In response to pressing security needs and to realize efficiencies in the transportation network and the allocation of work assignments, the population held at the camps at Fushë Arrëz and Pukë was later expanded to include "the most destitute and dangerous Serbo-Montenegrin families from Kosovo."[7] The political authorities decided to transfer these "undesirables"—

people deemed dangerous for political reasons—to Prezë.[8] However, it was first necessary to determine the Albanian government's responsibility for paying for the camps' provisioning. On April 12, after meetings with the Presidency of the Albanian Council of Ministers, the General Lieutenancy, and the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania, an agreement was reached according to which the provisioning of internees of all these camps was "for technical reasons" to be "materially assumed by the Italian military authorities" and later paid for by the Albanian political authorities (also through the companies that employed the workers).[9] The civilian authorities were also responsible for the "technical modalities regarding provisions," while "military authorities remained in charge of expenses related to the camps' readjustment and health care assistance."[10] According to Generale di Corpo d'Armata Camillo Mercalli, Fushë Arrëz and Pukë received this new wave of internees beginning in early April 1942.[11]

It is likely that the Fushë Arrëz camp closed in the first half of 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Fushë Arrëz camp under Italian occupation include Silvia Trani, "L' unione tra l'Italia e l'Albania (1939–1943)," *Clio* 30: 1 (January–March 1994): 139–168; Silvia Trani, ed., *L'Unione fra l'Albania e l'Italia: Censimento delle fonti (1939–1945) conservate negli archivi pubblici e privati di Roma* (Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 2007); and Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire*, trans. Adrian Belton (2003; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) (esp. pp. 290–298 on the forced Albanianization of the new provinces).

Primary sources regarding the Fushë Arrëz concentration camp can be found at AQSH. For the camp construction, see AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D587, pp. 20–29. For the Fushë Arrëz camp in 1942 (especially regarding the Kosovo Montenegrins interned there and in the Pukë camp and the question of provisions), see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 37–46; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI/302 pp.

7–14, 15–22; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 328–337; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D926, pp. 1–9; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 65–74, 112–121.

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NOTES

1. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D587, pp. 20–29, November 28, 1942.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. For this camp system, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 112–121, September 21, 1942.
5. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 37–46, March 9, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI/302 pp. 7–14, March 23, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 328–337, December 1942.
6. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D926, pp. 1–9, February 7, 1942.
7. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 65–74, March 21, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI/302, pp. 7–14, March 21, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI/302, pp. 7–14, April 12, 1942.
8. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI/302, pp. 7–14, April 12, 1942 (Mercalli's order given on February 26, 1942).
9. Ibid., April 12, 1942; ibid., pp. 15–22, April 27, 1942.
10. Ibid., pp. 15–22, May 22, 1942.
11. Ibid., March 21, 1942.

GËRMAN

Gërman (Italian: Ghermani, Germani) was a village in today's commune of Komsi, Mat District (Rrethi i Matit), Albania, located over 4 kilometers (almost 3 miles) southwest of Burrel, 14 kilometers (9 miles) northwest of Klos, 30 kilometers (almost 19 miles) northeast of Prezë, and almost 32 kilometers (approximately 20 miles) northeast of Tiranë. Occasionally referred to in documents as Burrel, Gërman was one of five internment camps used by the Italian and Albanian authorities to detain Montenegrins, Serbs, and Bulgarians in the furtherance of "albanization." The other four camps were Kavajë, Klos, Prezë, and Pukë. Some of those camps had already held Montenegrin prisoners of war (POWs).[1] They were located roughly along a diagonal strip extending from central Albania toward Albania's north, from southwest to northeast.

The Gërman camp's history can be divided into three phases. In the first period, it was a POW camp.[2] The facility was designed to confine Montenegrins serving in the Royal Yugoslav Army and was operated by the Italian Army at least from April 1941.[3] The camp held approximately 1,300 people in two separate complexes: one held 800 people in nine buildings, and the second one held 500 detainees in eight buildings.[4] There are records of several Yugoslavs with Montenegrin nationality being released from the camp in May 1941.[5]

Preparations for the arrival of new prisoners in the camp's second phase began in August 1941. In September as part of a program of albanization, the authorities decided to transfer non-native Montenegrins and Kosovar Serbs from Priština, Pejë, and Gjakovë to Gërman via Shkodër. Jurisdiction over Serbs and Montenegrins, who were concentrated in camps in Kosovo and were to be deported to internment camps in Albania, fell to the Presidency of the Albanian Council of Ministers through the offices of the High Commissioner (*Alto Commissario*). In September 1941, the total number of prisoners in the camp was

1,520.[6]

In September 1941, the Italian military and the Albanian authorities made a joint request to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers that custody for the Serbs and Monenegrins be entrusted to the carabinieri.[7] This request was granted in November 1941.[8] In a letter dated December 6, 1941, the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania informed the Royal General Lieutenancy (*Regia Luogotenenza Generale*, RLG) that there were eight buildings at Gërman for about 500 people that required renovation, whereas the other nine buildings that could accommodate 800 people were ready.[9] The "POW camp of Ghermani" was officially ceded to local authorities after the approval by Generale di Corpo d'Armata Camillo Mercalli on December 17, 1941.[10] From this day on, the Albanian Interior Ministry had authority over the camp. According to Mercalli's report in January 1942, the Gërman camp was primarily intended to receive Montenegrins who had been concentrated in Pejë.[11] In response to pressing security needs, planned infrastructure improvements, and to realize efficiencies in the allocation of work assignments, the population held at the Gërman camp, as well as those at Fushë Arrëz and Pukë, was expanded to include "the most destitute and dangerous Serbo-Montenegrin families from Kosovo."[12]

The Gërman camp was declared ready on March 25, 1942, and was initially set up to accommodate 1,000 people.[13] On April 12, the Presidency, RLG, and Superior Command FF. AA. Albania decided that its provisioning would be "materially assumed by Italian military authorities," with expenses covered by Albania and the companies deploying forced labor.[14] In the summer of 1942, some forced laborers at Gërman were released and other detainees escaped.[15]

The camp's second phase lasted until August 31, 1942. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), there were 716 male prisoners ages 11 to 80 at Gërman; they were mostly Montenegrins, but also included Serbs and Albanians.[16] Among them, 202 had been arrested in 1941, mostly from July to September, with another 510 arrested in the first five months of 1942. Given that four detainees died and that people from both groups were arrested primarily in Montenegro and Serbia, it is difficult to believe that these figures include the internees

transferred from camps in Kosovo to the Gërman, Fushë Arrëz, and Pukë camps. Taking into account the distribution of Serbs and Montenegrin Kosovars in these sites, the Gërman camp must have admitted more Montenegrin detainees coming from Kosovo than were included on the lists prepared for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

The 716 prisoners mentioned in the list were sent to Gërman in different waves—the first on March 14 and the rest in April and May 1942. In many instances they were sent there a short while after their arrest. The inclusion of families in this list would have put the ICRC on notice about the albanization campaign, whereas the listing of only male internees gave the appearance that only resisters were arrested. Of the group present at Gërman during its second phase, 11 were disabled (later transferred to other camps), 50 were liberated, and 4 were taken to prisons or tried by a tribunal. With the camp's closure the remaining detainees were transferred to the camps in Kavajë (230) and Klos (429), between August 31 and October 5, 1942.

The Gërman camp's third period began in September 1942. Continuing police operations rounded up approximately 100 additional men and women. The Presidency then requested the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania to make camps in Gërman and Prezë available for these prisoners.[17] In September 1942, with the transfer of the detainees from the Gërman camp and following the May annexation of the "redeemed lands" (Dibrano, Kosovo, and Motohija) for Greater Albania, the RLG asked which authorities were responsible for the internees in the five camps.[18] The Albanian Interior Ministry continued to exercise ultimate authority over such camps.

The process of setting up the Gërman camp for the new wave of internees lasted until the end of December 1942. Approximately 700 people, including at least 100 women, were arrested as late as October 1942. In spite of an initial reluctance by the Italian and Albanian authorities, the Albanian Fascist Militia oversaw internal security, and the 95th Carabinieri Battalion ran external security.[19] The previous Gërman camp commandant, Capitano Martire, was nominated to serve again as commander.[20] The camp was made available to the Presidency in October and declared ready as of November 21, 1942, when all its installations were handed over to

Interior Ministry official Dalip Hysen Kamenica, who was also in charge of provisions.[21]

The deportation of detainees to Italy continued during the camp's third period. Toward the end of 1942, several internees from the Gërman and Klos camps were sent to the Prezë and Kavajë camps and from there to Bari, Italy, where they were dispersed to camps on the Italian peninsula. Some Italian Interior Ministry documents from 1943 indicated that the camp's security was initially entrusted to Italian Ninth Army soldiers, who were subsequently replaced by 80 carabinieri used "for the external security of prisons in Burrel and the concentration camp of Germani."[22] On March 26, 1943, the Pukë camp, which held male and female Serbian Kosovars, Montenegrins, and Orthodox priests deemed politically dangerous, was closed and its detainees were transferred to Gërman.[23] In June 1943 several Bulgarian Jews were sent to Gërman; they came from Manastir and were sent to the camp by order of the Elbasan police.[24]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Gërman camp and Italian-occupied Albania are Silvia Trani, "L' unione tra l'Italia e l'Albania (1939–1943)," *Clio*, 30: 1 (January–March 1994): 139–168; Dragan S. Nenezić, *Jugoslovenske oblasti pod Italijom: 1941–1943* (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski Institut, 1999); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Campi di concentramento, Internamento civile," in Victoria de Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, eds., *Dizionario del fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Dragutin Drago V. Ivanović, *Poruke: Zapisi iz zice: Jusovaca, Kucà, Rogosica, Skadar-Tepa, Bari, Foda, Kolfiorito di Folinjo* (Tito-grad: Istorijski Institut sr Crne Gore, 1998); Silvia Trani, ed., *L'Unione fra l'Albania e l'Italia: Censimento delle fonti (1939–1945) conservate negli archivi pubblici e privati di Roma, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali* (Rome: Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 2007); and Edmond Malaj, *Hebrenjtë*

në trojet shqiptare: Me një përqendrim në historinë dhe kulturën hebraike (Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike Instituti i Historisë, 2012), pp. 202–230. For Montenegrins interned in different camps in Albania, including Gërman, see Federico Goddi, *Fronte Montenegro: Occupazione italiana e giustizia militare (1941–1943)* (Gorizia, Leg, 2016).

Primary sources documenting the Gërman camp can be found at AQSH and at ITS. For general information about Gërman, see AQSH, F149, Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 112–121. For the first period of the camp (also its general capacity and structures), see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–9; and AQSH, F267, Komisariat i Lartë Civil për Kosovë, Strugë e Dibër, V1941, D67, pp. 1–102. For the second period (preparation and equipment, Kosovo inmates, the entrusted authorities, etc.), see AQSH, F267 Komisariat i Lartë Civil për Kosovë, Strugë e Dibër, V1941, D73, pp. 44–101; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–9; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D926, pp. 1–9; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 65–74; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, D I/302, pp. 7–14; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 37–46 (about the Montenegrins at Vermosh); AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 85–93; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I-303, pp. 234–242; AQSH, F166 Ministria e Tokave të Lirueme, V1942, D64, pp. 1–49; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1942, D86, pp. 19–30 (on communists and rebels, and releases and jailbreaks at Gërman); ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 1 (for the list of second-phase prisoners submitted to ICRC). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. On the third period (preparation and equipment, inmates, camp staff, Bulgarian Jewish inmates), see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–18; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I/302, pp. 31, 38, 39–42, 43–44, 45, 46–47, 49, 51, 52–53, 56–57; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D465, pp. 2–3; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51; and AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1943, D79, pp. 54–64. A published prisoner testimony is Dragutin Drago V. Ivanović, *Memorie di un internato montenegrino: Colfiorito 1943* (Foligno: Editoriale Umbra, 2004).

NOTES

1. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 112–121, lettera della RLG alla Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri e al Ministero degli Interni albanesi, September 21, 1942.

2. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–9, lettera di Camillo Mercalli, il Generale Comandante Superiore delle FF. AA. in Albania, alla RLG, December 16, 1941.

3. Di ufficiali montenegrini dell'esercito jugoslavo internati a Gërman si ha notizia ancora nell'ottobre 1941, ibid., pp. 55–102.

4. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–9, December 16, 1941.

5. AQSH, F267, Komisariat i Lartë Civil për Kosovë, Strugë e Dibër, V1941, D67, pp. 1–54, September 3, 1941.

6. Ibid.

7. AQSH, F267 Komisariat i Lartë Civil për Kosovë, Strugë e Dibër, V1941, D73, pp. 44–101, September 17, 20, 1941.

8. Quest'appunto citava espressamente i baraccamenti della zona di Burrel (AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–9, November 22 1941).

9. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–9, comunicazione, December 6, 1941.

10. Ibid., documento, in cui si parla della Sottoprefettura di Burreli, ovvio riferimento al titolo, più corretto, di Mat, December 17, 1941.

11. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D926, pp. 1–9, relazione di Mercalli, February 7, 1942.

12. Per la citazione, AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 65–74, comunicazione di Mercalli alla Presidenza del

Consiglio dei Ministri albanese, March 21, 1942 (stesso documento in AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, D I/302, pp. 7–14 Per i campi citati-che avrebbero accolto sia i lavoratori sia le loro famiglie-e per la ripartizione dei lavori, Ibid., lettera di Mercalli alla stessa Presidenza, April 12, 1942).

13. Ibid., documento, March 21, 1942.

14. Ibid., documento, April 12, 1942; la Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri albanese assunse ufficialmente l'impegno sul trasferimento degli internati e il loro vettovagliamento alla fine del mese (lettera della Presidenza al Comando Superiore FF. AA. in Albania, April 27, 1942); il carteggio della fine di marzo 1942 in AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 37–46.

15. AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1942, D86, pp. 19–30, documento in cui i detenuti sono ancora definiti PG, August 14, 1942.

16. ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 1, "Liste von Internierten, die am 31.8.1942 im KZ-Lager Kavaje und Kloss (Albanien) noch inhaftiert waren," October 5, 1942, Doc. Nos. 459377–459396, stamped ICRC.

17. La scelta delle due località era stata decisa durante colloqui tra Mercalli e Mustafa Merlika Kruja (AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–9, documento del capo dell'Ufficio Militare della Presidenza albanese, colonnello Maddi, September 14, 1942); per il riferimento alle operazioni di polizia cfr. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI/302, p. 31, documento, October 7, 1942.

18. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 112–121, September 21, 1942.

19. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I/302, pp. 31, 43–44, 45, 49, 51, documenti, October 7, 21, 31, November 2, 1942.

20. Ibid., October 31, 1942.

21. Ibid., pp. 38, 45, 49, 46–47, 51, 52–53, 56–57, documenti, October 14, 31; November 2, 17; December 9, 1942

22. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D465, pp. 2–3 comunicazione del 16 giugno 1943 dell'Ufficio Politico del Ministero dell'Interno albanese alla RLG.

23. Ibid., p. 2 documento, March 29, 1943.

24. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51, documento, June 1943; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1943, D79, pp. 54–64, documento, in albanese, June 29, 1943 (la struttura è denominata "Campo di concentramento di Gërman, Burrel").

KAVAJË

Kavajë (Italian: Kavaja) is a city in west central Albania that is located more than 27 kilometers (17 miles) southwest of Tiranë. Beginning in 1939, the camp operated as a place of internment for both Albanians and the families of fugitives.[1] After the July 1941 revolt in Montenegro, Kavajë was one of five concentration camps, along with Klos, Prezë, Pukë, and Gërman, where the Italian Army interned so-called Kosovar undesirables and elements deemed dangerous to public security, along with Montenegrin hostages and rebels.[2] Located in a malarial area, it consisted of dilapidated wooden houses capable of housing 250 to 300 people. The Italian Army directed the camp with a major in charge, in addition to four lower ranked officers and a garrison for security. Since the camp was isolated and well suited for establishing the necessary surveillance, the Permanent Police Counselor also identified Kavajë as an ideal place for the concentration of foreign Jews residing in Albania, who were already subject to the expulsion provision of April 1940 issued by the Royal General Lieutenancy (*Regia Luogotenenza Generale*, RLG). This measure was not initially executed because of the closure of the borders by the neighboring countries and the state of war.[3]

A proposition by the Permanent Police Counselor in July 1941 to institute a sole concentration camp for foreign Jews in Albania (with Kavajë as the implied choice) was, in principle, received with favor by the RLG in August 1941. The plan was never realized despite coming up again in subsequent months. Instead, a special service dealing with reports and information on foreign Jews was established at RLG's request,[4] and a large number of foreign Jews were interned and forced into compulsory residence in Berat during the conflict with Greece.[5]

A group of 192 foreign Jews were sent to the camp by the end of July 1941. They were mostly from Serbia and Bosnia and had been rounded up in Montenegro on July 22 and 23. They were

then locked up and held on the confiscated steamboat *Re Alessandro*. Subsequently, they were transferred onto another boat, the *Kumanovo*, which on July 26 headed toward the port of Durazzo according to the orders of the Italian prefect in Albania, Francesco Scassellati Sforzolini. On July 28, the ship arrived in port, and on the instructions of the local prefect of Cattaro, the refugees were transported by coach to the Kavajë camp where the military authorities took over.[6]

These refugees, interned separately from other Kavajë detainees, came from all the neighboring countries as well as several Central European nations. They comprised 192 people (83 women, 14 children, 12 elderly, and 83 adults capable of work). The professions represented among them included merchants, industrialists, and sales representatives, and many were students.[7] In the course of their brief stay at Kavajë, the 192 Jewish refugees called on several Italian Jewish communities asking for aid, release, or free internment (*confino libre*) in Italy. In September 1941, they secured support from the Union of the Italian Jewish Community (*Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane*, UCII) and the Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM).[8] The refugees stayed at the camp for only about three months until October 1941, when 187 of them were transferred to Durazzo and, then after arriving in Bari, were dispatched to the Ferramonti di Tarsia concentration camp.[9] Previously, two detainees had been hospitalized in Tiranë, and one had been declared a citizen of Croatia and thus authorized to return temporarily to Dubrovnik under escort. In November two internees were liberated after being recognized as being of the "Aryan" race and Germanic origin.[10]

On February 8, 1942, the Albanian Office of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Cabinet announced that, following the requests of the UCII addressed to the RLG, the Kavajë concentration camp was to be closed.[11] However, the camp continued to be used for compulsory residence and the detention of hostages and civilian internees brought there in January and February 1942[12] and of individuals and families of Albanian fugitives sent there in March 1942[13]; another wave of deportees arrived in July. As of July 28, 1942, there were 859 detainees interned at Kavajë: most were

Montenegrins who had been captured in Montenegro between July 1941 and May 1942, but they also included Bosniaks, several Serbs and Croats, at least one Kosovar, one Russian, and five born in the United States. Among them was probably at least one Jew. The internees ranged from 13 to 76 years old. Thirty-nine disabled people and 22 hospitalized (including one disabled) detainees were released on July 20, and 3 more internees were released on July 23.[14] There is also mention of several Serbian Jewish refugees in Kosovo who were sent to Kavajë before August 1942 (although it is not clear whether they stayed inside the camp or were forced into compulsory residence in the town).[15]

In August 1942, 230 detainees from the Gërman camp were transferred to Kavajë.[16] As was clear from several testimonies, many were soon liberated or transferred to other camps in Italy. According to one source, there were 120 people interned at the camp of Kavaja in September 1942, receiving 5 lek per day as an allowance.[17] Furthermore, the question of who had authority over the camp's detainees was finally resolved in the same month, with the Albanian Interior Ministry assuming responsibility over all internees belonging under the Albanian authorities and the governorship of Montenegro taking charge of all internees coming from their jurisdiction, even those who had later been transferred elsewhere.[18] This transfer of authority allowed for an acceleration of revision and repatriation procedures (meaning a change in internment status) for the Montenegrins who were deemed not dangerous and not undesirable.

In early 1943, a number of foreign Jews were forced into compulsory residence in Kavajë, apparently in accord with a letter issued by the Central Police Command in August 1942.[19] The camp continued to be used to hold foreign Jews, Montenegrins, and Serbs until July 1943. Several sources suggest that Kavajë consisted of several sections within one camp.[20] According to Italian police sources, as of April 30, 1943, of the approximately 400 foreign Jews in Albania, 79 were interned at Kavajë (another 29 were detained at Krujë, and still more were kept in forced residence or resided in different municipalities across the country, including Tiranë). Most of the foreign Jews originated from occupied Yugoslavia, with smaller numbers coming from Bulgaria, Greece, Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, Poland, Spain,

and Croatia.

At the end of May 1943, there were 195 Jews at the camp. The Italian police were concerned by the Albanian authorities' frequent interventions in the internees' favor. Such intercessions often led either to release from the camp, with subsequent transfer to Tiranë or elsewhere, or provided concessions that gave the internees greater freedom of movement and made possible their participation in different economic activities. The police were also worried about the lack of surveillance in the Kavajë camp. This issue became more serious because of overcrowding. According to analyses by antisemites among the police, the large inmate population gave rise to dangerous "grouping centers."[21] In June 1943, the camp became so full that it could no longer accommodate more detainees.[22]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Kavajë camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *Ferramonti: La vita e gli uomini del più grande campo d'internamento fascista (1940–1945)* (Florence: La Giuntina, 1987); Silvia Trani, "L' unione tra l'Italia e l'Albania (1939–1943)," *Clio* 30: 1 (January–March 1994): 139–168; Dragan S. Nenezić, *Jugoslovenske oblasti pod Italijom: 1941–1943* (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski Institut, 1999); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Campi di concentramento, Internamento civile," in Victoria de Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, eds., *Dizionario del fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002); Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Silvia Trani, ed., *L'Unione fra l'Albania e l'Italia: Censimento delle fonti (1939–1945) conservate negli archivi pubblici e privati di Roma* (Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 2007); Capogreco, "I profughi ebrei rastrellati in Montenegro nel luglio 1941 e il loro internamento in Albania e in Italia," in Laura Brazzo and Michele Sarfatti, eds., *Gli ebrei in Albania sotto il fascismo: Una storia da ricostruire* (Florence: La Giuntina, 2010), pp. 153–167; and Edmond Malaj, *Hebrenjtë në trojet*

shqiptare: Me një përqendrim në historinë dhe kulturën hebraike (Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike Instituti i Historisë, 2012).

Primary sources regarding the Kavajë concentration camp can be found at AQSH, VaB, ITS, ACS, ASMAE, and other Italian archives (AUCEI; ACDEC). For Kavajë as a place of confinement and compulsory residence for Albanians since 1939, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1939, DI-21, pp. 341–350; AQSH, F154 KPK, V1940, D14-15, p. 126; AQSH, F154 KPK, V1942, D7, pp. 1–11; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D306, pp. 1–8. For general information in 1941 about Kavajë and the other four internment camps, see AQSH, F149, Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 112–121. For Kavajë as the planned concentration camp for all the foreign Jews in Albania and their surveillance, see AQSH, F153 DQP, V1941, D160, pp. 1–51; AQSH, F161/9 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1941, D943; and AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D157, pp. 1–7. On the 192 Jewish refugees captured in Montenegro and interned in Kavajë concentration camp, see AQSH, F153 DQP, V1941, D160, pp. 34–36; VaB, Fond Italijanska okupatorska vojska (1941–1943), K. 551 f. 1, d. 28–48, f. 2, d. 1–29; K. 551A, f. 4, d. 1–37; K. 542, f. 11, d. 16; K. 544, f. 5, d. 17; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri, B. 8, fasc. D/17 Ebrei stranieri internati in Albania; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri, B. 10; ASMAE, SSAA, B. 66; AUCEI, Attività dell'Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane dal 1934, DELASEM Series, B. 45C (ex 44 M), fasc. 4 Assistenza a internati; ACDEC, Fondo Israele Kalk, VII/1-II, 2. For the confinement of a great number of foreign Jews in Berat in forced residence during the war against Greece, see AQSH, F153 DQP, V1940, D79, XH 504–505. On the camp in the first half of 1942, see ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri, B. 8, fasc. D/17 Ebrei stranieri internati in Albania; AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e KKSH, V1942, D997/2, pp. 1–56; AQSH, F235 Prefektura e Durresit, V1941, D176; AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme and KKSH, V1942, D997/3; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 170–174. Information about inmates interned in the Kavajë camp between July and September 1942 can be found at ITS, 1.1.32.1, Doc. Nos. 459397–

459434 (1–36); and ITS, 1.1.32.1, Doc. Nos. 459377–459396 (1–20). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. See also AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 304–314. On the resolution of the administrative question for all the five camps including Kavajë, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 112–121. On the Kavajë camp in 1943, see AQSH, F153 DQP, V1940, D79, XH 503, 505; AQSH, F153 DQP, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51; and ACS, Mi, Dgps, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana 1939–1943, B. 6, fasc. 10 Movimento ebraico in Albania. A published testimony is Dragutin Drago V. Ivanović, *Memorie di un internato montenegrino: Colfiorito 1943*, ed. Dino Renato Nardelli, trans. Olga Simcic (1988; Foligno: Editoriale Umbra, 2004).

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NOTES

1. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1939, DI-21, pp. 341–350; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1940, D14-15, p. 126; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1942, D7, pp. 1–11; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D306, pp. 1–8.

2. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 112–121, September 21, 1942.

3. AQSH, F153 DQP, V1941, D160, pp. 1–51; AQSH, F161/9 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1941, D943, January–July 1941.

4. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D157, pp. 1–7, March 10, 1942.

5. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D79, XH 504–505, August 1940–June 1941.

6. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1941, D160, pp. 34–36; VaB, Fond Italijanska okupatorska vojska (1941–1943), K. 551 f. 1, d. 28–48, f. 2, d. 1–29; K. 551A, f. 4, d. 1–

37; K. 542, f. 11, d. 16; K. 544, f. 5, d. 17; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri, B. 8, fasc. D/17 Ebrei stranieri internati in Albania, B. 10; ASd-MAE, SSAA, B. 66.

7. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri, B. 8, fasc. D/17 Ebrei stranieri internati in Albania.

8. AUCEI, Attività dell'Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane dal 1934, Delasem Series, B. 45C (ex 44 M), fasc. 4 Assistenza a internati.

9. Ibid.; ACDEC, Fondo Israele Kalk, VII/1-II, 2.

10. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri, B. 8, fasc. D/17 Ebrei stranieri internati in Albania.

11. Ibid.

12. AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e KKSH, V1942, D997/3; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 170–174.

13. AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e KKSH, V1942, D997/2, pp. 1–56; AQSH, F235 Prefektura e Durresit, V1941, D176.

14. "Liste von Internierten die am 28. 7. 1942 im KZ-Lager Kavaje noch inhaftiert waren," ITS, 1.1.32.1, Doc. Nos. 459397–459434.

15. AQSH, F152/2 Ministria e Mbrendshme, V1942, D319, pp. 68–69.

16. "Liste von Internierten, die am 31.8.1942 im KZ-Lager Kavaje und Kloss (Albanien) noch inhaftiert waren, in realtà: Elenco internati Campo Concentramento di Ghermani Aggiornato a tutto il 31 agosto 1942, Soppresso e trasferiti nel campo di Kavaje e nel campo di Kloss," October 5, 1942, ITS, 1.1.32.1, Doc. Nos. 459377–459396.

17. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 304–314.

18. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 112–121.

19. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D79, XH 503, 505; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51.

20. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana 1939–1943, B. 6, fasc. 10 Movimento ebraico in Albania; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51.

21. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana 1939–1943, B. 6, fasc. 10 Movimento ebraico in Albania.

22. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51.

KLOS

Klos is a city in Albania's north central region lying on the Mat River, approximately 30 kilometers (19 miles) northeast of Tiranë and just over 13 kilometers (8 miles) southeast of the town of Burrel. According to historian Davide Rodogno, following the occupation of western and central Kosovo (along with other territories in Macedonia and Montenegro), the Italian authorities engaged substantially in the forced "albanization" of the region, in the process ethnically cleansing the Serb, Montenegrin, and Bulgarian minorities. To facilitate this action, it was thought necessary by "local military authorities to treat a certain number of internees as undesirable elements dangerous to public security."[1] After the Montenegrin revolt that broke out in the summer of 1941, "there were also many Montenegrin hostages and rebels sent to Albania by the Governorship of Montenegro for reasons of security and alleviation of the then logistical situation."[2]

The regional defense command of Albania decided to intern such people by deporting them to five internment camps: Klos, Kavajë, Prezë, Pukë, and Gërman. Some of these camps already held Montenegrins as prisoners of war (POWs).[3] These camps were located roughly along a diagonal strip extending from central Albania toward the north, from southwest to northeast.

The Klos camp probably opened in the summer of 1941 under Italian military control.[4] In the first period of the camp's existence, the barracks confined approximately 2,000 internees, mostly Montenegrins and Serbian Kosovars. The prisoners were further classified into several categories (undesirable, dangerous, hostages, and rebels). The majority of inmates were civilians, although there were also some soldiers from the Royal Yugoslav Army; the detainees included many members of the Yugoslav Communist Party and Montenegrin or Serbian Jews. The site is described as a POW camp, which likely was its original function before the summer of 1941. Such distinctions are not always fine, especially in Albania given the continually evolving nature of the

camps informed by events in the war and the decisions taken by foreign governments, mainly around the border areas.[5]

As a result of overcrowding and the lack of properly equipped internment camps in Albania, the authorities initiated transfers of several internees to the "old provinces" (Italy). According to Rodogno, those transferred were predominantly communists, whereas interned families, the elderly, women, children, and the sick remained in camps in Albania and Montenegro.[6] Between January and late February 1942, at least six groups of internees from Albania, of approximately 50 individuals each and composed largely of Montenegrins, communists, or anti-Italians, were transferred from the Klos camp to Zara via Cattaro, to be sent later to camps elsewhere in Italy.[7] A female Montenegrin internee from the Klos camp was hospitalized in June 1942 by the military authorities at the Valona hospital's Department of Psychiatry for signs of "psychosis while in a state of excitement."[8]

After the May 1942 annexation of the "liberated lands" (Dibrano, Kosovo, and Metohija) for Greater Albania, in September 1942 the Royal General Lieutenancy (*Regia Luogotenenza Generale*, RLG) asked the Albanian Presidency of the Council of Ministers which authority was responsible for the internees in the five camps. This situation was all the more urgent, given the lack of "provisions defining a government that would entertain jurisdiction over the prisoners as well as the scope of measures due to be taken against them."[9] The military authorities claimed that the internees were the responsibility of RLG and that it should act accordingly. However, the RLG assigned responsibility to the Albanian Interior Ministry for "interned elements that fall under the Albanian authority, or, that operate within the territory of the Kingdom of Albania—and therefore relate to military authorities subordinated to the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania—even if said elements have been subsequently sent to Albania or Italy."[10]

From this point on, these two bodies, the RLG and the Albanian Interior Ministry, were responsible for provisions in regard to internees. The issue was pressing because the internment facilities were "often set up rather hastily." Their new task was to reduce the number of internees on a case-by-case basis.[11] The complexity of Italo-Albanian institutional relations, established after the

occupation, had a profound effect on the living conditions and fate of internees in the Italian camps in Albania.

There were two phases in the Klos camp. The first phase, from July 1941 to fall 1942, involved the camp's formation, the inflow of prisoners, the structure's regular functioning until the transfer of many internees to Italy, and the definitive assignment of the camp under the Albanian Interior Ministry. The second period ran from the fall of 1942 until March 1943.[12] Sources from the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) listed 904 Montenegrin internees at Klos as of mid-February 1942; on July 31, 1942, the number of Montenegrins increased to 1,200, of whom 300 were women.[13] According to a document submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), dated July 28, 1942, there were 662 women and children interned at Klos.[14] The deportations of detainees to Italy continued during the second phase, following changes in internment sites and for reasons of security and space. However, the route of these deportations differed from earlier ones: toward the end of 1942 some internees (in particular the Montenegrins) were sent from the Gërman and Klos camps to the Kavajë and Prezë, and, from there, to Durazzo and Bari where they were dispatched to camps on the Italian mainland.

Toward the end of February and the beginning of March 1943 the Albanian Red Cross (*Kryqit të Kuq Shqiptar*, KKSH), which already had learned about the situation in Klos in the preceding months, reported to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) about the "imminent dissolution of the internment camp in Klos."[15] The Prisoners Office, a research service associated with the Italian Red Cross, took the opportunity to request from the KKSH, the Italian Interior Ministry, and the Italian Foreign Affairs Ministry the whereabouts of those internees who were transferred, the numbers of military and civilian detainees, as well as what other camps existed in Albania. In late March the Italian Interior Ministry responded that Klos and the other camps in Albania were not under its jurisdiction.[16] By that time the Klos camp had most likely closed.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Klos camp and the political, economic, and cultural situation in Albania under the Italian occupation are Silvia Trani, "L' unione tra l'Italia e

l'Albania (1939–1943)," *Clio* 30: 1 (January–March 1994): 139–168; Dragan S. Nenezić, *Jugoslovenske oblasti pod Italijom: 1941–1943* (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski Institut, 1999); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Campi di concentramento, Internamento civile," in Victoria de Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, eds., *Dizionario del fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002); Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Silvia Trani, ed., *L'Unione fra l'Albania e l'Italia: Censimento delle fonti (1939–1945) conservate negli archivi pubblici e privati di Roma, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali* (Rome: Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 2007); and Dragutin Drago V. Ivanović, *Poruke: Zapisi iz zice: Jusovaca, Kucà, Rogosica, Skadar-Tepa, Bari, Foda, Kolfiorito di Folinjo* (Titograd: Istorijski Institut sr Crne Gore, 1998).

Primary sources documenting the Klos camp can be found at AQSH; VaB; A-CICR; ITS (1.1.14.1, folder 1) and ACS, ASMAE. For general information about Klos and the other four camps, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 112–121; for more on Klos, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 66–85. For Bulgarian inmates at the Klos camp and its temporary function as a POW camp, see AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e KKSH, V1942, D 997/2, pp. 1–56 (see this fond also for the KKSH request for information on the Klos camp). Information about Montenegrins interned in Albanian camps and those deported to Italian camps can be found at A-CICR, G 17/501, B. 139, March 13, 1942 (J. Pictet to R. Voegeli) and July 31, 1942 (Note pour M. Voegeli: internés monténégrins en Albanie); ASMAE, GABAP, B. 52 (for the latter topic, see also VaB, Fond Italijanska okupatorska vojska (1941–1943), K. 559, f. 6, d. 31 and d. 35). For Klos as an internment camp, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 140–159. Information about the closing of the Klos camp can be found at ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 110, fasc. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 1 (Affari generali),

Ins. 47 (Campi di concentramento) in Albania. Additional documentation about the Klos camp can be found in ITS, 1.1.14.1 (Lager in Italien und Albanien), available in digital form at USHMMA. A published prisoner testimony is Dragutin Drago V. Ivanović, *Memorie di un internato montenegrino: Colfiorito 1943* (Foligno: Editoriale Umbra, 2004).

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1. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 112–121, lettera della RLG alla Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri e al Ministero degli Interni albanesi, September 21, 1942.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ivanović, *Memorie di un internato montenegrino*, p. 7.
5. On the presence of Bulgarians during the period preceding June 1942, see AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e Kryqit Kuq Shqiptar, V1942, D 997/2, pp. 1–56.
6. Ivanović, *Memorie di un internato montenegrino*, pp. 38, 40.
7. VaB, Fond Italijanska okupatorska vojska (1941–1943), K. 559, f. 6, d. 31 and d. 35.
8. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 66–85.
9. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 112–121, September, 21 1942.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 140–159.
13. Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire*, p. 357, citing ACICR, G 17/501, B. 139, March 13, 1942 (J. Pictet to R.

Voegeli) and July 31, 1942 (Note pour M. Voegeli: internés monténé-grins en Albanie).

14. ICRC, "Internati: donne e bambini (di erà inferior ai 10 anni) del Campo Concentramento ai Kloss," July 28, 1942, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 1, Doc. Nos. 459343–459375.

15. AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e KKSH, V1942, D 997/2, pp. 1–56.

16. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 110, fasc. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 1 (Affari generali), Ins. 47 (Campi di concentramento) in Albania.

KOLONJË

Kolonjë (Italian: Kolonja or Kolonia) is a municipality in western Albania located on the Myzeqe Plains some 11 kilometers (almost 7 miles) north of Fier and 60 kilometers (37 miles) southwest of Tiranë. During the Italian occupation, the town was in the Berat Prefecture and the Fier sub-prefecture. Kolonjë was established as a prisoner of war (POW) camp and first appears in official documents in late August 1941. Because the POWs were transferred only a few months after they were captured, and given the camp's location in Albania, inland and far removed from the southern border, it is plausible that Kolonjë was actually built before this date, most likely at the time of the Italian conflict against Greece. Indeed, a surveyor's report from November 1942 indicated that the Italian Army contracted for its construction as early as September 1940.[1] The camp consisted of several buildings owned by the sub-prefect of Fier, Hasan Delvina, who allowed the military to use the structures as a POW camp.[2]

After the transfer of the POWs, the camp was temporarily closed. However, on November 18, 1941, the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania reactivated the camp by transferring a group of "ex-Yugoslav" civilian detainees from the Peqin camp. The buildings were returned to their original owner, Delvina, and thus responsibility for the provision of camp supplies and the guards reverted to the Berat Prefecture.[3] The prisoners initially consisted of 137 Kosovar civilians sent to Peqin by order of the military and civilian authorities in Kosovo.[4] They originated primarily from the areas of Prizren and Uroševac (Albanian: Ferizaj). Twenty-five of them, probably all Serbs, were released before the transfer to Kolonjë following a first revision in their confinement status.[5] Another group of 26 prisoners came mostly from Priština, Pejë, and Prizren. This group, ages 21 to 70, consisted of 15 Serbs, 8 Croats, and 3 Montenegrins. The remaining group of 86 people, ages 23 to 69, came from Peć and Priština: this group included 49 Montenegrins, 30 Serbs, 3 Russians, 2 Croats, 1 Bulgarian, and 1

Bosniak, all of different occupational backgrounds.[6] According to Generale di Corpo d'Armata Camillo Mercalli, the transfer to Kolonjë, which took place in late January 1942, was effected for the following reasons: "(a) to vacate the school premises in Peqin (…); (b) as the arrangements at Peqin were only provisional, to find a better placement for the internees; (c) to facilitate the abovementioned process of revision (of status) and assignment."[7] Mercalli claimed that the buildings in Kolonjë were "vacated and without need of repairs."[8]

But Kolonjë soon turned out to be only a temporary way-station for these detainees. As early as February 2, 1942, the Albanian Interior Ministry ordered the transfer of the detainees to Fier for four reasons. First, the buildings at Kolonjë were found to be uninhabitable. Second, the estimated repair costs would have been too high. Third, flooding on the Myzeqe Plains produced the dual effects of isolating Kolonjë from Fier and simultaneously contaminating the drinking water.[9] Finally, the plains were malarial.[10] The transfer of detainees and the camp's evacuation took place between February 11 and 14, 1942.[11] On February 18, Mercalli ordered that all the buildings were to be immediately demolished and the recovered material taken to the military ware house in Valona, thus effectively putting an end to the Kolonjë internment camp.[12]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Kolonjë internment camp can be found in AQSH. For Kolonjë as a POW camp, see AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D587, pp. 20–29; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 10–18. For Kolonjë as an internment camp in late 1941 and the "ex-Yugoslav" inmates coming from Peqin, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 10–27; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 94–103. For the camp's closure and the return of the inmates to the Fier internment camp, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 23–38, 94–103; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI-302, pp. 1–6.

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1. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D587, pp. 20–29, Report of Mario Ruggieri, November 28, 1942,
2. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 10–18, Political Office and Albanian Interior Ministry report, December 15, 1941.
3. Ibid., November 28, 1941; December 13, 15, 19, and 24, 1941; ibid., pp. 19–27, December 24, 1941 and January 6, 1942.
4. Ibid., pp. 10–18, December 19, 1941; ibid., pp. 19–27, January 16, 1942.
5. Ibid., January 19, 22, and 26, 1942.
6. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 94–103, February 11 and 27, 1942.
7. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 19–27, Mercalli letter to the Albanian Interior Ministry, January 16, 1942.
8. Ibid., pp. 10–18, November 28, 1941.
9. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 31–38, Telegram, Albanian Interior Ministry to Berat Prefecture, February 2, 1942; other documents: ibid., February 2 and 4, 1942.
10. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI-302, pp. 1–6, February 18, 1942.
11. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 94–103, February 11, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI-302, pp. 1–6, February 14, 1942.
12. Ibid., February 18 and 26, 1942.

KRUJA

Kruja (Albanian: Krujë) is located in central Albania, more than 20 kilometers (almost 13 miles) north of Tiranë. It is unclear precisely (whether in 1940 or 1941) when the Italian authorities in Albania opened the Kruja concentration camp (*Campo di concentramento internati di Kruja*) 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) from the city. The city of Kruja was also a place of residence with compulsory surveillance (*domicilio obbligatorio con vigilanza*). According to con temporary legislation, all individuals sent to Kruja were either ordinary criminals or their relatives, political detainees, or people detained for "racial" reasons. Some inmates were foreign Jews: one was David Thiano, who sought medical treatment in Italy, but, after staying in a hospital for two months, was transferred to the Kruja camp in April 1941. A number of other inmates were the relatives of common criminals, imprisoned to encourage criminals to give themselves up. For example, in 1940, the family of an absconded Albanian criminal responsible for inflicting serious injuries on his victims was interned at Kruja; the family members were released as soon as their escaped relative was apprehended. Such detention was in keeping with the provisions of the Italian military authorities: families of absconded criminals were interned in camps far away from their homes or even sent to Italy, and often their houses were burned down and property destroyed or confiscated to force criminals to give themselves up.[1]

The Kruja camp functioned until 1943 under the direction of the Albanian authorities. At least in 1941, it is likely that the local police chief, Qemil Sefa, served as the camp's director. In April 1941, there were 89 inmates in the camp, most of whom, if not all, were Greek Jews residing in Albania. All of them had been transferred from the Shikora Villa camp to the Kruja camp on April 9, 1941; the last one from this group arrived in Kruja, after staying since late February in the Shkodër hospital, on April 12.[2] According to some Italian sources, the number of foreign Jews

present in Albania at the end of April 1943 stood at 400, of whom the majority were "exYugoslavs"; the rest were Bulgarians, Greeks, Germans, Russians, Poles, Spaniards, and Croats. In all, 108 were interned in camps, including 79 in Kavaja and 29 in Kruja (the others were subject to the provision of compulsory residence in several main towns of the country).[3] Hence, Kruja was one of the main places for the detention of foreign Jews in Albania.[4]

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Kruja camp are Apostol Kotani, *Shqiptarët dhe Hebrenjtë në shekuj* (Tiranë: Shoqata e Miqësisë Shqipëri-Izrael, 2007); and Edmond Malaj, *Hebrenjtë në trojet shqiptare. Me një përqendrim në historinë dhe kulturën hebraike* (Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike Instituti i Historisë, 2012).

Primary sources documenting the Kruja concentration camp can be found at AQSH and ACS. For information about the internment of civilians in concentration camps and in towns in the country, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria V1943 D I-1198, pp. 65–74, March 14, 1942; for internment in Kruja, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1939, D I-21, pp. 1–8; and AQSH, F154 Komanda Karabinierisë, V1940, D14, pp. 24–31. Information on the Kruja camp in 1941 can be found in AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1941, D160, pp. 1–51, January–April 1941; and AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise V1940 D63, pp. 1–53, April 1941. Information on the Kruja camp in 1943 can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana (1939–1943), B. 6, fasc. 10, Movimento ebraico in Albania, Ebrei in Albania, Report April 20, 1943.

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1. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 65–74, March 14, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1939, DI-21, pp. 1–8; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë,

V1940, D14, pp. 24–31.

2. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1941, D160, pp. 1–51, January-April, 1941; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D63, pp. 1–53, April, 1941.

3. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana (1939–1943), B. 6, fasc. 10, Movimento ebraico in Albania, Ebrei in Albania, Report April 20, 1943.

4. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51, 162, 165, May 1943.

KUKËS

Kukës (Italian: Kukes) is a town in Albania's northeast, located almost 32 kilometers (17 miles) southwest of Prizren, Kosovo, and more than 96 kilometers (almost 60 miles) northeast of Tiranë. It is the seat of Kukës County. According to historians Davide Rodogno and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, the Italian authorities established a camp at Kukës to imprison Montenegrin civilian detainees. According to historian Dragan S. Nenezić, however, there were also Serbs and Macedonians present in the camp. Given the large number of Montenegrins present at Kukës, it is plausible that the camp was established as early as 1941, if not earlier, following the Italian occupation of Yugoslavia that encompassed the territories of Montenegro, Kosovo, and Macedonia.

As with similar sites in Albania, Kukës was probably used initially as a prisoner of war (POW) camp under military administration before being repurposed for the confinement of other detainees, such as political prisoners. The camp was located along a line extending from Albania's northwest to northeast that included other camps as well: Shkodër, Pukë, and Fushë Arrëz. Thus far, documents do not indicate an intention on the authorities' part to construct concentration camps precisely along this northern line. Considering the extreme importance and sensitivity of the borderland, however, it is very likely that the decision to build these camps in these locations was intentional.

In 1940, the provincial police headquarters in Kukës responded to a request from Tiranë for information about the town's Jewish population, noting that there were no Jewish residents present in the province.[1] Nonetheless, due to the subsequent events of war, the increased number of detainees in the camp, and the influx of refugees from surrounding areas, the presence of Jews in the camp (and the entire region in general) was likely.

Currently, the archival sources relating to the Kukës camp are scant. Some documents from the second half of 1941 show that one of Kukës's functions was to serve both as a gathering and

transit camp for prisoners coming from the nearby areas, mainly Kosovo, before subsequent transfers to other Italian-built camps across Albania, such as Peqin.[2] It is most likely for this reason that the Kukës camp was referred to in a document of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) dated July 31, 1942, as a detention site in Albania with more than 4,000 Montenegrins. This information was based on a report by the Albanian Red Cross (*Kryqi i Kuq Shqiptar*, KKSH) that, when possible, monitored the camp and reported on the presence of detainees.[3]

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Kukës camp are Dragan S. Nenezić, *Jugoslovenske oblasti pod Italijom: 1941–1943* (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski Institut, 1999); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Campi di concentramento, Internamento civile," in Victoria de Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, eds., *Dizionario del fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); and Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Kukës concentration camp can be found in AQSH and A-CICR. For information on the absence of Jews residing in the Kukës province, see AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D79, August 22, 1940. On Kukës as a probable transit camp for the further deportation of inmates to other Italian-run concentration camps in Albania, see AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D67, pp. 1–54. Information about Montenegrins interned in the Kukës camp can be found at A-CICR, G 17/501, B. 139, July 31, 1942. For news on one inmate in the camp given by the KKSH, see AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e KKSH, V1942, D 997/2, pp. 1–56, September 1942.

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1. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D79, August 22, 1940.

2. AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D67, pp. 1–54.

3. AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e KKSH, V1942, D 997/2, pp. 1–56, September 1942.

PEJË

Pejë (Italian: Pec; Serbian: Peć) is a historic city in western Kosovo, approximately 153 kilometers (95 miles) northwest of Tiranë and more than 72 kilometers (45 miles) west of Priština. Together with Prizren and Gjakova, Pejë was a center of the Metohija, a historic region ceded to Albania after the Axis occupation of Yugoslavia along with portions of Montenegro (namely the city of Plav; Albanian: Pllavë). As confirmed by some Italian testimonies in late May 1941, the region's main cities served as destinations for Slavic Kosovars taking refuge from Albanian persecution. With the handover of civilian power to the Albanian High Commissioner, there was also a transfer of oversight to the Albanians regarding Serbs and Montenegrins concentrated in the military sectors of Prizren, Pejë, Gjakova, and Priština.[1] In fact, camps were created in these and other places to concentrate Slavic refugees already residing in Kosovo, as well as refugees later fleeing from the surrounding areas. In early September 1941, the camps of Pejë and Gjakova incarcerated 906 Serbs and 317 Montenegrins classified as non native. Seventy-six trucks were needed for the transport of both the people and some 40 tons of supplies. According to the directions of the Albanian High Commissioner Feizi Alizoti, the refugees had to be sent from Kosovo to the Gërman (Burrel) camp via Shkodër.[2] Based on other sources, in November 1941 the camps of Pejë, Gjakova, and Prizren imprisoned 1,600 Serbs and Montenegrins.[3]

On September 21, 1941, after a petition filed by the Serbian and Montenegrin families outlining the disastrous living conditions in the Priština camp, the Italian Army, along with the Albanian High Commissioner, drew up a plan of assistance for the Montenegrin and Serbian refugees from Kosovo concentrated at Pejë, Plav, and Priština. According to this plan, the Albanian prefect, the local party representative (*Federale*), and an inspector from the Albanian Fascist Party (*Partia Fashiste Shqiptarë*, PFSh) assisted by Italian authorities were to be in charge of providing

this assistance. These officials were responsible for identifying refugees deemed harmless by the regime, who were then to be allowed to receive care from their local friends and families under carabinieri supervision. In addition, the officials were supposed to find a "humane" way of supporting the others who remained in the camps and surrounding areas. This support included providing the heads of families with a daily cash allowance (3 lek for one person, 8 lek for two-member families, and 1 lek more for each additional member) payable once a week through local PFSh agents, carabinieri, and military authorities. The PFSh was to provide assistance to sick children and infants, whereas medical assistance was assigned to communal health care officials.[4] However, it appears that this program was only marginally realized, if at all.

In the fall of 1941 and most likely earlier, the Serbian and Montenegrin Kosovars were joined by Slavs from Serbia and Montenegro, as well as Jews fleeing Nazi persecution in Serbia and elsewhere. Carabinieri maintained information on the continuous movement of Jewish families from Kosovo from November 1941 onward.[5] In December, the Prizren Prefecture confirmed the presence of both Jews who sought to remain in Kosovo and the Serbian relatives of native Serbs.[6] In January 1942, Mustafa Merlika Kruja, president of the Albanian Council of Ministers, reported on other Jewish refugees with false documents, as well as Serbs and Montenegrins moving to Pejë. Many of these refugees were arrested for political or public security reasons before being dispatched to camps in Albania, such as Prezë.[7] The enormous influx of people was an opportunity for the Albanian authorities to accelerate the process of forced albanization in Kosovo and of ethnically cleansing the region of Serbs and Montenegrins. In December 1941, the Pejë Prefecture claimed that 6,000 Montenegrins, both men and women, were disseminating anti-Italian propaganda. It further asserted that the internees were armed, in spite of carabinieri supervision. The prefect thus sought to obtain arms from the Albanian central government while in the meantime issuing permits for Montenegrin families to return to Serbia and Montenegro. Both the Italian Army and the carabinieri attempted to hinder this repatriation because of difficulties it caused with neighboring countries and wanting to heed the concerns of German occupiers regarding the crossing of borders in

war zones.[8]

In March 1942, Prefect Boletini announced that there were 11,000 members of ethnic minorities ("outlanders") registered at Pejë, including 2,000 males aged 20 to 60. According to these sources, there were 20,000 Slavs in the Pejë province. At the same time, the Albanian government ordered the deportation of 3,000 Montenegrins and their families to old Albania. Boletini declared such a provision dangerous from a political and security point of view and a bad economic decision, because there were roughly 300 males able to work among the 3,000 to be deported. In addition, the transfer of 3,000 people would require substantial expenditures and the use of many vehicles to transport their goods. Boletini further pointed out that such a course amounted to the Slavic colonization of old Albania, with the concomitant danger of increasing ethnic tensions. In addition, the continuous presence of such a high number of refugees at Pejë was considered extremely risky because of ties between families and their male relatives in the resistance. Boletini argued that the only solution was to repatriate the Serbs and Montenegrins to their countries of origin after pressuring the German and Italian authorities in Serbia and Montenegro, respectively, to permit them to cross the demarcation lines.[9]

A large part of the Kosovar Serbs and Montenegrins nevertheless ended up in internment camps in old Albania or Italy. On July 17, 1942, the lawyer Lelio Vittorio Valobra, a member of the Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM), wrote to the Permanent Counselor to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in Tiranë to intervene in favor of the Jewish refugees from Belgrade still interned in camps across Kosovo. In particular, he pointed out the case of 23 Jews who found themselves in grave economic circumstances and on probation in Prizren.[10] According to Albanian sources, in August 1942, 69 of the Jewish refugees who had arrived in Kosovo from Serbia and were staying in Priština were sent to Kavajë, Gërman, Kruja, and Shijak; 27 others from Prizren followed.[11] It is likely that all the camps in Kosovo followed the same pattern as the one in Priština, with closure probably in late 1942 before temporarily reopening in the subsequent months and then shutting down with

Benito Mussolini's fall in July 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources on Kosovo under the Italian occupation and the rule of the Albanian authorities, which make some references to the camps and the refugees (and the Holocaust in this area), include Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Campi di concentramento," in Victoria de Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, eds., *Dizionario del fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002); Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Dragan Cvetkovic, "Holocaust in Jugoslavia—An Attempt at Quantification (Methodology, Questions, Problems, Results …)," and Nenad Antonijevic, "Holocaust in the Area of Kosovo and the Metohija during World War II and its Context," both in *Israeli-Serbian Academic Exchange in Holocaust Research: Collection of Papers from the Academic Conference, Jerusalem-Yad Vashem, 15–20 June 2006* (Belgrade: Muzej jrtava guenotsida, 2008), pp. 359–369 and 408–424; Jovan Ćulibrk, *Istoriografija holokausta u Jugoslaviji* (Belgrade: Pravoslavni bogoslovski fakultet, Institut za teološka istraživanja, Fakultet bezbednosti, Univerzitet u Beogradu, 2011); Jovan Ćulibrk, *Historiography of the Holocaust in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade: University of Belgrade, Faculty of Orthodox Theology, Institute for Theological Research, 2014); and Edmond Malaj, *Hebrenjtë në trojet shqiptare: Me një përqendrim në historinë dhe kulturën hebraike* (Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike Instituti i Historisë, 2012).

Primary sources documenting the Kosovo concentration camps can be found in AQSH and AUSSME. On the origin of these refugee camps for Serbs, Montenegrins, and Jews from both inside and outside Kosovo and their development during 1941, see AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 44–101; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 1–9. For information on Jews escaping to Kosovo from Nazi persecution and the Italian and Albanian authorities' attitude toward them and to Serbs and Montenegrins as well, between 1941 and 1942, see AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte

Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 1–43; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D433, pp. 1–8; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D430; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 48–56; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-302, pp. 51–52; AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 493, Comando IV CdA, Diario Storico-militare, December 1941 to January 1942, Allegati n. 24, Prefettura di Peja December 23, 1941; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI-302, pp. 7–14. On the news in the summer of 1942 about Jews still in camps or under surveillance in Kosovo and those already sent to old Albania, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 76–85; and AQSH, F152/2 Ministria e Mbrendshme, V1942, D319, pp. 68–69.

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NOTES

1. AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 44–101, September 3 and 17, 1941.
2. Ibid.
3. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 1–9, November 1941.
4. AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 44–101, September 12 and 21, 1941.
5. Ibid., D73, pp. 1–43, November 14, 1941.
6. Ibid., December 1, 1941.
7. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D433, pp. 1–8, January 1942; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D430, January 13, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 48–56; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-302, pp. 51–52, March 5–6, 1942.
8. AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 493, Comando IV CdA, Diario Storico-militare, December 1941 to January 1942, Allegati n. 24, Prefettura di Peja, December 23, 1941.

9. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI-302, pp. 7–14, March 23, 1942.

10. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 76–85.

11. AQSH, F152/2 Ministria e Mbrendshme, V1942, D319, pp. 68–69.

PEQIN

Peqin (Elbasan Prefecture), a town in central Albania, is about 29 kilometers (18 miles) west of Elbasan and 32 kilometers (approximately 20 miles) south of Tiranë. In July 1939, Peqin became one of Albania's localities of internment (*località di internamento*) or colonies of confinement (*colonia di confino*), which held mostly Albanian regime opponents.[1] As early as 1941, the Italian authorities established an internment camp at Peqin (Montenegrin: Pećin). According to the scant documentation available, the camp consisted of repurposed local schools. Peqin initially held Montenegrin political detainees who participated in the revolt against the Italian occupation.[2] Among the Montenegrin prisoners in the first period of its existence was Miladin Popović, a communist who played a formative role in the establishment of the Communist Party of Albania (*Partia Komuniste e Shqipërisë*, PKSh) after his release from the camp in the autumn of 1941.

Throughout 1941, the camp held prisoners from other places, mainly Kosovars (particularly from Pejë). The internees included Serbs, Kosovar Serbs, and one Jewish merchant from Priština; that merchant was eventually released. Other prisoners were "ex-Yugoslavs" and at least two Albanian Kosovars, who were communist suspects; the Kosovars were released in November 1941 on the grounds that the local Albanian authorities responsible for their arrest, who had not been appointed by the government, had exceeded their authority by sending them to the Peqin camp.[3] Many of the Kosovo detainees stayed for a while in the Kukës camp, approximately 40 kilometers (25 miles) southwest of Prizren, on their way to Peqin.[4]

The limited information available on a group of internees held at Peqin since July 1941, most of whom were Kosovars, indicates that the detainees were farmers, merchants, judicial administrators (including high-ranking officials), craftsmen, and at least one Orthodox priest. The prisoners with tuberculosis were sometimes sent to the hospital in Tiranë, where they received medical

treatment from Italian physicians.[5] In February 1942 two internees, most likely Serbs, were sent to an unspecified sanatorium at the request of the Elbasan Prefecture.[6]

Between late 1941 and early 1942, the first groups of detainees were transferred from Peqin to Kolonjë and Fier. On November 18, 1941, the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania ordered the transfer from Peqin of 137 "ex-Yugoslavs"—Kosovar civilians sent to Albania on the order of both the military and civilian authorities—to the former prison camp in Kolonjë.[7] The 137 Kosovars originated mainly from the zones of Prizren and Urosevac (Albanian: Ferizaj). Twenty-five of them, most likely all Serbs, were released before the transfer to Kolonjë following the first revision of their internment status.[8] The other 112 Kosovars, whose revision of status was pending, were subsequently transferred from Kolonjë to Fier in late January 1942. In a letter to the Albanian Interior Ministry, Generale di Corpo d'Armata Camillo Mercalli explained the reasons for their transfer: "(a) to vacate the school premises in Peqin …; (b) the arrangements at Peqin were only provisional while the best solution for the placement of the internees elsewhere was being sought; (c) to facilitate the above-mentioned process of revision (of status) and se lection."[9] One group, mostly from Priština, Pejë, and Prizren, consisted of 26 people ages 21 to 70 (15 Serbs, 8 Croats, and 3 Montenegrins) who were later released after their transfer to Fier. The remaining 86 people (49 Montenegrins, 30 Serbs, 3 Russians, 2 Croats, 1 Bulgarian, and 1 Bosniak) originated from Pejë (the majority) and Priština, were aged 23 to 65, had various occupations, and were kept at Fier.[10] Between January 26 and 28, 1942, another group of 51 Serbs and Kosovar Serbs who had been interned at Peqin since July 1941 was transferred to Fier.[11]

Men imprisoned in the Albanian internment camp of Peqin, flanked by their guards. USHMM WS #44516, BEIT HATFUTSOT, THE OSTER VISUAL DOCUMENTATION CENTER, COURTESY OF THE CULTURAL CENTER OF JEWS OF LIBYA, TEL AVIV.

During the course of the transfers, revisions of status, and releases that took place at Peqin, the question came to the fore of the status of the Albanian soldiers who had served in the former Royal Yugoslav Army and were then held as prisoners of war (POWs).[12] In response to pressure from the Presidency of the Albanian Council of Ministers, which received reports of at least one such case, the Royal General Lieutenancy (*Regia Luogotenenza Generale*, RLG) compiled lists of names of Albanian POWs before sending them to the Albanian Interior Ministry. The RLG laid out the procedures to follow with regard to such cases while also mentioning the presence of such POWs in German-run camps. The RLG reserved the right to remain in charge of policy relating to Albanian POWs in camps in Italy and Italian-occupied Serbia.[13] This development seems to have affected the Peqin camp because of its several Albanian detainees.[14] During the course of 1942, the camp continued to operate, incarcerating internees who had been previously confined in Italy, including Ventotene.[15]

A letter dated May 1, 1942, provides insight into the harsh living conditions at Peqin: it noted that the detainees received an allowance of 5 lek per day, whereas a kilogram of cornbread cost 8

lek.[16] During this period, Peqin also served as a place for the internment and confinement of families of Albanian fugitives, as well as single individuals. The documents do not always make it clear whether they were admitted to the Peqin camp or were part of the confinement colony.[17]

There is no available documentation for the Peqin camp for the year 1943.

SOURCES A secondary source that briefly mentions the Peqin camp is Miodrag Marović, *Balkanski Džoker: Albanija i Albanci: istorijska hronika nastajanja i razvoja albanskog pitanja* (Bar, 1995).

Primary sources documenting the Peqin concentration camp can be found in AQSH. For Peqin as a place of internment since 1939, see AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D31, pp. 1–51, 152–199, 352–399; AQSH, F317 Prefektura Korce, V1940, D22; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1940, D14-15, p. 126-1; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D306-I, pp. 240–248; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 203–211, 222–223; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D306, pp. 176–185; and AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1942, D229–230. For the Peqin concentration camp in 1941, see AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D67, pp. 1–102; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 15–30, 222–223, 347–348; and AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 1–43. On the inmates sent from Peqin to the Kolonjë and Fier concentration camps in early 1942, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 10–27; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 94–103, 222–223, 347–348. For the Albanian soldiers of the former Royal Yugoslav Army kept as POWs and sent to Peqin, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 28–37, 48–56; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 15–22. On the Peqin camp in 1942, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 23–30; and AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D351, p. 1.

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NOTES

1. AQSH, F153 DQP, V1940, D31, pp. 1–51, March 18, 1940; ibid., pp. 152–199, 352–399; AQSH, F317 Prefektura Korce, V1940, D22; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1940, D14–15.

2. AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D67, pp. 1–54.

3. Ibid., pp. 55–102.

4. Ibid., pp. 1–54; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 222–223 (July 27, 1942), 338–351; AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 1–43; AQSH, ibid., D67, pp. 1–102.

5. Ibid., pp. 55–102.

6. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 23–30, February 3 and February 9, 1942.

7. For transfers to Kolonjë, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 10–18, documents of November 28, December 15, and December 19, 1941; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 19–27, documents of December 24, 1941, January 6 and January 16, 1942.

8. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, documents of January 19, 22, and 26, 1942.

9. Ibid., pp. 19–27, Mercalli to Albanian Interior Ministry, January 16, 1942.

10. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 94–103, February 27, 1942.

11. Ibid., pp. 222–223 (July 27, 1942), 347–348.

12. Ibid., pp. 23–30, January 1942.

13. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 28–37, January 26, 1942.

14. Ibid. and pp. 48–56, February 19, 1942; on Albanian POWs,

see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 15–22, January 1942.

15. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 104–113, February 16, 1942.

16. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D351, p. 1, telegram to RLG, May 1, 1942.

17. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D306-I, pp. 240–248, March 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 203–211, May 1942; ibid., pp. 222–223, July 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D306, pp. 176–185, October 28, 1942; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1942, D229–230.

PREZË

Prezë is a town in west central Albania, approximately 16 kilometers (10 miles) northwest of Tiranë and approximately 23 kilometers (14 miles) northeast of the port of Durrës (Italian: Durazzo). Prezë was one of the five camps designed by the Territorial Defense Command of Albania for the internment of Montenegrin hostages and rebels after the revolt of the summer of 1941; Kosovars were later held in the camp.

The camp became operational in July 1941 for the purpose of imprisoning approximately 100 Jewish refugees (mostly Serbs) who had settled in the province of Cattaro (or Kotor) following the occupation of Yugoslavia and who, according to the local prefect, needed to be moved from there. Initially, the Jews were sent to Spalato, Zara, and Italy; by July 12, when the governor of Dalmatia requested a list of all Jews in question, they had already been sent to Albania. Prisoner of war (POW) camp No. 120 of Prezë thus started functioning on that date, if not earlier, for the incarceration of Montenegrin civilians, Serbian refugees, and other nationalities either rounded up or arriving in Montenegro at the time of the occupation and the subsequent revolt against the Italians. With the influx of inmates the site became a concentration camp for political prisoners and Jews.

Available sources bring to light the detention procedures for internees and the camp's intended operational use. The refugees, detainees, and political prisoners arrested for reasons of public security were concentrated at Cattaro before being locked up on steamships obtained by the Italians as spoils of war, awaiting transport on Albania-bound ships and the subsequent sorting out to different concentration camps. These vessels served as real prisons, or floating camps, with disastrous conditions in terms of hygiene and food. Security was provided by Italian troops, policemen, and agents of Italian public security. It seems that the majority of detainees on these steamships were dispatched to Albania between July and late September (other convoys were

reported in December); most ended up at Prezë.

An Italian soldier takes a photo of a group of prisoners outside a tent in the Prezë labor camp. USHMM WS #07864, COURTESY OF RAOUL TEITELBAUM.

Therefore, in that period, during the second half of 1941, the Prezë concentration camp assumed the role of a parallel, temporary internment facility, subject to revised procedures pertaining to the internees. Some 665 individuals passed through the camp of Prezë from July to early December 1941. Of those, about 10 were Serbian Jewish refugees, 400 were Montenegrin hostages, and 165 were Montenegrin rebels; considering the departures, completed revisions, subsequent releases, and one death, it seems that approximately 579 detainees remained in the camp. These numbers are estimates because not all the documentation is available. It is highly likely that, beginning in the fall of 1941, the camp accommodated primarily political prisoners and Jews (mostly Serbs and Montenegrins), while other hostages were gradually released, except for people considered dangerous after suppression of the Montenegro revolt. According to sources of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) collected by historian Davide Rodogno, there were 517 internees present at Prezë in February 1942.

In late February 1942, following the decision to deport the "most destitute and dangerous Serbo-Montenegrin families from

Kosovo" to the Albanian camps of Gërman, Fushë Arrëz, and Pukë, the political authorities ordered that the Prezë camp be used to hold undesirables, and the camp was restructured even though renovations were still incomplete.[1]

On April 12, 1942, the Presidency of the Albanian Council of Ministers, RLG, and Superior Command FF. AA. Albania decided that the provisioning of Prezë, as with Gërman, Fushë Arrëz, and Pukë, would be "materially assumed by the Italian military authorities," with expenses covered by Albania.[2] The civilian authorities were responsible solely for the "technical modalities of provisioning," while the military authorities remained in charge of the camp's reconstruction works and sanitary assistance.[3]

New prisoners kept arriving throughout March 1942; as of April 3, the camp held 231 political undesirables coming from various locations across Kosovo, 9 of whom were women and 45 were former officials of the Yugoslav Army. Because the camp could not hold more than 500 prisoners, it was then requested that "eviction of the same internees to Italy" be sped up as the influx continued.[4] Prezë was already full by April 23, and it was requested that transfers of new internees be suspended. Four days later an order arrived that at least 300 men (among the less dangerous) were to be transferred immediately from Prezë to Pukë. On May 2, the transfers of prisoners resumed—women bound for the Prezë camp, men for Pukë.

In late May 1942, the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania decided to "transfer the undesirable Kosovar intellectuals, currently interned in the concentration camps of Prezë and Pukë, to the islands of Ponza and Ustica."[5] Among those who remained at Prezë were Italian informants. On June 8, 580 people (more than 300 from Pukë and the rest from Prezë) were escorted by the police to the port of Durazzo before boarding the steamship *Aventino* the next day; the boat took them to Bari. From there they continued on to the two islands: 220 (including 25 women) were sent to Ponza and 360 to Ustica.

With the Prezë camp nearly empty, the administration arranged for a separate accounting system with regard to provisioning and, in the following months, transmitted to the appropriate authorities a list of costs incurred until the end of 1942; it showed that there

were many detainees who remained in the camp at least until the end of June and that the average daily expenditure for Kosovars at Prezë was 6,362 lire per person for a grand total of 164,073.05 lire. Between July and September 1942, detainees held at Prezë included political prisoners, Yugoslav Army officials, Montenegrin nationalists, and civilians whose relatives were in the resistance. ICRC documents indicate that 300 Montenegrins were interned at Prezë on July 3, 1942.

The third period of the camp's existence began in the late summer of 1942. The question of which authority was responsible for both the elderly and newly arrived internees in the camps was finally solved in September with the designation of the Albanian Interior Ministry and the Governorship of Montenegro, respectively; this situation held true regardless of whether the detainees were later deported to Italy, remained in Albania, or were released. In mid-September the Gërman and Prezë camps were made available for the detention of male and female resisters, at which time some 300 men entered Prezë. The Italian and Albanian authorities entrusted security to soldiers and policemen, not the Albanian Fascist militia. In this period, the Prezë camp experienced a drastic reduction in supplies and proper housing, and it functioned as a "makeshift camp." It was used until at least late December 1942, when some 40 people were interned there: they included political prisoners, different categories of communists, regime opponents, and several Orthodox priests. Deportations of detainees to Italy continued for reasons of security, space, and the ongoing revisions of conditions of internment. Prezë most likely closed with the collapse of the Fascist regime in July 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Prezë concentration camp are Dragan S. Nenezić, *Jugoslovenske oblasti pod Italijom: 1941–1943* (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski Institut, 1999); Dragutin Drago V. Ivanović, *Memorie di un internato montenegrino: Colfiorito 1943*, ed. Dino Renato Nardelli, trans. Olga Simcic (1988; Foligno: Editoriale Umbra, 2004); and Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War,* trans. Adrian Belton (2003; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

2006). For the inmates' concentration on several ships at Cattaro harbor, see Federico Goddi, *Fronte Montenegro: Occupazione italiana e giustizia militare (1941–1943)* (Gorizia, Leg, 2016).

Primary sources documenting the Prezë concentration camp can be found at AQSH, VaB, A-CICR, and ACS. For general information about Prezë and the other four concentration camps discussed here, see AQSH, F149, Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 112–121. For the first period of the camp (when it served both as a POW camp and a special camp for the internment of Jews and political prisoners), see VA, Fond Italijanska okupatorska vojska (1941–1943), K. 544, f. 5, d. 17; K. 542, f. 11, d. 1; K. 551 f. 1, d. 28–48 (regarding the camp opening, Jewish refugees, the inmates' concentration on several ships at Cattaro harbor, the convoys by boats to Durrës and then Prezë); K. 551 f. 2 d. 10–16; K. 542, f. 11, d. 1; K. 542, f. 2, d. 21–27; K. 544, f. 5, d. 17; K. 544, f. 5, d. 2 (for the review procedures of the inmates and releases of groups of them); AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme, e KKSH, V1942, D 997/2, pp. 1–56; VA, Fond Italijanska okupatorska vojska (1941–1943), K. 542, f. 11, d. 16 and d. 45; K. 551 f. 1, d. 28–48; K. 560, f. 1, d. 40 (for inmates and their numbers). Information about Montenegrins interned in Albanian camps can be found at A-CICR, G 17/501, B. 139, March 13, 1942 (J. Pictet a R. Voegeli) and 31 luglio 1942 (Note pour M. Voegeli: internés monténégrins en Albanie). For the second period (preparation and equipment, Kosovo inmates, governing authorities, deportation to Italy), see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 65–74 and D I/302, pp. 7–14; VaB, Fond Italijanska okupatorska vojska (1941–1943), K. 544, f. 5, d. 1; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I/302, pp. 23–30; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 51, 52, 56, 57–74; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I/302, pp. 7–37; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 47–65; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Massime 1880–1956, B. 109, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), fasc. 16 (Campi di concentramento), sf. 1 AAGG, Ins. 34 (Internamento Albanesi); AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme, KKSH, V1942, D 997/4; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942 D 303, pp. 243–262, 348–351. On the third period (preparation and equipment, the entrusted authorities, inmate figures, camp staff, deportation to Italy), see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–18, 112–121;

AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I/302, p. 31; and AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D396.

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NOTES

1. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 65–74, March 21, 1942; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I/302, pp. 7–14, April 12, 1942.

2. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 7–14, April 12, 1942; la Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri alba-nese assunse ufficialmente l'impegno sul trasferimento degli internati e il loro vettovagliamento alla fine del mese (lettera della Presidenza al Comando Superiore FF. AA. in Albania, April 27, 1942); il carteggio della fine di marzo 1942 in AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 37–46.

3. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 65–74, March 21, 1942; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I/302, pp. 7–14, April 12, 1942.

4. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 47–57, May 26, 1942.

5. Ibid.

PRIŠTINA

Priština (Albanian: Prishtinë, Serbian: Priština) is a city with a rich history and is the current capital of Kosovo. It is located 243 kilometers (151 miles) south of Belgrade. Based on the earliest sources on the camps in Kosovo, the Priština camp was created to accommodate the great influx of Serbian and Montenegrin refugees coming from other areas of the region. Many of these refugees sought to move to German-controlled territories in Serbia or Mitroviza.[1] As of August 29, 1941, there were 313 people in the camp: all were Kosovars, of whom there were 190 Serbs, 118 Montenegrins, and 5 Croats aged 6 months to 36 years. Based on available sources, the carabinieri were in charge of security at the camp.[2] In early September 1941, the numbers decreased slightly to 297 non-native Serbs and Montenegrins, who were slated to be sent to the Gërman (Burrel) camp—an operation that, as per calculations, would require 20 trucks for the transfer of people as well as another 24 oxen, 9 horses, and 12 farm carts to move more than 13 English tonnes of material.[3] In fact, from the summer of 1941 onward, there were not only Slavic Kosovars imprisoned at Priština but also Slavs coming from Serbia and Montenegro, as well as Jews fleeing Nazi persecution in Serbia and other surrounding countries. Many of these refugees ended up arrested for political or public security reasons before being taken to camps in Albania, especially Prezë.[4]

The living conditions inside the camp, located near the train station and consisting of ware houses, were horrendous. Many refugees, and nearly all the children, fell sick as they were forced to sleep on the floor in rooms without doors or windows and were given insufficient nourishment. The Serbian and Montenegrin families thus requested that men and heads of house hold be authorized to seek work outside the camp and, if necessary, to travel to Serbia on permits obtained by their relatives and friends to obtain authorization from the German authorities to travel to Belgrade.[5] In response to this request, on September 21, 1941, the

Italian military authorities in concert with the Albanian High Commissioner created an assistance plan for Montenegrin and Serbian refugees from Kosovo concentrated in the camps at Pejë, Plav, and Priština.[6] However, this plan was largely ignored, at least with regard to the refugees in the Priština camp. A little more than a month later, the carabinieri confirmed that the Serbs and Montenegrins interned in Priština were indeed receiving only a daily ration of bread, despite orders by the High Commissioner of the Priština Prefecture to provide warm meals and milk for the children twice a week.[7]

Information on the influx of Jewish fugitives with false papers escaping Nazi persecution in Belgrade and headed for Kosovo in general, and Priština in particular, was made available to the carabinieri and the Albanian authorities as early as the first half of November 1941.[8] The existence of this information was later confirmed by other sources in subsequent months.[9] One of the documents issued by the president of the Albanian Council of Ministers, Mustafa Merlika Kruja, in agreement with the Royal General Lieutenancy (*Regia Luogotenenza Generale*, RLG) in January 1942, followed correspondence on the topic from December 1941 and ordered the prefecture of Priština to refuse access to the district to anyone without special permission from the Albanian Interior Ministry.[10] In that same month, the carabinieri arranged for the expulsion of Jewish refugees from Kosovo and the arrest of Jewish illegal immigrants and those who possessed fake documents in Priština.[11]

On January 19, 1942, the president of the local Jewish community informed the Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM) of the presence of some 80 Jewish refugees at Priština, assuring the organization that they were not dangerous from the political point of view and asking for DELASEM to intervene with the authorities. However, despite the interest from DELASEM and the Union of the Italian Jewish Community (*Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane*, UCII), in March the carabinieri colonnello De Leo issued orders for the arrest of Jewish illegal immigrants who had come to Kosovo since the war with Yugoslavia.[12] This came after agreements between the Italian carabinieri and both the German police in Belgrade and the

German command in Mitrovica to work together, as well as after the president of the Albanian Council of Ministers ordered the carabinieri command to transport to the borders all Jews arriving in Albania from Serbia, for eventual handover to the German authorities.[13] On March 17, the carabinieri maggiore Silvestro sent a handpicked group of 51 Jews (including some children) detained in the Priština camp to Gestapo officials: "That same day (they) were deported by train to Mitrovica, and then to Belgrade. During their stay in Priština, I invited for breakfast the German officials, accompanied by representatives of the Albanian and Serbian gendarmerie. All took place in an atmosphere of cordiality."[14]

On July 17, 1942, according to the information given by the DELASEM delegate, the lawyer Lelio Vittorio Valobra, to the Permanent Counselor with the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in Tiranë, there were 70 Jews in the Priština camp, all in severe financial straits. He requested their internment in Italy or Berat, Albania.[15]

During the Italian occupation a large part of the Jewish community in Priština was deported to Berat before being forced to reside there. Berat had already served as a place of internment for foreign Jews during the war against Greece.[16] The Jews from Priština also ended up in other municipalities and concentration camps in the old Albania for various reasons.[17] Such sites included the Peqin camp (from July 1941), Elbasan (seven families were detained there in a kind of ghetto in February 1942), Shijak (compulsory residence, 1943), and Krujë (1943).[18] In May 1942, there were 34 Jews from Priština in the Hotel Tiranë in Berat.[19] In July, the number of Jews from Priština rose to approximately 100, all of whom lacked the means to support themselves. At least two internees were released in 1942, and it also appears that, in 1943, after the intercession of the Albanian authorities, one more person was transferred to Tiranë despite opposition from the Italian police.[20] Other members of the Priština Jewish community had either already moved away from the town for different reasons or were staying in Dulcigno in September 1942 (where they were asked to remain under surveillance, despite the order to be transferred to Kavajë under compulsory residence) or tried to escape from Skopje with the help of the Italian authorities in November 1942 before getting repatriated to Priština.[21]

On November 3, 1942, the concentration camp of Priština was temporarily closed, and the 300 people still detained there (49 Serbian and Montenegrin families) were sent back to their places of origin.[22] The camp reopened in January 1943 to hold Jews from the local community along with all others from the Priština Prefecture (one person was probably released in July 1943).[23] At least some internees were later sent to Berat and Kavajë in what was a realization of a plan to carry out transfers to old Albania that had most likely first been implemented in 1942.[24] In February 1943, the president of the Jewish community in Priština called for the Jews interned at Berat to be granted amnesty.[25] The situation in Priština became particularly difficult in 1943 because, according to Italian police sources, the deputy commissioner of the local police station asked the Jews for bribes in exchange for not handing them over to the Germans while arresting Serbs en masse, accusing them of communism and dispatching them to various concentration camps.[26] In April, 40 Jews coming from Skopje, where they had fled the Bulgarian authorities, were arrested and detained in Priština. The Albanian Interior Ministry intervened in their favor, and it is likely that the same ministry also helped protect several Priština Jews working in Tiranë in June 1943.[27]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Priština camp, Priština Jews, Jewish refugees, and the Holocaust in Kosovo include Silvia Trani, "L' unione tra l'Italia e l'Albania (1939–1943)," *Clio* 30: 1 (January–March 1994): 139–168; Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, 2 vols. (1993; Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1996); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Campi di concentramento," in Victoria de Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, eds., *Dizionario del fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002); Ženi Lebl, *Do "Konacnog rešenja": Jevreji u Srbiji* (Belgrade: Cigoja štampa, 2002); Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Dragan Cvetkovic, "Holocaust in Yugoslavia—An Attempt at Quantification (Methodology, Questions, Problems, Results …)"; and Nenad Antonijevic, "Holocaust in the Area of Kosovo and the Metohija during World War II and its Context," both in *Israeli-Serbian Academic Exchange in Holocaust Research:*

Collection of Papers from the Academic Conference, Jerusalem-Yad Vashem, 15–20 June 2006 (Belgrade: Muzej jrtava guenotsida, 2008), pp. 359–369 and 408–424; Silvia Trani, ed., *L'Unione fra l'Albania e l'Italia: Censimento delle fonti (1939–1945) conservate negli archivi pubblici e privati di Roma, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali* (Rome: Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 2007); Milovan Pisarri, "La Shoah in Serbia e Macedonia (1941–1943)," in Laura Brazzo and Michele Sarfatti, eds., *Gli ebrei in Albania sotto il fascismo: Una storia da ricostruire* (Florence: La Giuntina, 2010), pp. 169–198; Jovan Ćulibrk, *Istoriografija holokausta u Jugoslaviji* (Belgrade: Pravoslavni bogoslovski fakultet, Institut za teološka istraživanja, Fakultet bezbednosti, Univerzitet u Beogradu, 2011); Jovan Ćulibrk, *Historiography of the Holocaust in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade: University of Belgrade, Faculty of Orthodox Theology, Institute for Theological Research, 2014); Edmond Malaj, *Hebrenjtë në trojet shqiptare: Me një përqendrim në historinë dhe kulturën hebraike* (Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike Instituti i Historisë, 2012); and Daniel Perez, "'Our Conscience Is Clean'": Albanian Elites and the Memory of the Holocaust in Postsocialist Albania," in John-Paul Himka and Joanna Beata Michlic, eds., *Bringing the Dark Past to Light: The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), pp. 25–58.

Primary sources documenting the Priština concentration camp can be found in AQSH, ACS, AUSSME, and AUCEI. On Priština as a refugee camp in the second half of 1941 (for refugees inside and outside Kosovo, Serbs and Montenegrins, Jews, and deportation to inner Albania camps), see AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 1–101; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 48–56; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-302, pp. 51–52; and AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1941, D532, pp. 10–20. For information on Jews fleeing Nazi persecution by escaping to Kosovo and the attitudes of the Italian, Albanian, and the Priština Jewish communities, as well as DELASEM, and UCII, see AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 969, Comando Superiore FF.

AA. Albania, Diario Storicomilitare, November to December 1941, Allegati: Comando Superiore FF. AA. Albania, November 30, 1941; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Massime A14, B. 15, fasc. 6, November 25, 1941; AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 823, Comando IV Battaglione Mobilitato Carabinieri Reali, Diario Storico-militare, January and March 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1938, DI-1806, p. 59; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D433, pp. 1–8; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D430, p. 1; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1942, D430, pp. 1–2; AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 493, Comando IV CdA, Diario Storico-militare, December 1941 to January 1942, Allegati n. 23; AUCEI, Attività dell'Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane dal 1934, DELASEM series, B. 45C (ex 44 M), fasc. 4 Profughi ebrei jugoslavi provenienti dalla Bosnia-Erzegovina; and AQSH, F235 Prefektura e Durresit, V1942, D35, p. 146; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 76–85. For the Italian carabinieri's delivery of 51 Jewish refugees in Priština to the Gestapo in March 1942, see AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 969, Comando Superiore FF. AA. Albania, Diario Storicomilitare, January to February, March to April 1942, Allegati February 14, 1942, February 17, 1942, March 11, 1942; AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 823, Comando IV Battaglione Mobilitato Carabinieri Reali, Diario Storico-militare, March 1942. For the Priština camp in 1942–1943 and the fate of Priština Jews during the same period, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 76–85; AQSH, F152/2 Ministria e Mbrendshme, V1942, D319, pp. 13, 16, 68–69, 73–74; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D79, XH. 504–505; AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D67, pp. 55–102; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1942, D303, pp. 283–293; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana 1939–1943, B. 1, fasc. 21, B. 3, fasc. 254, B. 6, fasc. 10 Movimento ebraico in Albania; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D157, pp. 15–24; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 147–155; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D463, pp. 1–4. Two published testimonies are Settimio Sorani, *L'assistenza ai profughi ebrei in Italia (1933–1947): Contributo alla storia*

della Delasem, ed. Amadeo Tagliacozzo, preface by Renzo De Felice (Rome: Carucci, 1983); and Rukula Bencion, "I Watched Them Kill My Loved Ones," in Aleksandar Gaon, ed., *We Survived … Yugoslav Jews on the Holocaust*, trans. Stephen Agnew and Jelena Babšek Labudovič, 3 vols. (Belgrade: Jewish Historical Museum, 2005), 3: 437–440. See also USHMMA, Acc. 2002.438.1, Jasa Altarac papers (Altarac and his family were held in the Priština camp and then transferred to Kavajë) and USHMMA, Acc.2002.158.1, Gavra Mandil collection (Mandil's father was in the Priština camp, but was later released).

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NOTES

1. AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 1–43, August 29, 1941.
2. Ibid. and pp. 44–101. September 3 and 17, 1941.
3. Ibid.
4. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 48–56; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-302, pp. 51–52, March 1942.
5. AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 44–101. September 12, 1941.
6. Ibid, September 21, 1941.
7. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1941, D532, pp. 10–20, October 31, 1941.
8. AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 1–43, November 14, 1941.
9. Ibid.; AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 969, Comando Superiore FF.AA. Albania, Diario Storico-militare, November-December 1941, Allegati Comando Superiore FF.AA. Albania) alla Luogotenenza generale, November 30, 1941; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, "Massime" A14, B. 15, fasc. 6,

November 25, 1941; AUSSME, N1–11, Diari storici, B. 823, Comando IV Battaglione Mobilitato Carabinieri Reali, Diario Storico-militare, January 7, 1942.

10. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1938, DI-1806, p. 59; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D433, pp. 1–8; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D430, p. 1; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1942, D430, pp. 1–2; AUSSME, N1–11, Diari storici, b. 493, Comando IV CdA, Diario Storico-militare, December 1941–January 1942, Allegati n. 23.

11. AUSSME, N1–11, Diari storici, B. 823, Comando IV Battaglione Mobilitato Carabinieri Reali, Diario Storicomilitare, January 1942.

12. AUCEI, Attività dell'Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane dal 1934, DELASEM Series, B. 45C (ex 44 M), fasc. 4 Profughi ebrei jugoslavi provenienti dalla BosniaErzegovina; AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 823, Comando IV Battaglione Mobilitato Carabinieri Reali, Diario Storicomilitare, March 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 76–85, July 12, 1942.

13. AUSSME, N1–11, Diari storici, B. 823, Comando IV Battaglione Mobilitato Carabinieri Reali, Diario Storicomilitare, March 1942; AUSSME, N1–11, Diari storici, B. 969, Comando Superiore FF.AA. Albania, Diario Storico-militare, Allegati, February 14, 1942, February 17, 1942, March 11, 1942; AQSH, F235 Prefektura e Durresit, V1942, D35, p. 146.

14. AUSSME, N1–11, Diari storici, B. 823, Comando IV Battaglione Mobilitato Carabinieri Reali, Diario Storicomilitare, March 17, 1942.

15. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 76–85; AQSH, F152/2 Ministria e Mbrendshme, V1942, D319, pp. 73–74.

16. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D79, XH 504–505, August 1940–June 1941.

17. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 76–85; AQSH, F152/2 Ministria e Mbrendshme, V1942, D319, p. 13, 16, 68–69.

18. AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D67, pp. 55–102. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51.

19. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1942, D333.

20. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 76–85; D303, pp. 283–293; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana 1939–1943, B. 6, fasc. 10 Movimento ebraico in Albania.

21. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D157, pp. 15–24.

22. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 147–155.

23. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana 1939–1943, B. 1, fasc. 21.

24. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D463, pp. 1–4; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51.

25. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D463, pp. 1–4.

26. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana 1939–1943, B. 3, fasc. 254.

27. Ibid., B. 6, fasc. 10 Movimento ebraico in Albania.

PUKË

Pukë is the capital of the Pukë district, located more than 80 kilometers (50 miles) north of Tiranë and some 32 kilometers (approximately 20 miles) east of Shkodër. In 1940, Pukë (Italian: Puk, Puke, Puka) was one of five internment camps used by the Italian and Albanian authorities to detain Montenegrins, Serbs, and Bulgarians in the furtherance of "albanization."[1] The related camps were Gërman, Kavajë, Klos, and Prezë. Some of those camps already held Montenegrin prisoners of war (POWs).[2] The camps were designed roughly along a diagonal strip extending from central Albania toward the north, from southwest to northeast.

Based on available sources, the Pukë camp was originally used to intern those coming from Kosovo or probably just Montenegro, who were subject to the military authorities and, essentially, were POWs or were deemed dangerous to the security of the zones occupied by the Italian Army. The camp likely opened in 1941.

There are records of a number of Montenegrins coming from Pejë (Serbian: "Peč") who were eventually interned in either Pukë or Fushë Arrëz.[3] These two camps, along with the Gërman camp, were designated for the Kosovar refugees, who started arriving in early January 1942, according to the special provisions related to acquiring manpower for planned road maintenance (especially for linking the towns of Krujë and Burrel, for which the necessary funds had already been obtained).[4] The scope of internment in the Fushë Arrëz and Pukë concentration camps was extended to include "indigenous and dangerous Serbo-Montenegrin families from Kosovo" to address several concerns: pressing Italian and Albanian security needs, the planned development of an effective transportation network, and the efficient distribution of labor allocation.[5] Meanwhile, the "undesirables" were initially sent to Prezë per the order of the political authorities.[6] Based on Generale di Corpo d'Armata Camillo Mercalli's plans, Pukë would begin functioning (at least for this new wave of internees) in early April

1942, together with Fushë Arrëz.

However, it was first necessary to resolve the question of whether the Albanian government authority would bear the camp's provisioning costs. Based on the meetings between the Presidency of the Albanian Council of Ministers, the Royal General Lieutenancy (*Regia Luogotenenza Generale*, RLG), and the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania, it was decided on April 12 that, "for technical reasons," provisioning in all four camps would be "materially assumed by Italian military authorities," whereas expenses would be covered by political authorities in Albania (as well as by companies receiving the workers). The civilian authorities would only be responsible for the "technical modalities of provisioning."[7] The Albanian Interior Ministry exercised ultimate authority over these camps.

Following problems with overcrowding at the Prezë camp, whose capacity was already exhausted by April 23, an order arrived on April 27 to "urgently, and on the very same day, transfer" to Pukë "at least three hundred men, to be chosen from those considered less dangerous."[8] The influx of new prisoners continued, with men heading to Pukë and women to Prezë; in spring 1942, the Pukë camp reached its maximum capacity of 700 people.[9] The process of deporting Kosovar intellectuals from Pukë and Prezë to the Italian island camps of Ponza and Ustica began in late May. The Italian authorities deemed this operation necessary to eliminate the risk posed by a growing antifascist presence in Albania; they targeted the clandestine communist organization operating both in the country and in the recently occupied zones (mainly Kosovo). Mercalli provided the necessary directives to transfer some 500 internees to Italy, 300 of whom came from Pukë.[10] The departure of prisoners to the Ponza and Ustica camps was set for June 9 from the port in Durazzo, and from there to Bari aboard the steamship *Aventino*. Several detainees who worked in camps as informers for the Italians stayed in Albania before being transferred to Prezë.[11]

To pay for camp supplies, a special account was created by the Albanian government responsible for the "undesirable internees from Cossovo (Kosovo)."[12] Each camp's administration received a fixed amount for both political and civilian internees determined on the basis of legislative provisions deliberated between 1940 and

1942. In August 1942, one of the competent authorities transmitted "a list of costs incurred for the provisioning and clothing of undesirable internees from Cossovo concentrated at the camps of Puka and Preza" and for the period of May 2 to June 30, for Pukë only.[13] A note sent to the Albanian Finance Ministry indicated that the average daily cost for the Kosovars at Pukë during this period was 7.2 lire per person, making the total cost 98,445.65 lire. The number of detainees at Pukë ranged roughly between 160 and 470.

The number of internees declined sharply at the end of 1942. A police communication in early December noted that among the Kosovar internees at Pukë were Serbs from Prizren and Pejë, including Orthodox priests and some who were considered dangerous politicians (communists or opponents of the Axis).[14] There were 59 individuals (46 men and 13 women) remaining at the camp as of December 18, and the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania requested their transfer to the Gërman camp.[15] These numbers were confirmed both through lists transmitted by the presidency's Military Office in late January 1943 and by the Office of the Prisoners of War of the Albanian Red Cross (*Kryqit të Kuq Shqiptar*, KKSH) in mid-February of the same year.[16] The Pukë concentration camp was closed on March 26, 1943, when the remaining detainees were transferred to the Gërman camp.[17]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the political, economic, and cultural situation in Albania under the Italian occupation include Silvia Trani, "L' unione tra l'Italia e l'Albania (1939–1943)," *Clio* 30: 1 (January–March 1994): 139–168; Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Silvia Trani, ed., *L'Unione fra l'Albania e l'Italia: Censimento delle fonti (1939–1945) conservate negli archivi pubblici e privati di Roma, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali* (Rome: Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 2007); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Campi di concentramento, Internamento civile," in Victoria de Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, eds., *Dizionario del fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002); Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); and Edmond

Malaj, *Hebrenjtë në trojet shqiptare: Me një përqendrim në historinë dhe kulturën hebraike* (Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike Instituti i Historisë, 2012), pp. 202–230.

Primary sources documenting the Pukë internment camp can be found at AQSH and at ITS. For general information about Pukë and the other four internment camps, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 112–121. For Pukë as both a place of internment (probably 1939–1940) and a concentration camp in its first period (probably 1941), see AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1939, D37, pp. 28–37 (concerning the commission for internment); AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1940, D14, pp. 1–23; and AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D31, pp. 1–51. For the Pukë camp in 1942 (Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins interned, releases of prisoners, preparation and equipment, deportation of some inmates from Pukë and Prezë to Italian islands, Pukë general capacity and structures, the entrusted authorities, inmates' figures and origin), see the following sources: AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 37–65; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 328–348; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D926, pp. 1–9; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 65–74, 112–121, 165–177; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I/302, pp. 7–30; AQSH, F164 Partia Fashiste, V1942, D105, pp. 1–21; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D396; and ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 1. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. For the camp's closure, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-465, p. 2.

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NOTES

1. AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1940, D14, pp. 1–23; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D31, pp. 1–51; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1939, D37, pp. 28–37.

2. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 112–121,

September 21, 1942.

3. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 37–46, March 9, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 328–337.

4. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D926, pp. 1–9, February 7, 1942.

5. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 65–74, March 21, 1942; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I/302, pp. 7–14, April 12, 1942.

6. Ibid., February 26, 1942.

7. Ibid., April 12, 1942, and pp. 15–22, April 27, 1942.

8. Ibid., April 27, 1942.

9. Ibid.

10. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 47–57, May 26, 1942.

11. Ibid., pp. 57–65; and AQSH, F164 Partia Fashiste, V1942, D105, pp. 1–21.

12. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I/302, pp. 15–22, May 22, 1942.

13. Ibid., pp. 23–30, August 4, 1942.

14. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D396.

15. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 165–174.

16. Ibid., pp. 175–177; and "Liste Internierter Männer und Frauen im KZ-Lager Puka (Scutari) in Albanien," ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 1, Doc. Nos. 459435–459436.

17. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-465, p. 2.

VILLA SHIROKA

In 1928, the business community of Shkodër donated a villa to Ahmet Zogu, who as Zog I reigned as king of the Albanians from 1928 to 1939. The villa was situated in the hills above Shirokë, located on the shores of Lake Shkodra across from the city of Shkodër in northwestern Albania on the border with Montenegro. Shkodër is just over 86 kilometers (almost 54 miles) northwest of Tiranë. Because of its proximity to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, King Zog resided there only once before the Italian occupation. In October or November 1940, approximately five months after Italy entered into World War II and during its invasion of Greece, the royal villa became a concentration camp for civilian Greek deportees (initially, only Greeks residing in Albania, and then also Greeks from the Greek territory occupied by the Italian troops) deemed dangerous because of their national origins. Due to the particular provisions of the April 1939 union between Italy and Albania, the Albanian authorities created the camp, apparently through the General Directorate of Police (*Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise*) (i.e., the Albanian Interior Ministry), and placed it under the jurisdiction of the prefecture of Shkodër (Italian: Scutari).[1] Officially called the concentration camp Shiroka for Greek subjects (*Campo di concentramento sudditi greci Shiroka*), it was also known as Villa Shiroka (sometimes spelled "Scirocca" in Italian).

The camp had a maximum capacity of 140 people. Toward the end of November 1940, the camp held 110 Greeks, including 4 women, who had been living in Albania and were taken from different locations throughout the country. Some of the Jews among them came from Argirocastro (Albanian: Gjirokastër). During its invasion of Greece, the Italian Army also dispatched 60 families numbering 198 additional detainees from the Greek territory behind Italian lines to Villa Shiroka for detention in late November; there were many Jews among them. Dispatched from villages in the Konitsa District nearly 163 kilometers (101 miles)

southeast of Tiranë, the 33 men, 53 women, and 112 children arrived in Villa Shiroka in what the camp director, Dr. Nizza, described as a very pitiful condition, after a long journey by truck lasting two days and two nights. They were housed in a place at the edge of the camp; Nizza requested additional accommodations from the Albanian authorities, while at the same time turning to the Italian military authorities for immediate assistance, food provisions, and equipment.[2]

By November 29, 1940, Villa Shiroka held 308 people—139 men, 57 women, 112 children—or more than double its capacity. Moreover, other deportees from Greece were expected to arrive soon, as announced by the Italian military authorities. The difficult living conditions, made worse because the inmates had arrived in poor condition after being deported, reached the limit of sustainability. However, it is likely that the 198 deportees from Greece were subsequently sent else-where—to other detention sites or eventually back to their places of origin. In any case, full information is not available about their fate and the mortality and health conditions at Villa Shiroka. Typically the staff of camps in Albania consisted of members of the Albanian Fascist militia units, Albanian gendarmerie, Italian military, or the carabinieri. According to the available sources, Villa Shiroka's security was entrusted to carabinieri (most likely since the opening of the camp and surely by January 1941).[3]

When the camp opened, the Albanian authorities assigned its direction to Dr. Nizza, an Italian official who served in the *Regia Luogotenenza Generale* (Royal General Lieutenancy, RLG). Nizza immediately confiscated furniture from a girls' school in Shkodër, presumably for camp use. According to a report made after Nizza's tenure, his administration committed various irregularities, such as paying inflated prices for the purchase of newspapers, using prohibited goods, and stealing stoves and iron bars from the windows. Under Nizza, the person responsible for day-to-day administration was Busacca, an Italian who had been fired by the Italian Society for Construction and Public Works (*Società Italiana Costruzioni e Lavori Pubblici*, SICELP). In December 1940, Nizza was recalled to military service. His replacement was Dr. Battaglia, who came from the Shkodër police headquarters and whose immediate task was to cope with the

administrative mess. Based on his proposal, he received strict instructions to liquidate the camp's former account and open a new one, without conducting any further investigations so as not to reveal the administrative irregularities and shortcomings. The purpose behind these instructions was to maintain the image of efficiency necessary, in the Italian authorities' view, to ensure their prestige among the Albanians.[4]

On April 9, 1941, 88 Villa Shiroka inmates—nearly all of the camp population and likely all Greek Jews—were transferred to the Kruja camp. The last Greek Jew in Kruja was transferred on April 12, after his stay since late February in the Shkodër hospital.[5] All the 89 Greek Jews had been deported to Villa Shiroka between November 1940 and March 1941 from diverse places in Albania (including Vlorë [Italian: Valona], Tiranë, and Argirocastro). With its closure, the great part of the Villa Shiroka camp's equipment was delivered to the sub-prefecture of Kruja in early June 1941 and lost in 1942.[6]

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning the Villa Shiroka camp is Edmond Malaj, *Hebrenjtë në trojet shqiptare: Me një përqendrim në historinë dhe kulturën hebraike* (Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike Instituti i Historisë, 2012).

Primary sources regarding the camp can be found at AQSH. For correspondence on prisoners, their number, and names in November 1940, see AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1940, D1208–1211, pp. 1–13; for the report on the camp by Dr. Battaglia and its consequences, see AQSH, F153, Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D63, pp. 1–53; and AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1940, D556, p. I; for the number and names of another group of prisoners at the beginning of January 1941, see AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1941, D556, pp. 70–74; for the inmates' transfer to the Kruja camp and the Villa Shiroka's closure, see AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1941, D160, pp. 1–51; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D63, pp. 1–53; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-302, pp. 7–14, 23–30; for indirect evidence of the camp's creation by the Albanian authorities, see AQSH, F195 Ministria e Arsimit, V1940, D878, p. 1.

NOTES

1. AQSH, F195 Ministria e Arsimit, V1940, D878, p. 1, June–July 1941.

2. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1940, D1208–1211, pp. 1–13, November 1940.

3. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D63, pp. 1–53, February 11, 1941.

4. Ibid., December 19, 1940; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1940, D556, p. 1, December 22, 1940.

5. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1941, D160, pp. 1–51, January–April, 1941; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D63, pp. 1–53, April, 1941; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1941, D556, pp. 70–74, January 1941.

6. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-302, pp. 7–14, 23–30, March–September 1942.

ITALIAN-OCCUPIED EAST AFRICA (ERITREA, ETHIOPIA, AND SOMALIA)*

When the Fascist regime swept through Rome on March 30, 1922, Benito Mussolini gained control of Italy's European territories and inherited its struggling colonies in the Horn of Africa. After the Fascist government's seizure of Ethiopia during the Italian-Ethiopian War (1935–1936), the Italians joined the formerly separate colonies of Ethiopia, Eritrea (1882–1941), and Somalia (1897–1941) into a single colony called *Africa Orientale Italiana* (AOI), or Italian East Africa.[1] From 1936 to 1943, the Italians established in that colony internment camps, concentration camps, prisoner of war (POW) camps, forced labor camps, transit camps, and prisons to fulfill colonial, wartime, and genocidal aims.

Mussolini's regime sought to fortify and expand Italy's colonial efforts in North Africa in order to strengthen the presence of Italian fascism on the world stage. Although Italy had gained control of Eritrea and Somalia at the end of the nineteenth century,[2] its colonial policy under the Fascist government shifted to better accomplish Mussolini's imperialist goals. To this end, Italy set its sights on Ethiopia. Pre-Fascist Italy had attempted to conquer Ethiopia de cades earlier, but its military troops had been defeated at the Battle of Adwa in 1896. Forty years later, the outcome was reversed in the Italian-Ethiopian War.

Italy's conquest of Ethiopia created the circumstances that inspired early pre-Holocaust and pre-World War II concentration camps in colonial Italy. To suppress and eliminate African opposition to foreign colonization, Italy instituted widespread executions, aerial bombing (including chemical weapons), population transfers, and the establishment of camps. In Nocra, Eritrea, and in Danane, Somalia, for example, Italian troops set up camps to detain Ethiopian Christian Coptic clergy who had

supported indigenous resistance to Italian colonization,[3] Amhara soldiers, members of the defeated army of Ras Desta Damtu, and Ethiopian officials who had helped plan or who had participated in the assassination attempt on Marshal Rodolfo Graziani, a prominent military officer, in 1937.[4]

Italian racial policy in its colonial holdings was another driving force in the establishment of camps in AOI. To maintain European prestige, Fascist Italy enacted laws that made sexual relations between the indigenous population and the colonizers an offense punishable by five years in prison. Italian women who had sexual relations with African men could be publicly whipped and sent to concentration camps.[5]

During the period between Italy's entry into World War II alongside Nazi Germany on June 10, 1940, and the Armistice signed between Pietro Badoglio and the Allies on September 9, 1943, Italy's Fascist regime set up camps throughout AOI.[6] The most recent estimate for the total number of fascist internment and prison sites in AOI is 57: 16 concentration camps (4 in Eritrea, 7 in Ethiopia, 5 in Somalia), 6 POW camps (3 in Eritrea, 3 in Ethiopia), 6 forced labor camps (1 in Eritrea, 3 in Ethiopia, 2 in Somalia), 2 transit camps (both in Eritrea), 8 prisons (1 in Eritrea, 6 in Ethiopia, 1 in Somalia), and 19 sites that are not yet categorized (3 in Eritrea, 16 in Ethiopia).[7]

Little research has been done on life within the camps; however, due to the work by Andrea Giuseppini, Roman Herzog, and others, we now have some idea how the camps in the AOI functioned. Testimony indicates that Italian civilians in the AOI participated in the deportation and internment of prisoners.[8] Camp conditions differed for internees depending on when, why, and where they were interned. In addition to having to contend with challenging conditions within the camps, prisoners also had to deal with steep elevation changes and hot temperatures. Prisoners have described overcrowding, widespread sickness, and insufficient rations.[9] The Allied liberation of North Africa in 1943 brought an end to the Nazi-Fascist camp system in the AOI.

SOURCES Historians have paid increasing attention to Libya, but modern-day scholarship has only begun to scrutinize Italian

camps and incarceration practices in the AOI during World War II. Ruth Ben-Ghiat and Mia Fuller's anthology of 20 essays titled *Italian Colonialism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) offers a sampling of issues related to colonization in the Italian zone and a Rolodex of scholars studying Italian North Africa. In *L'Africa del Duce: I crimini fascisti in Africa* (Varese: Arterigere, 2008), Ntonella Randazzo discusses Italian colonization practices as tied to Italian imperialist rhetoric. In *Oltremare: Storia dell'espansione colonial italiana* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002), Nicola Labanca discusses Italian racial policy and economic objectives in Italy's colonies. In these books, the focus is on colonization, not the camps.

Andrea Giuseppini and Roman Herzog have led a collaborative effort to identify, codify, and analyze fascist camps in the AOI, relying primarily on testimony. These testimonies as well as documents they have unearthed are housed at: www.campifascisti.it.

Alexis Herr

*[*Editor's note:* Due to the lack of source material, the *Encyclopedia* does not cover the camps in AOI individually, but a list of locations follows this introduction.]

NOTES

1. Sabina Donati, *A Political History of National Citizenship and Identity in Italy, 1861–1950* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013), p. 184.

2. For more on the war in Somalia and Italian imperialism, see Randazzo, *L'Africa del Duce*, pp. 147–234.

3. Donati, *A Political History of National Citizenship and Identity in Italy*, pp. 189–190.

4. Alberto Sbacchi, "Italy and the Treatment of the Ethiopian Aristocracy, 1937–1940," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 10: 2 (1977): 209–241.

5. Ruth Ben-Ghiat, *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922–1945*

(Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 129–130.

6. For more on British and Commonwealth forces' capture of Italian POWs in North Africa from 1940 to 1943, see Kent Fedorowich, "Propaganda and Political Warfare: The Foreign Office, Italian POWs and the Free Italy Movement, 1940–3," in Bob Moore and Kent Fedorowich, eds., *Prisoners of War and Their Captors in World War II* (Oxford: Berg, 1996), pp. 119–147.

7. Andrea Giuseppini and Roman Herzog, "I campi fascisti," www.campifascisti.it/index.php.

8. Roman Herzog, *Stavo cercando le corna e la coda, ma non le avevano. Guerra, deportazione e campi durante l'Imperio fascista in Etiopia* (Rome: Audiodoc, 2012).

9. For more details, see I Campi Fascisti, "La ricerca su I campi fascisti in Africa," Atti del Convegno: I Campi Fascisti, www.campifascisti.it./file/Herzog.pdf.

List of camps in Italian-occupied East Africa (AOI)

Site name	Location	Category
Eritrea:		
Adakamre	Dekemhare	unknown
Adi Keyn (Adi Caieh)	Adi Keyh	POW camp
Adi Kuala	Adi Kuala	unknown
Agordat	Agordat	POW camp
Asmara	Asmara	internment camp
Asmara	Asmara	transit camp
Assab	Assab	concentration camp
Addi Ugri or Adi Ugri	Mendefera	concentration camp
Addi Ugri or Adi Ugri	Mendefera	POW camp
Massawa (Massaua)	Massawa	transit camp
Massawa (Massaua)	Massawa	unknown

Nefasilk	Nefasit	prison
Nocra	Nocra Island	concentration camp
Ethiopia:		
Addis Abeba	Addis Ababa	internment camp
Addis Abeba Municipal Building	Addis Ababa	unknown
Adwa (Adua)	Adwa	POW camp
Akaki Radio Station	Pianura di Akaki	concentration camp
Alam Bakagni Prison	Addis Ababa	prison
Ambo	Ambo	concentration camp
Bejirond Zelleke Agadew's residence	Addis Ababa	prison
Bonga	Bonga	unknown
Caserma di Carbinieri di Addis Abeba	Addis Ababa	unknown
Chagal	Wartu Chagal	unknown
Commissariato di Addis Abeba	Addis Ababa	internment camp
Commissariato di Debre Birhan	Debre Birhan	prison
Dabat	Dabat	unknown
Debre Birhan	Debre Birhan	unknown
Debra Sina	Debra Sina	unknown
Debre Tabor	Debre Tabor	unknown
Dejazmach Latibalu's residence	Addis Ababa	unknown
Dejazmach Oube's residence	Addis Ababa	unknown
Dire Dawa	Dire Dawa	concentration camp
Enda Medani Alem	Enda Medani Alem	POW camp
Forte di Mandida	Mendida	unknown
Genete Le'ul Palace	Addis Ababa	unknown
Harar	Harar	concentration camp
Korem–Quoram	Korem	concentration camp
Maktiwa	Mak'at'awa or	unknown

	Mek'et'ewa	
Mek'ele (Macallè)	Mek'ele	POW camp
Mek'ele (Macallè)	Mek'ele	prison
Mojo	Mojo or Moggio	concentration camp
Police garage / Fit-Ber Prison	Addis Ababa	unknown
Ras Abbebe's residence	Addis Ababa	unknown
Shano	Shano	concentration camp
St. George's Prison	Addis Ababa	prison
St. Tekle Haymanot Church	Debre Libanos	unknown
Tige bet / Tyit-bet	Addis Ababa	prison
Ufficio Politico di Addis Abeba	Addis Ababa	internment camp
Somalia:		
Dhanaane (Danane)	Dhanaane	concentration camp
Gaalkacyo (Rocca Littorio)	Gaalkacyo	concentration camp
Itala	Adale / Cadale	concentration camp
Janaale–janale (Genale)	Janaale	forced labor camp
Mogadishu	Muqdisho	concentration camp
Mogadishu	Muqdisho	prison
Moico	Moico	forced labor camp
Obbia–Hobyaa	Hobyaa	concentration camp

Source: www.campifascisti.it.

ITALIAN-OCCUPIED GREECE*

AKRONAFPLIA

Akronafplia (or Akronauplia) is a rocky peninsula in the city of Nafplio whose fortified location offered the ideal acropolis to the city from antiquity. Nafplio (Peloponnese region) is more than 93 kilometers (58 miles) southwest of Athens and 238 kilometers (148 miles) south-southeast of Trikala. On February 22, 1937, under the dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas, the notorious Akronafplia concentration camp for communists was established at the site of a nineteenth-century prison.[1] The camp was intended to detain the most dangerous communists, who were gathered from exile sites and prisons.[2] Called *Akronafpliotes*, the political prisoners numbered from 600 to 650. From the camp's founding until its closure in February 1943, more than 1,200 prisoners passed through the site.[3] Akronafplia became a symbol of the resistance during the occupation. In February 1943, the communist newspaper *Rizospastēs* proclaimed, "Akronafplia became the bastion of the people's freedom …. Your name will be immortal in Greek history!"[4]

During the interwar period, when the Sub-Ministry of Public Security supervised the camp, the conditions inside Akronafplia were horrendous. The detainees were exposed to wind and cold. The wooden floors were ideal breeding places for vermin. The building's four sections, with a theoretical capacity of 50 people each, were crammed with 100 and later as many as 150 prisoners.[5]

During the Italian occupation Akronafplia was under the jurisdiction of the Greek Interior Ministry and the Directorate of Special Security of the State (*Diéfthinsi Eidikís Asfaleías tou Krá-tous*). The camp was guarded by 50 to 70 Greek gendarmes. The camp commanders during the occupation were, in turn, second lieutenants (*Yposminagos*) N. Giannikos and Vazitaris. The vice commander was Warrant Officer Bougas, whom the

detainees nicknamed "Goering." The role of the guards was to pressure the detainees to renounce communism.[6]

The prisoners organized camp life in the form of a commune (*Omada Symviōsēs*). All of the political prisoners of Akronafplia were members of the commune, even those who espoused Far Left (non-Stalinist) political views. They elected a seven-to nine-member committee that represented them before the administration. Each committee member was in charge of an aspect of camp life, such as health or education. Units of skilled workers among the prisoners, such as plumbers and blacksmiths, covered the town's needs.[7]

During the Italo-Greek War, the Akronafplia detainees appealed in three separate letters to the government condemning the invasion and asking to be sent to the front. The government ignored their appeals.[8] Because Nafplio was one of the evacuation ports for British troops in Greece, the city came under heavy bombardment by the Luftwaffe. In response the detainees built a shelter. During one attack, an explosion severely damaged the prison's roof.[9] After the prisoners repeatedly entreated the camp administration to allow them to fight against the Germans, they were promised guns and service alongside the guards, but instead Akronafplia's commander, Giannikos, delivered the camp and its prisoners to the German authorities on April 29, 1941. The German authorities then placed the Greek guard in charge of the camp. When the Italian authorities succeeded the Germans, they also relegated camp administration to the Greeks, but posted Italian sentries outside.[10]

The famine in occupied Greece hit the camp during the winter of 1941. When the Italians provided food only to the camp guards, the detainees sent a series of letters concerning food provisioning to the Hellenic Red Cross (*Ellinikós Erythrós Staurós*, EES), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the collaborationist government, and the Italian authorities. On December 1, 1942, *Rizospastēs* reported that the detainees even sent a telegram to the prime minister of the collaborationist government, Lieutenant General Georgios Tsolakoglou, petitioning for an increase in their subsidy.[11] Some prisoners received food and clothing from their families. Resistance

organizations from the Peloponnese, Thessalia, and Macedonia also sent some help. After repeated appeals, the Italians granted small quantities of seized food, mostly potatoes (100 to 120 grams [3.5 to 4.2 ounces] daily), to the inmates. Two detainees were sent to Nafplio to obtain food, but found nothing. The detainees asked for a committee of prisoners to be sent to the countryside, where food could be found. The camp command took advantage of the detainees' difficult position and pushed them to sign a recantation of their political beliefs: "Sign and then go out and eat."[12] One of the detainees, Antonis Flountzis, remembers that "in the end, after all our demands were in vain we were gathered at the (prison's) bars and started yelling—We are hungry! We are hungry! We made a huge fuss. Our voices were heard up to Nafplio."[13] The commander was forced to yield.

The National Solidarity movement (*Ethniki Allileggyi*, EA), the EES, and the ICRC helped the detainees during this difficult period. The EES contributed food shipments beginning January 12, 1942.[14] Prisoner Kostas Tsirkas wrote in a letter to his wife on March 9, 1942: "As far as food goes, don't ask, it's not good! The food we eat is not enough to keep us standing. Only the Red Cross sends food now and then and the dried vegetables they send help us recover a bit. We wait again for a dispatch now."[15] EA also expended considerable efforts to help the prisoners survive. The organization intervened as soon as the famine broke out, sending aid from September to November 1941, even before the EES provided assistance, and practically saving the 600 Akronafplia prisoners from a certain death. Thus, few detainees died from hunger or disease,[16] although on December 1, 1942, *Rizospastēs* reported, "At Akronafplia more fighters died of hunger and torture, comrades Charilaos Thomas and Kostas Stathopoulos."[17]

On June 30, 1941, after the intervention of the Bulgarian authorities, 27 Slavic Macedonians (members of the Greek Communist Party, *Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas*, KKE) who came from Bulgarian-occupied Greek Macedonia were released from Akronafplia.[18] An additional 22 detainees from Akronafplia were transferred to the Petra Olympou Sanitarium. Among them was Giannis Ioannidis, the KKE's unofficial second secretary during the occupation. On the night of July 14, 1941, 12 of them escaped with the help of a guard who followed them. In late

November 1942, 200 political prisoners were transferred from Akronafplia to Katouna. Those who stayed were transferred by the Germans to the Pavlos Melas camp and were murdered on March 1, 1943.[19] On April 7, 1943, members of the Greek People's Liberation Army (*Ellinikós Laïkós Apeleftherotikós Stratós*, ELAS) freed 56 former detainees from Akronafplia who were then in the Sotiria sanitarium, recovering from tuberculosis.[20] At Akronafplia itself, the detainees never attempted an escape. A recurring theme in postwar memoirs was strong criticism of prisoner leadership, which was relatively mute at the time.[21]

In January 1943, the German and Italian authorities began to commit retaliatory murders all over Greece in response to the growing strength of the resistance, and the prisoners at Akronafplia made up the first target pool. On January 6, 10 detainees were transferred to Athens to be shot by the Germans. On January 8, EA mobilized and formed multimember commissions that protested to the Italian authorities, the EES, the neutral state embassies, and the Greek government, asking for the cancellation of the decision. However, six of the hostages were murdered.[22]

The dismantling of the Akronafplia camp started in September 1942. On September 14, the Greek administration delivered 50 detainees to the Italians, who on September 16 transferred half to the Larissa and half to the Trikala camps.[23] Most of the remaining prisoners were transferred to Larissa: 100 detainees on January 30, 1943, and 150 on February 18, 1943. The last to remain were 56 detainees suffering from tuberculosis who were transferred to the Sotiria sanitarium on February 27, 1943.[24]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Akronafplia camp include Polymeris Voglis, *Becoming a Subject: Political Prisoners during the Greek Civil War* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002); and Spyros Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou* (Athens: Themelio, 1988). Books about deceased resistance fighters and chronicles of the resistance include some information about the Akronafplia camp: Giōrgēs Zōidēs et al., *Historia tēs Ethnikēs Antistasēs 1940–1945* (Athens: Nea Vivlia, 1974); *Chroniko Agōnōn kai Thysiōn tou Kommounistikou Kommatos tēs*

Elladas, vol. A: *1918–1945* (Athens: Kentrikē Epitropē tou KKE, 1986); and *Epesan gia tē Zōē: Ērōes—Martyres Laikōn, Apeleutherōtikōn Agōnōn*, vol. B (Athens: Kentrikē Epitropē KKE, 1994).

Primary sources documenting the Akronafplia camp can be found in *Rizospastēs* and *To Kommounistiko Komma Helladas: Episēma Keimena—1940–1945*, vol. 5 (Athens: Synchronē Epochē, 1981). Early postwar testimonies include *Ethnikē Allēleggyē, Mia Prospatheia kai enas Athlos: To Ergo tis Ethnikis Allileggyis Ellados* (Athens: N.P., 1945). Published testimonies are Vasilēs Giannonkōnas, *Akronauplia* (1963; Athens: Difros, 2011); Gerasimos Antōnatos, *Ē Katochē stēn Akronauplia* (Athens: ODEV, 1967); Vasilēs Bartziōtas, *Ki Astrapse Phōs hē Akronauplia! Apo tēn Epopoiia tōn Laikōn Agōnistōn henos Katergou: Dokimio* (Athens: Ekdoseis Synchronē Epochē, 1977); Giannēs Manousakas, *Akronauplia (Thrylos kai Pragmatikotēta)* (1975; Athens: Dōrikos, 1978); Manousakas, *To Chroniko Enos Agōna: Akronauplia, 1939–1943* (Athens: Gnōsē, 1986); Antōnēs Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes 1937–1943* (Athens: Themelio, 1979); and Giannēs Ioannidēs, *Anamnēseis, Provlēmata tēs Politikēs toy KKE stēn Ethnikē Antistasē 1940–1945* (Athens: Themelio, 1979).

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NOTES

1. Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou,* p. 396; Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, p. 73.

2. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 77–80.

3. *Rizospastēs*, February 11, 1943.

4. Ibid.

5. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 80–84;

Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 99, 103.

6. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 85–96, 187–212.

7. Ibid., pp. 97–99; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 101–103.

8. *Chroniko Agōnōn*, pp. 129–130; Zōidēs et al., *Historia tēs Ethnikēs Antistasēs*, pp. 27–28; *To Kommounistiko Komma Helladas*, pp. 271–272; Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 311–318.

9. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 322–325.

10. Ibid., pp. 325–327; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 246.

11. *Rizospastēs*, December 1, 1942.

12. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 357–362.

13. Ibid., p. 360.

14. Ibid., pp. 363–376.

15. Ibid., p. 370.

16. Ibid., pp. 378–383.

17. *Rizospastēs*, December 1, 1942; *Epesan gia tē Zōē*, pp. 185, 219.

18. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 407–408.

19. Detainees' testimonies (Polychronē Polychroniadē and Markou Vafeiadē) on the escape in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 409–413; *Epesan gia tē Zōē*, p. 101.

20. Detainees' testimonies (Giōrgēs Vontitsos, Tasos Kinoglou, Pythagoras Valakos, and Spyros Kōtsakēs) in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 355–356, 414–421.

21. Ibid., pp. 329–356; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*.

22. *Ethnikē Allēleggyē*, pp. 88–89; Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 436–438.

23. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 435–436.

24. Ibid., p. 466.

* For a map of the camps in Italian-controlled Greece, see page 396.

ANAFI ISLAND

Anafi Island (Aegean region, Cyclades Islands) is 256 kilometers (159 miles) southeast of Athens and 28 kilometers (17 miles) east of Thira Island (Santorini). The island was first used as a place of exile in 1918. Called *Anafiotes*, the political prisoners on Anafi grew considerably in number during the first years of the dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas (1936–1938). The exiles included Marxists of different stripes and Old Believers, a religious minority that refused to accept the Gregorian calendar, which had been introduced in Greece in 1923. Anafi was the largest exile camp in the Greek islands. In 1937, the exiles outnumbered the islanders, reaching 750 people. From February to March 1937 onward the detainees from Anafi were sent to the newly established concentration camp for communists (*Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas*, KKE) at Akronafplia (or Akronauplia). In 1938 the number of exiles was reduced to 350.[1]

The political exiles founded one of the best-organized communes (in a leftist political sense) among the exile camps: the Commune of Political Exiles of Anafi (*Omada Symviōsēs Politikōn Exoristōn Anaphēs*, OSPEA). In response to the authoritarian regime, OSPEA organized the exiles' life by providing cultural activities and ideological and educational training, as well as creating work groups by skill set. OSPEA also published a handwritten newspaper called *The Antifascist* (*Antifasistas*). During the prewar years and the occupation, OSPEA was a largely effective shield against hunger, disease, and the Metaxas regime's demand that political prisoners sign the "Recantation" ("*Dēlōsē Metanoias*"), a document stating their renunciation of communism. The Metaxas regime issued each exile a 10-drachma subsidy, which was insufficient for survival.[2] In a display of satire against the regime, the exiles nicknamed their pet dog "Goebbels."

The living conditions were particularly harsh, mostly because of

conditions on the island. Anafi is a largely infertile, arid island with little vegetation. Storms made anchoring particularly difficult, thus often leaving the island short of drinking water, food, and communications with the mainland. Most buildings lacked electricity.

At the outbreak of the Italo-Greek War, the exiles petitioned Athens for permission to volunteer for military service. Their request was rejected.

The staff guarding the island consisted of 24 Greek gendarmes. Before the Italians arrived on the island, the exiles tried to persuade their guards to leave for the nearby island of Crete. Although the guards apparently accepted this proposal, their commander, Warrant Officer Yannis Rigas, was opposed, and he ultimately delivered the approximately 220 exiles on the island to the Italians on May 4, 1941. According to exile Kostas Mpirkas, the first Italians were merchant seamen under the command of naval officers.[3] Italian soldiers later replaced them.

Initially, Italian rule was lenient. For example, the Italian authorities permitted the exiles to visit nearby islands for food supplies. When the administration passed to the carabinieri, however, the situation became harsh and increasingly restrictive, and prisoners were subjected to surprise inspections. Under Italian direction, the Greek gendarmerie took on special duties, such as counting those unable to show up for morning roll call because of illness.

Shortly after their arrival, the Italian commander notified the exiles that they were to be transferred to the mainland. As a result, they sold or gave away their food supplies and returned the rented fields before the harvest. Notified later that the transfer order had been rescinded, they missed the harvest, had insufficient supplies, and only managed to get back a few of the things they had given away. To compound matters, the carabinieri forbade any receipt of parcels or checks, and even the government subsidy went unpaid. As a result, they were un-prepared for the coming winter. Unfortunately, the famine of the winter of 1941 was extremely harsh for all of the Cyclades Islands and in particular for the nearly infertile Anafi.

The famine began in September 1941. The exiles ate what little

food they possessed and then turned to snails and wild herbs. They made formal requests for food to the Italians, who provided them with an inadequate supply of flour and beans. However, some guards secretly gave them food. Hunger drove some to devour what ever they could find—dead animals, fruit peelings, and dirty herbs—thus risking food poisoning. Although OSPEA punished those who stole food from the island's inhabitants, some cases of theft still occurred. Complete exhaustion from hunger confined many exiles to bed for days. The first two famine victims were Manolis Perlorentzos (February 22, 1942), the editor of *Antifasistas*, and Apostolos Apostolidis, the very next day. During the funeral some were unable to follow the procession, fell down, and lost consciousness. The victims who followed were buried in the cemetery without services, because no one was in a position to organize them. The famine lasted for eight or nine months and cost the lives of 18 to 20 detainees.

Some assistance apparently reached the island via the Hellenic Red Cross (*Ellinikós Erythrós Staurós*, EES). There are reports of food supplies from the EES arriving at the end of December 1941 and in the spring of 1942.[4] During that period, the detainees seemed to have convinced the Italians to transfer the seriously ill to hospitals in Athens, but transports were difficult and slow. For some transfer came too late: they died on the way to the boat or on board, in which case their bodies were thrown into the sea, or they succumbed in hospitals in Athens.

In cooperation with resistance organizations, the *Anafiotes* succeeded in organizing some escapes. Some of those transferred to hospitals on the mainland managed to escape with help from the Greek National Liberation Front (*Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Métopo*, EAM). A large group of exiles was transferred to Athens and kept in police stations in Piraeus. They were notified that the German authorities were going to shoot them, and in mid-December 1942, 15 exiles escaped from three of the police stations, including Nikos Tzamaloukas. Those who escaped assumed important positions in the resistance.

Many *Anafiotes* were transferred to the German-run Pavlos Melas camp in Thessalonika. The conditions there were horrendous, and the very exhausted soon succumbed to hunger and

harsh treatment.[5] The communist newspaper, *Rizospastēs*, reported on December 1, 1942, that "within the last 40 days, 15 fellow fighters died of the 37 having been transferred from Anafi to the Pavlos Melas camp."[6]

The exiles who survived the famine soon confronted another danger, namely retaliatory murders that the German and Italian authorities started committing all over Greece as the resistance grew stronger. The Axis used hostages as a human reservoir for the firing squads after any resistance act, and political prisoners were in the first rank of the shooting lists. The occupiers murdered approximately 140 exiles from Anafi.[7]

In June 1942, 45 exiles (58, according to other sources) who came from Bulgarian-occupied eastern Macedonia and Thrace were notified of their impending release from Anafi.[8] However, when they arrived at the Pavlos Melas camp in Thessalonika, the Germans and the Bulgarians made their release conditional on their signing a certificate to become Bulgarian subjects, which they refused to do. On December 30, 1942, the German authorities murdered the 45 *Anafiotes* in retaliation for sabotage by ELAS.[9]

By the summer of 1943 approximately 70 exiles remained on Anafi. At the beginning of June and probably for security reasons, the Italians gathered the few scattered political exiles from the barren islands and transferred them to the Kea (Tzia) Island opposite Attica and close to Athens. The 70 *Anafiotes* probably made up the largest contingent of these exiles. When the Italians capitulated in September 1943, they were released. The exiles rented boats and headed to Syros Island, where the Greek gendarmerie arrested them, imprisoned them on Lazaretta Island, and delivered them to the Germans who took control of the island. The German authorities transferred the prisoners to the Haidari camp in Athens, where many were used as retaliation hostages.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Anafi Island exile camp include Spyros Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou* (Athens: Themelio, 1988); and Margaret E. Kenna, *The Social Organisation of Exile: Greek Political Detainees in the 1930s* (Amsterdam: Har-wood Academic Publishers, 2001). This essay refers to the Greek edition: Margaret E. Kenna, *Ē Koinōnikē Organōsē tēs*

Exorias. Politikoi Kratoumenoi ston Mesopolemo (Athens: Alexandria, 2004), as well as Kōstas Gkritzōnas, *Homades Symviōsēs 1925–1974: Ē Syntrophikē Apantēsē stē Via kai ton Enkleismo* (Athens: Philistor, 2001); Dēmētrēs Sarantakos et al., eds., *Aigaio Archipelagos Martyriōn* (Athens: Hypourgeio Aigaiou kai Etairia Diasōsēs Istorikōn Archeiōn 1940–1974: 2004); and Thodoris Roumpanis, *To Ethnos*, October 26, 2007, at www.ethnos.gr/article.asp?catid=22768&subid=2&pubid=141256. Special editions for deceased resistance fighters and chronicles of the resistance include valuable information about the Anafi Island camp: *Epesan gia tē Zōē: Hērōes—Martyres Laikōn, Apeleutherōtikōn Agōnōn*, vol. B (Athens: Kentrikē Epitropē KKE, 1994); *Chroniko Agōnōn kai Thysiōn tou Kommounistikou Kommatos tēs Hēlladas*, vol. A: *1918–1945* (Athens: Kentrikē Epitropē tou KKE, 1986); and Giōrgēs Zōidēs et al., *Historia tēs Ethnikēs Antistasēs 1940–1945* (Athens: Nea Vivlia, 1974).

Exile life on Anafi Island is documented in some published testimonies of former exiles, such as Kōstas Mpirkas, *Selides tou Agōna: Hērōiko Chronico tēs Dekapentaetias 1935–1950* (Athens: Melissa, 1966); Giōrgēs Zarkos, *Homada Symviōsēs Politikōn Exoristōn Anaphēs OSPEA* (Athens: A. Karavia, 1946); and Nikos Tzamaloukas, *Anaphē: Enas Golgothas tēs Leuterias (Anamnēseis)* (Athens: Eirēnē, 1975). Samples of the *Anafiotes*' handwritten newspapers can be viewed in an article by Margaret Kenna, "Conformity and Subversion: Handwritten Newspapers from an Exiles' Commune," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies JMGS* 26 (2008): 115–157. Photographs secretly taken by exiles and hidden on the island can be viewed at www.swansea.ac.uk/cssee1/anafi.htm.

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NOTES

1. Gkritzōnas, *Homades Symviōsēs 1925–1974*, pp. 28–29; Sarantakos et al., *Aigaio Archipelagos Martyriōn*, p. 51;

Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou*, p. 426.

2. Gkritzōnas, *Homades Symviōsēs 1925–1974*, pp. 28–29; Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou*, pp. 431–433; for the newspaper *Antifasistas* where there is also a photograph with the front page of the March 25, 1942, edition, see Kenna, *Ē Koinōnikē Organōsē tēs Exorias*, pp. 132–133.

3. Sarantakos et al., *Aigaio Archipelagos Martyriōn*, p. 52; Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou*, pp. 433–434; Gkritzōnas, *Homades Symviōsēs 1925–1974*, pp. 29–30; Kenna, *Ē Koinōnikē Organōsē tēs Exorias*, pp. 116–117.

4. Kenna, *Ē Koinōnikē Organōsē tēs Exorias*, p. 126; Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou*, p. 435.

5. *Epesan gia tē Zōē*, pp. 165, 210.

6. "Agōnistēte kata tōn orgiōn tēs tyranias,"*Rizospastēs,* December 1, 1942.

7. Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou*, pp. 435–436; Sarantakos et al., *Aigaio Archipelagos Martyriōn*, p. 53.

8. Sarantakos et al., *Aigaio Archipelagos Martyriōn*, p. 53; Gkritzōnas, *Homades Symviōsēs 1925–1974*, p. 31.

9. Sarantakos et al., *Aigaio Archipelagos Martyriōn*, p. 53; Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou*, pp. 436–437; *Chroniko Agōnōn kai Thysiōn*, pp. 160–161; *Epesan gia tē Zōē*, pp. 165, 174, 180, 184, 187, 206, 221, 227.

ATHENS/AVERŌF PRISON

The prison building, located on Alexandras Avenue in the Ampelokēpoi quarter of Athens, was completed in 1896. It was named after Yeōrgios Averōf, who, in 1892, made a generous contribution toward its construction. The building, Averōf (or Averof) Prison, was intended to be a prison for juvenile offenders, implementing a law issued by King Yeōrgios I in 1896, and was named Efēveion (Adolescence) Averōf.

Beginning in 1916, the prison was also used to hold political and military prisoners. Before the occupation, the prison included the Efēveion section, political prisoners, and the criminals of Athens. Compared to the horrendous conditions in most of the other Greek prisons during the interwar years, Averōf Prison was considered, as one lawyer mentioned, the only one that could actually be called a prison.

During the occupation, Averōf Prison was put under German and Italian joint administration, as was the case for both the cities of Athens and Piraeus. Both used it as a site for judicial and extrajudicial detention. There was an Italian and a separate German wing. The Italians, in addition to guarding their own wing, were also responsible for guarding the perimeter of the prison. Thus, many Italian soldiers were on sentry duty along the perimeter.[1]

The commander of the prison's Italian wing was Major Guido Corti. The prisoners regarded him positively, because he treated them humanely, especially those who were condemned to execution. He built a kiosk outside the prison for the relatives of the prisoners who waited to visit them.[2] Corti is perhaps the only Italian military officer who was stationed in Greece who is in the *Allies' Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects, Consolidated Wanted Lists,* not for having committed a crime, but as a witness.

The Italian authorities sent every one whom they arrested in the

region of Athens to Averōf. In addition, Averōf served as a central clearing house for prisoners from carabinieri detention facilities, from the Comando Piazza, and from other Italian prisons and camps all over Greece.

The detainee Alexandros Zannas provides a very enlightening description of the conditions in the prison and the placement of the prisoners.[3] According to his testimony, there were 12 cells measuring 1.8 × 2.2 meters (5.9 × 7.2 feet) in the basement of the prison that the Italians used as isolation cells and in which the conditions were horrendous. There were no beds or windows, and air circulated only from a small opening in the door, which opened twice a day when food was passed to the prisoners.[4] He writes, "Isolation was complete. Any talk with neighboring cells was strictly forbidden."[5] The infirmary was on the ground floor and was staffed by both an Italian and a Greek doctor.[6] The first floor was used mainly to house those criminals from the countryside, and the conditions were appalling.[7] On the second floor, one wing was used for detaining Italian soldiers convicted of criminal law offenses; the other wing held Greeks with long-term sentences or awaiting execution.[8] On the third floor were incarcerated "at the one side political convicts, not a few black marketeers and common criminals who were often used as informants of the Italians. At the other side there were also political convicts, most of them though from the countryside."[9]

At Averōf, the Germans and Italians held most of those whom they had arrested for resistance actions in Athens, including those to whom the British had given money and support. Greek citizens and military personnel whom the Italians had arrested for resistance activities, whether already convicted or being tried, were held together at the prison. Resistance activities included hiding weapons, committing acts of sabotage, transmitting messages to the British headquarters in the Middle East via a radio transmitter provided by the Allies, listening to foreign radio broadcasts, attempting to escape to the Middle East,[10] possessing and promoting clandestine newspapers, stealing from Italian authorities, participating in clandestine resistance organizations, hiding and caring for Allied personnel, participating in networks sending Allies or Greeks to the Middle East, taking part in strikes and public demonstrations,[11] and inciting attacks against Italian

soldiers and their Greek collaborators.

Although the Germans were more successful in arresting members of and dismantling resistance organizations, the Italians did incarcerate many resistance fighters at Averōf. Lena Karayannē, the legendary leader of the organization Mpoumpoulina, was held in Averōf for six months. Some of the members of the Tsardakas Group, the first Greek resistance organization to undertake military action, were also transferred to Averōf. The group fought the Italians in the Othrys mountains in the region of Almyros in Thessaly in June 1941, and 32 of its members were executed by the Italians in Almyros, Chalchida, and Athens.[12] In October 1941, an "Investigation Battalion" (probably Italian), after having surrounded the village of Nestorio Kastorias and terrorizing the villagers, interrogated the male population to see if there were any hidden weapons. Thirty young men and women were arrested and sent to Averōf Prison.[13]

One of the Italians' biggest successes was arresting members of Operation Isinglass, which was designed by the British to send information, commit acts of sabotage, and operate clandestine networks to aid escaping Allied personnel. Among the 36 people whom the Italians sent to Averōf was the leader of the operation, Lieutenant John Atkinson, as well as prominent figures of Athenian society, such as the former minister Alexandros Zannas and Theodōros Kountouriōtēs, who was a naval officer and son of an emblematic figure in Greek society and history, the admiral and first president of the Hellenic Republic, Pavlos Kountouriōtēs.[14] Another big success for the Italians was the capture of the group led by the British captain MacNabb.

Other captured members of the Greek resistance were well known in Athenian society, such as Yiouris and Nikos Kalogeropoulos, grandchildren of the famous Colonel Kalogeropoulos.[15] These arrests shook Athenian society,[16] and the British and the exiled Greek governments attempted to intervene on behalf of the prisoners through diplomatic means.[17]

The Italian wing of the prison held those awaiting trial, as well as some convicts from the Italian military court. Detainees in custody were often sent to the Italian military court and then back to Averōf Prison to serve their time as convicts. The Italians

established the court at 91 and 93 Patēsiōn Street, at the former premises of the Greek motorized police department.[18]

Most convicts were transferred at some point to Italian camps around the country or by boat to camps in Italy. The court sentenced some detainees to death. The Italians carried out executions less frequently than the Germans, bringing the prisoners outside Averōf and shooting them in the surrounding fields. The Germans executed prisoners inside the prison, in the west yard.[19]

During the Italian capitulation, the Italians burned the files that detailed the reasons for prisoners' detention, along with other information. As a result, the Germans did not know who among the detainees were resistance fighters or posed a danger for the occupation forces, and thus they freed many of them.[20]

SOURCES An important source for the executions of the prisoners and their last moments are the reports written by the priests after the executions; the priests often accompanied the prisoners until the very end. Some of these reports are available in Iōanna Tsatsou, *Ektelesthendes epi Katochēs* (Athens: Oi Ekdoseis tōn Filōn, 1976), pp. 129–196. See also Alexandros Zannas, *Ē Katochē. Anamnēseis—Epistoles* (Athens: Vivliopōleion tēs Estias, 1964); Rigas Rigopoulos, *Secret War: Greece-Middle East, 1940–1945: The Events Surrounding the Story of Service 5-16-5* (Paducah: Turner 2003); Giōrgēs Zōidēs et al., *Istoria tēs Ethnikēs Antistasēs 1940–1945* (Athens: Nea Vivlia, 1974); E. Panas, *Tria Chronia sta Cheria tōn Nazi 1942–1945* (Athens: Filippotē, 1985); Voglis Polymeris, *Becoming a Subject: Political Prisoners During the Greek Civil War* (New York: Berghahn, 2002); Kōnstantinos Koukkidēs, *Ē Dikaiosynē tous! Yermanika kai Italika Stratodikeia Katochēs: Organōsē, Synthesē, Dikes kai Paraskēnia* (Athens: N.P., 1946); Iōanna Tsatsou, *Fylla Katochēs* (Athens: Estia, 1987); Christoph U. Schminck-Gustavus, *Mnimes Katochēs II. Italoi kai Yermanoi sta Yannena kai ē Katostrophē tēs Evraikēs Koinotētas* (Iōannina: Isnafi, 2012); and Tsouderos Emmanouēl, *Istoriko Archeio*

1941–1944, 2 vols. (Athens: Fytraki, 1990). See also *Allies' Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects, Consolidated Wanted Lists* (Uckfield, East Sussex: Naval & Military Press, 2005).

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NOTES

1. Panas, *Tria Chronia*, pp. 28, 35.
2. Koukkidēs, *Ē Dikaiosynē tous!* p. 67.
3. Alexandros Zannas stayed in the prisons for almost a year: April 22, 1942–April 6, 1943. Zannas, *Ē Katochē,* p. 113.
4. Ibid., 106–108.
5. Ibid., 106.
6. Ibid., 108–109.
7. Ibid., 109.
8. Ibid., 109–110.
9. Ibid., 113.
10. ERT, "Martyries: Aggelos Vlachos, Enas presvēs thymatai," 12:10–12:22.
11. ERT, Document no. 33459, "Chroniko tis Ethnikis Antistasis, Episode 4: O Megalos Limos," 50:20–51:23.
12. Tsatsou, *Ektelesthendes epi Katochēs*, pp. 64–66; Yōrgos Zōidēs et al., *St' Armata! St'Armata! Chroniko tēs Ethnikēs Andistasēs 1940–1945* (Athens: Politistikes kai Logotechnikes Ekdoseis, 1967), pp. 80–81.
13. Zōidēs et al., *Istoria tēs Ethnikēs Antistasēs*, p. 111.
14. TNA, HS 5/524; Rigopoulos, *Secret War*, pp. 198–200; Paul London, "A Tribute to Roy Spencer," *Story* 154,

www.findmypast.com/articles/anzac-day-stories/page-39/paul-london; *HM Submarine Triumph's Last Patrol—December 1941*, www.hmstriumph1942.com/loss.htm. Zannas mentions that during his detention at Averōf Prison (April 22, 1942–April 6, 1943) in addition to Atkinson, a few commissioned and noncommissioned officers of the Commonwealth were held there. Zannas, *Ē Katochē*, pp. 113–117.

15. Rigopoulos, *Secret War*, pp. 53–54.

16. Tsatsou, *Fylla Katochēs*.

17. Pappas, Cairo, March 1, 1943 (pp. 586–587) and Y. Ventērēs, Geneva, March 10, 1943 (pp. 622–623) in Tsouderos, Vol. II: *Istoriko Archeio 1941–1944*.

18. Koukkidēs, *Ē Dikaiosynē tous!*, pp. 59–61.

19. Zannas, *Ē Katochē*, p. 112.

20. See, for example, the testimony of Achilleas Kalogeridēs in Schminck-Gustavus, *Mnimes Katochēs II,* p. 113.

ATHENS/EMPEIRIKEIO

The Empeirikeio Asylum of Homeless Children was founded in 1917 and was located in the Ampelokipoi neighborhood of Athens. The asylum was transformed into a prison when Averōf, the principal prison in Athens where convicts of the Italian and German military courts were sent, became full. After October 1940, female prisoners were transferred to the three-floor female reformatory facility of Empeirikeio, after the children were relocated.[1] Empeirikeio housed only Greek women during the first period of the occupation.

After 10 to 12 months, the Greek collaborationist, Italian, and German authorities shared responsibility for the facilities.[2] Those detained by the Italians stayed on the third floor, whereas those arrested by the Germans were on the second. Common criminals with shaved heads occupied the first floor. According to a report of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), there were 200 detainees, but in the archive of Sister Eleni Kapari of the ICRC there was a list of 227 females, who received small amounts of aid from the Red Cross between February 27, 1942, and June 2, 1943.[3]

The case of Toula Mara-Michalakea is typical of the women arrested by the Italians. She was a member of the resistance in Athens whose arrest by the Italians and their Greek collaborators in January 1943 followed a denunciation. She was put in a basement cell in Komanto Piatsa. Held there for a week, she was given only a few raisins and a bun to eat during that time. Eventually, she was transferred to Empeirikeio. She describes the prison as peaceful, with large barred windows, much light, and spacious corridors. “Women, women everywhere. On the stairs, in the corridors, in their colorful traditional costumes, some of them fat, of every age holding their knitting, were approaching us. Women from Samos, Crete, and Lesbos. They were arrested because they hid the British.”[4] In the spring of 1943, Mara-Michalakea was tried with a co-prisoner by an Italian military

court located on Patission Street. They were sentenced to six and four years, respectively.

Every day new detainees came from every region in Greece, including Thessalonika and Patra. They brought with them the latest news. Illegal newspapers also circulated in the prison. At night, resisters placed the newssheet in a broken earthenware jar in the yard, and the detainees took it in the morning to read. A major agony of the detainees was isolation from their families. At Empeirikeio, there was a group of communists or the wives of communists who served sentences imposed by the military court. Their husbands were *Akronafpliotes*, leftist detainees originally held at the Akronafplia camp, who were detained at that time in the Larissa concentration camp. (Larissa is 217 kilometers or 135 miles northwest of Athens.) Once a month Sister Eleni Kapari brought them correspondence from Larissa.

In addition to the Italian guards, the prison employed nuns and female clerks from the Greek collaborationist government. The communal unit of detainees assigned Toula Mara-Michalakea to deliver packages from visitors. She recalled, "We were in daily contact with the Italian guards. We started learning Italian. We needed to have good relations with the Italian guards."[5] Mara-Michalakea recalled that an Italian guard from Naples secretly showed her photos of his children, saying, "'My older son serves at the front. I haven't received any letter from him. He must be dead.' And he was crying leaning against the wall, hiding his face with his hands so I won't see him. 'The war is a curse! And you, poor woman, you are here … and all these women, away from their home and children! We are all the same. The war … Fascism.'"[6] After Fascist Italy capitulated, the guard helped the detainees escape. Later, someone saw him wandering around Athens in rags and gave him cigarettes and money, and let him live. Mara-Michalakea worried about his fate: "But he wasn't brought to us to take care of him. Who knows where his bones lie?"[7]

The persecution of Soula Karanika illustrates the Italian authorities' judicial function and the frequent movement between the cells of the carabinieri, prisons, and Italian camps. On August 15, 1942, an Italian guard caught her hiding a resistance newspaper in the box of raisins she was distributing on behalf of

the Hellenic Red Cross (*Ellinikós Erythrós Staurós*, EES) as food provisions for detainees in the Larissa camp. On August 18, 1942, the Italians arrested her and her sister Koula in Larissa and transferred them to the Security Department of the carabinieri. Her three other siblings were also arrested, but were released after 10 days. Because she was ill, Soula was held in the prison ward in the Larissa hospital. At the beginning of October 1942, she was transferred to the Larissa camp, a familiar place to her, but this time she came as a detainee; she was held in its recovery room. On December 5, 1942, she was transferred to Empeirikeio in Athens. On February 10, 1943, she was sentenced by the Italian military court in Athens to five years' imprisonment. During her sentence, Sister Eleni Kapari visited her. On the night of March 22, 1943, she was back in Larissa where she spent the night in the carabinieri offices, and on the following day she was transferred for detention to the Larissa camp. Later, when the Italians started to dismantle the camp she was transferred with other detainees to the camp of Chaidari and then to Averōf Prison. She managed to escape from Averōf.[8]

During visiting hours, the detainees were allowed to go out to the camp yard where they met the female detainees held by the Germans. Inside the prison, their only forms of entertainment were group singing and dancing.

At the time of the signing of the Armistice on September 8, 1943, the detainees were worried that they were going to be handed over to the Germans.[9] In the end, the Italian authorities secretly removed them before the Germans had time to intervene. As one of the detainees remembers,

> As soon as night fell the Italian told us: "Don't turn on the light. Quietly, when the night falls all of you one by one, leaving your stuff behind, you'll go down the outdoor stairway so that the Germans guarding at the front door won't see you. You'll go through the back door." Only around 20 long-term convicts stayed behind. As the Greek employees of the prison and the Italian told us, they would hide them in the garbage truck and let them go at dawn. And this is how it was done. In the dark we started going down the stairs. We were lost in the night, one after the other so that the Germans

would not catch us.[10]

A nun by the name of Eulampia is said to have facilitated the release of the Italians' female prisoners.

When the Germans became aware of the Italians' moves, they started shooting into the prison. The remaining prisoners sought shelter in the corridors to avoid the gunfire.[11] In the end, only the Germans' detainees and the long-term convicts of the Italians remained at Empeirikeio.[12]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Empeirikeio prison in Athens under Italian occupation include Antōnēs I. Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas—Trikalōn 1941–1944*: *Hē gennēsē tou antartikou stē Thessalia* (Athens: Papazisi, 1977); Antōnēs I. Phlountsēs, *Ekletesthentes kai kratoumenoi sta chronia tēs Katochēs, 1941–1944* (Athens: Philippotē, 1987); and Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Empeirikeio prison in Athens under Italian occupation can be found in A-ICRC. A collection of published testimonies is Kinēsē "Hē gynaika stēn antistasē," *Gynaikes stēn Antistasē: Martyries* (Athens: Kinēsē "H Gynaika stēn Antistasē," 1982). A prisoner's memoir is Mairē Parianou, *Martyries apo tēn Antistasē kai tēn phylakē 1941–1945*, ed. Maria Spēliōtopoulou (Athens: Philippotē, 2007).

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NOTES

1. Parianou, *Martyries apo tēn Antistasē*, p. 32.

2. Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas—Trikalōn*, p. 231.

3. A-CICR, G 3/27 CI, B. 148, as cited in Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire,* pp. 460–461; for Sister

Kapari's list, see Phlountsēs, *Ekletesthentes kai kratoumenoi sta chronia tēs Katochēs*, pp. 119–122.

4. Toula Mara-Michalakea testimony in *Gynaikes stēn Antistasē*, p. 216.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas—Trikalōn*, pp. 230–231.
9. Mara-Michalakea testimony in *Gynaikes stēn Antistasē*, pp. 216–217.
10. Ibid., p. 216.
11. Parianou, *Martyries apo tēn Antistasē*, p. 43.
12. Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas—Trikalōn*, p. 231.

ATHENS/KALLITHÉA

Kallithéa, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) southwest of Athens, was the site of the shooting grounds for the 1896 Olympic Games. (This suburb is not to be confused with the eponymous town outside Thessalonika.) The Italians used the premises as a prison, a situation that did not change under a succession of postwar governments.[1] Under Italian occupation, the daily number of prisoners averaged approximately 1,000.[2]

The Italian authorities carried out interrogations and torture at Kallithéa. A characteristic example was the "Maratheas case," in which prisoners were tortured by Italian Counter Espionage (*Controspionaggio*, C.S.) using a metal ring around their heads. Consequently, 20 prisoners separately confessed to killing Maratheas.[3]

Many testimonies confirm that prisoners condemned to death by the Italian court-martial in Athens were transferred to Kallithéa for execution. The report of Father Ioannis Maroulis is an eloquent testimony describing the execution procedure. Father Maroulis was assigned to accompany three Greek prisoners during their final interrogations and their transfer for execution on January 7, 1943. He administered the last rites and witnessed their deaths by firing squad. Among the condemned was a prisoner who was allegedly on a mission for the British at the time of his capture.[4]

Not even the clergy were exempt from detention at Kallithéa. On April 30, 1943, the Italian authorities arrested the monks Grigoris Atsalis and Ilias Sideris. After initial confinement in Syros prison, they were subsequently transferred to Kallithéa and held there for six months.[5]

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) made strenuous efforts to aid the prisoners. The archive of Sister Eleni Kapari of the ICRC includes a name list of 331 prisoners who received assistance between January 1 and December 25, 1943.[6] The association for prisoners, *Ergon Paramythias*

Kratoumenon, also assisted, providing medicine and food in cooperation with the ICRC.

In Kallithéa, the events that followed the Italian Armistice were particularly dramatic. The day that Italy fell, the archbishop of Athens and Greece, Damaskinos, asked the Italian chargé d'affaires to release its prisoners. Later, he met with the Italian commander of Kallithéa prison, Viniola, once again asking for the prisoners' release, to which he received an affirmative response. Meanwhile, the archbishop's office was receiving desperate pleas from prisoners' relatives. Using proceeds gathered from local merchants, Archbishop Damaskinos met once again with Viniola, determined to bribe him to open the prison doors. Viniola took the money, claiming he would buy clothes for his men, who would have to take off their uniforms on their release. They agreed that the next day at 7 A.M., when the prisoners were to be released, Viniola would be taken to a safe place until the war ended. "The Italian swore on the icon of the Holy Mary that he would do that, he took the money, he fled, he didn't open the prisons and he dis appeared."[7]

The German authorities took control of the Italian-run prisons in Athens on September 10. In the early afternoon the prisoners themselves opened the doors of Kallithéa, after the Italians had released some of the prisoners. Many people gathered and started shouting, "Down with fascism!" The arch-bishop's office received a call, which reported, "At Kallithéa there are gunshots!"[8] The German authorities once again confined the prisoners to Kallithéa. They also arrested the prison's 80 Italian guards. In the meantime, the ICRC and the *Ergon Paramythias Kratoumenon* continued to pressure for the release of the prisoners even after the Germans took control of the prisoners. A considerable number of prisoners were released from German jurisdiction, up to November 1943.[9]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Kallithéa prison include Petros Antaios et al. (eds.), *Mavrē Vivlos tēs Katochēs–Schwarzbuches der Besatzung*, 2nd ed. (Athens: Nationalrat für die Entschädigungsforderungen Griechenlands an Deutschland–Ethniko Symvoulio gia tē Diekdikēsē tōn Opheilōn tēs Germanias pros tēn Ellada, 2006); Vardēs V. Vardinogiannēs, *Den thelō na*

mu desete ta matia (Athens: Etairia Diasōsēs Historikōn Archeiōn, 2004); Antōnēs I. Phlountzēs, *Ekletesthentes kai Kratoumenoi sta Chronia tēs Katochēs, 1941–1944* (Athens: Philippotē, 1987); Ēlektronikē Vivliothēkē tēs Apostolikēs Diakonias tēs Ekklēsias tēs Ellados, "Porfyrogennētos," www.apostoliki-diakonia.gr; Ēlias Venezēs, *Archiepiskopos Damaskēnos: Hoi chronoi tēs douleias* (Athens: Vivliopōleion tēs Hestias, 1981); and Christoph U. Schminck-Gustavus et al., *Mnēmes Katochēs* (Iōnnina: Ekdoseis Isnaphi, 2007–2011). The last source includes prisoner testimonies.

Primary sources documenting the Kallithéa prison can be found in *Ethnikē Allēleggyē, Mia Prospatheia kai enas Athlos: To Ergo tis Ethnikēs Allileggyis Ellados* (Athens: N.P., 1945) and Kōnstantinos Koukkidēs, *Ē Dikaiosynē tous! Germanika kai Italika Stratopeda Katochēs: Organōsē, Synthesē, Dikes kai Paraskēnia* (Athens: N.P., 1946).

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NOTES

1. A photograph of the shooting range from 1900 can be found at www.esperos.com/?page_id=1019.
2. Antaios et al., *Mavrē Vivlos tēs Katochēs*, pp. 135–136.
3. Koukkidēs, *Ē Dikaiosynē tous!* p. 66.
4. As cited in Vardinogiannēs, *Den thelō na mu desete ta matia,* pp. 57–58.
5. Ēlektronikē Vivliothēkē, www.apostoliki-diakonia.gr/gr_main/catehism/theologia_zoi/themata.asp?contents=ecclesia_history/contents_Katoxi.asp&main=katoxi_2&file=IMPARONAXIAS.htm#_ftnre
6. Phlountzēs, *Ekletesthentes kai kratoumenoi*, pp. 123–127.
7. Ibid.

8. Quotations in Venezēs, *Archiepiskopos Damaskēnos*, pp. 270–273.

9. Ethnikē Allēleggyē, *Mia Prospatheia kai enas Athlos*, p. 90.

CORFÙ-LAZARETTO ISLAND

Lazaretto Island (Corfù, Ionian region) covers an area of nearly 7 hectares (18 acres) and is located just over 3 kilometers (2 miles) northeast of Corfù (Greek: Kérkyra). It is 381 kilometers (237 miles) northwest of Athens. In the spring of 1943, the Italian authorities operated a camp for Greek resisters and hostages on the island.

When Benito Mussolini came into office in 1922, he had designs on the Ionian region. A strong indicator of his plans was the temporary conquest of Corfù, after a naval bombardment of the island on August 31, 1923, without warning, that caused civilian casualties and damaged the Venetian castle, the Jewish cemetery, and many buildings. The Italians withdrew from the island on September 27 after international intervention. However, after Greece capitulated in April 1941 to the Germans and the Italians seized a large part of Greek territory, the Ionian Islands were placed under direct Italian administration. The Italians tried to establish a special status in the islands, issuing a new currency—the Ionian drachma—and publishing newspapers in Italian, with the aim of full annexation.

During the occupation of Greece, however, the Italian forces faced significant security problems. These problems reflected their security weaknesses on the ground, a result of the growing resistance movement in Greece and the defeats of the Italian regime at the front that ultimately led to Mussolini's fall. The case of 200 communist prisoners, called the *Akronafpliotes* after the camp in which they were originally held, Akronafplia, was a characteristic example of the gradual dismantling of Italian hegemony in Greece. The communists were considered extremely dangerous to the Italian occupation (the "communist peril," *comunisti pericolosi*). The Italian authorities were well aware that the leadership of the Communist Party of Greece (*Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas*, KKE) and the Greek National Liberation Front (*Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Métopo*, EAM), the

largest resistance organization in Greece—their deadliest enemies—recruited communist escapees. Therefore, while the resistance was growing and the Italians controlled fewer regions in Greece, they transferred the *Akronafpliotes* from one camp to the other, always closer to Italy: in November 1942 to Katouna; on March 20, 1943, to Vonitsa; and finally in June to Corfù-Lazaretto.[1]

Under Venetian and later British occupation Lazaretto Island was used as a quarantine site; hence its name. Using the existing facilities on Lazaretto, the Italian authorities set up a detention camp in the spring of 1943, which initially held 450 hostages and resistance fighters from Corfù. On June 20, 1943, the Italians moved the 200 *Akronafpliotes*, as well as another 100 detainees—called *Epirotes* after their region of origin, Epirus—from the nearby Vonitsa camp to the island. Giannēs Manousakas, one of the *Akronafpliotes*, reported that when they arrived at Corfù they found 700 detainees already in the camp, mostly from Corfù, thus increasing the prisoner population to about 1,000. By order of the Italian high command, the *Akronafpliotes* were placed under strict isolation and initially could communicate with the other prisoners only in secret.[2]

Along with the transfer of the 300 detainees, the Italian guards from Vonitsa and its administration moved to Corfù and were integrated with the existing staff. The commander of the Vonitsa camp, Captain Ruzzero Janeli, took over the administration of the Lazaretto camp and, according to the prisoners' testimonies, was more lenient than his predecessor. Former detainee Gerasimos Antōnatos observed, "Before the Italians took us to Lazaretto, the commander there, E. Scamboli, inhumanly tortured the prisoners …. When we, the 200 *Akronafpliotes* arrived there, the general administration of the camp was passed over to the commander of our camp. So, he made the life of the prisoners easier."[3]

As they had done in the previous camps where they were held, the *Akronafpliotes* improved the living conditions at Lazaretto. Around the small yard, there were dilapidated buildings that the detainees repaired, fashioning roofs out of wooden boards and tar paper. As soon as they repaired one or two rooms they placed the sick and the elderly in them. The rest stayed in the yard. A few days later they managed to build their own rooms in which

workers (probably detainees) from Corfù made two-tier bunks from cypress wood. The *Akronafpliotes* also built an oven and other utilities.[4] The detainees received the same portion of food as the hostages; the Corfù branch of National Solidarity (*Ethnikē Allēleggyē*, EA) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) supplemented their rations.[5] There was a curfew after dinner. A cistern supplied the camp with drinking water. For hygienic purposes the Italians fenced in a part of the sea, covering about 2,800 square meters (30,000 square feet), where the detainees bathed a hundred at a time for 15 minutes on a daily basis.[6]

The detainees put together an orchestra and a chorus and provided the Italian guards with some entertainment as well. Manousakas recalled, "One morning, at the beginning of July, we saw familiar Italian soldiers from the other camps (Katouna and Vonitsa) very cheerful: 'End of the war, camarat (comrade)! Down with Fascism, camarat!' without bothering that their Fascist colleagues were looking at them palely …. The soldiers were happy because their country was losing the war."[7]

On the night of September 8, 1943, Corfù learned the news of the Italian capitulation on the radio. Manousakas described the reaction of the guards the next morning: "Our Italian guards came to us joyfully and their enthusiasm was unstoppable: 'Camarat, the war is over! The war of catastrophe is over! (*Finito la guerra de catastrofa!*)'"[8] It appeared that the time for releasing the prisoners was approaching, but the following days turned out to be tumultuous. The Italian guard abandoned Lazaretto for Corfù, and on September 10, a few boats arrived from Corfù and freed the Corfù detainees and hostages. Only the *Akronafpliotes* remained. It was at that time that German forces attacked the Italians in an effort to take over Corfù. The next day, the people of Corfù took to the streets demanding that the Italian authorities release the *Akronafpliotes*. On September 12, the Germans bombed Lazaretto, but the *Akronafpliotes* did not suffer any casualties. The same night two boats carrying 100 of them left for Corfù. On the night of September 13 the last 100 *Akronafpliotes* left the camp on two small motor vessels piloted by EAM members. When the last group reached the port of Corfù a group of German planes

started bombing the city. When the bombing stopped, the detainees got off the boats and in groups of 10 were taken to different places across the city. However, their lives were still in danger because they were staying in a city that was under frequent bombardment.[9] Manousakas described the situation:

> We were exhausted and we wanted some sleep, after staying awake for two nights. It would be the first time after many years we would sleep and wake up free …. It was midnight when we slept. In two and a half hours … I heard … the scream of a bomb falling close to us …. Bombs were falling one after the other all around the city … the buildings were shaking, the windows were shaking and people screamed loudly in between the explosions. After a while, our host came into our room holding a child no more than three years old, swearing at the Germans, making the sign of the cross and calling for Saint Spyridon to burn them.[10]

While Corfù was under German attack and their lives were in danger, the detainees got organized into groups, and through the efforts of the resistance organizations they were dispersed among the villages of Corfù, where they stayed in farmers' houses. Many were later shepherded across to the Albanian coast in small groups; the lucky ones made contact with the resistance organizations that were active in the region of the Greek minority and thus managed to enter Greece.[11] At least 20 of the former detainees of Lazarreto were arrested by collaborators of the Germans in Albania and were transferred to Zōsimaia School of Ioannina, which was used as a prison by the Germans. After a while, the Germans delivered them to the Greek gendarmerie.[12]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Corfù-Lazaretto camp are Yiōrgos Zoumpos, "Historia tou nēsiou Lazaretto," *Sōmateio Lazaretto*, October 11, 2010, http://somatio-lazareto.gr/el/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=54&Itemid=155; and Stathēs Kousounēs, "To Lazaretto, mnēmeio ethnikēs symfiliōsēs kai istorikēs mnēmēs" January 18, 2003, ē Kathēmerinē, www.kathimerini.gr/140280/article/oikonomia/ellhnikh-

oikonomia/to-lazareto-mnhmeio-e8nikhs-symfiliwshs-kai-istorikhs-mnhmhs. The camp is also briefly mentioned in Polymeris Voglis, *Becoming a Subject: Political Prisoners in the Greek Civil War* (New York: Berghahn, 2002). Two secondary sources describing the history of Lazaretto Island are K. Konstantinidou et al., "Role of Venetian Rule in Control of Plague Epidemics on the Ionian Islands during the 17th and 18th Centuries," *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 15: 1 (Jan. 2009): 39–43, www.cdc.gov/eid; Katerina Konstantinidou, "La peste nelle Isole Ionie durante il Seicento ed il Settecento: frequenza e regressione del fenomeno in un'area di "confine" tra l'Oriente e l'Occidente," in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed., *Le interazioni fra economia e ambiente biologico nell'Europa preindustriale, secc. XIII-XVIII*; *Economic and Biological Interactions in Pre-Industrial Europe from the 13th to the 18th Century* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2010), pp. 123–134.

Primary sources documenting the Corfù-Lazaretto camp include published testimonies by Gerasimos D. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda (Apo tēn Pylo sto Lazareto) 1939–1943* (Athens: ODEV, 1964); Antōnatos, *Anamnēseis Akronaupliōtē* (Athens: N.P., 1978); Antōnatos, *He katochē stēn Akronauplia* (Athens: ODEV, 1967); Vasilēs Bartziōtas, *Ki astrapse phōs hē Akronauplia! Apo tēn Epopoiia tōn laikōn agōnistōn henos katergou: Dokimio* (Athens: Ekdoseis Synchronē Epochē, 1977); Giannēs Manousakas, *Akronauplia: Thrylos kai Pragmatikotēta* (1975; Athens: Dōrikos, 1978); Manousakas, *To Chroniko Enos Agōna* (Athens: Gnōsē, 1986); Antōnēs Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes 1937–1943* (Athens: Themelio, 1979); Manousakas, *To Chroniko Enos Agōna* (Athens: Gnōsē, 1986); and Dēmētrios Gkontzios (Mpanasēs), *Odoiporiko Mnēmēs*, (Thesprōtiko: N.P., 2001).

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NOTES

1. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronafupliōtes*, p. 442.

2. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 289.

3. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, p. 43.

4. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 288–289; Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, pp. 42–43.

5. ICRC handwritten receipt, n.d., to "the communist prisoners of the camp who were transferred from Vonitsa camp" (Apostolēs Gkrozos and Tzakos Antzel) and the committee of the "Epirotes detainees of the camp who were transferred from Vonitsa" (lawyers Stefanos Katsidēmas and Dēmētrios Maletsidēs), reproduced in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronafupliōtes*, facing p. 321.

6. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 296–297; Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, p. 43.

7. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 290.

8. Ibid., p. 302.

9. Ibid., pp. 302–304.

10. Ibid., p. 305; Antōnatos, *Anamnēseis Akronaupliōtē*, pp. 11–13; Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronafupliōtes*, p. 447–448; Gkontzios, *Odoiporiko Mnēmēs,* p. 25.

11. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, p. 45; Antōnatos, *Anamnēseis Akronaupliōtē*, pp. 13–27; Gkontzios, *Odoiporiko Mnēmēs,* pp. 25–29.

12. Gkontzios, *Odoiporiko Mnēmēs,* pp. 29–32.

IŌANNINA

Iōannina (Yannena) lies about 290 kilometers (180 miles) northwest of Athens, close to the Albanian border; it is the largest city in the region of Epirus. In the interwar years, the Greek army had maintained some buildings on the Akraion site that it used as a military prison. During the Italian occupation of Iōannina, that prison was the principal detention facility in the region, in terms of the number of prisoners and its systematic use by the Italians. There they detained hundreds of resistance fighters and communists.[1] When the Germans later occupied a large part of Italy and established the Repubblica di Salò, some of those people were sent to the Mauthausen and Dachau camps.[2]

In the spring of 1941 the Italian XXVI Army Corps installed itself in Iōannina under the orders of General Guido Della Bonna. The headquarters of the Italian carabinieri (which also ran the notorious detention facilities) in Iōannina was at the Kaplaneios School. The building still exists and hosts a nursery and an elementary school. Many local informers and collaborators, called "informatore," came there to inform on their fellow citizens who participated in the resistance groups EAM and EDES. The carabinieri worked closely with the high command of the Iōannina gendarmerie, sending both the men and the women whom they arrested to Kaplaneios. A specially prepared torture room existed there, and every one from Iōannina who experienced torture remembered this hell as the "black chamber." After being interrogated and tortured, all the victims who were to be detained went to the prison of the Akraion site.[3] Prisoners were then transferred to the prison of Mesologgi to be tried by the Italian military court at Agrinio, where the VIII Army Corps of the occupying Italian Army was established. Others convicted by the same court were sent to Italy.

Takēs Adamou wrote an eloquent literary narrative about the "black chamber" and the tortures that the prison personnel inflicted there; as the Italian carabinieri dragged the prisoners there, they

would yell and swear, “La Camera Nera, la Camera Nera” (the black room). Adamou describes the tortures: beating, hanging from the arms, whipping, and various kinds of torture inflicted on the “operating table” (tightening an iron crown around the head, removing fingernails, and driving pins into wounds). “If you regained consciousness after cold water was poured on your head, the ‘interrogation’ continued with the same professional ‘conscientiousness.’ Otherwise they throw you in the dumb hole in the corner […]. And at night the ‘carabinieri’ put you in a wagon to bury you deeply in some hole in the fields.”[4] In September 1942, the carabinieri arrested Dimitris Gkontzios, a member of the resistance, in the central square of Iōannina, during an Italian operation that captured many resistance fighters. He describes his experience in the “black chamber”:

> It was an attic with small windows, covered with red paper and with a small light. All the tools of torture were hanging on the walls: lashes, knives and others. They got the prisoners there and left them for about an hour for psychological pressure and then they took them down for investigation …. [The interrogators] told me: “Did you see all the torture that your hide will suffer and you’ll die? So tell us who is in the organization of Arta and which is your mission with Romaidou, whom we have at the Akraion prison.” I answered them calmly: “I don’t know anything about what you’re asking me.” “Now,” he said, “prepare to die.” One carabinieri came closer with a round electric crown. He put it only for a few seconds on my hair and he pulled it away. I felt dizzy and my eyes were started out of my head.

The carabinieri continued to hit Gkontzios on the head, but he refused to divulge any names. After the interrogation, he was sent to isolation at Akraion.[5]

When Gkontzios was removed from isolation he was put in a room with thirty detainees, of whom one was a woman. The detainees were resistance fighters from EAM and EDES. The citizens of Iōannina often brought fresh hot food that they gave to the guards to deliver to the prisoners. Gkontzios describes the relations among the prisoners as quite positive; they had fun with

each other, playing games, but avoided any political conversation because the two resistance organizations were competitive.[6] In fact, from autumn 1943 onward, they engaged in direct confrontation and armed conflict.

After an incident of sabotage, the Germans executed many civilians in the region of Arta on February 13, 1943. On the morning of the same day, the carabinieri placed a group of 15 prisoners, bound with a long chain, on a truck going to Arta, where the prisoners believed that the Italians would execute them. However, instead the Italians transferred them to the prison at Preveza and, after four days, to the camp of Vonitsa and later to Lazaretto Island where they were liberated following the Italian capitulation.[7]

Galeano Fogar, an Italian soldier whose unit camped in Iōannina, recalled,

> Our unit's mission was to guard the external part of the Iōannina prison. The carabinieri had taken over guarding the interior of the prison. They said that there were political prisoners in the prison. The following day, on Christmas, although all of us were sick [an incident of food poisoning had been reported], we were supposed to be on sentry duty. The newly recruited soldiers patrolled and I, as an officer, supervised. Those who did not patrol sat in a room which belonged to the prison. But it was very cold.[8]

If the Italian soldiers guarding the prison were cold, one can only imagine what the conditions were like for the prisoners.

On March 25, 1943, the illegal newspaper *Rizospastēs*, the political instrument of the Greek Communist Party (KKE), reported, "A sizeable group of resistance fighters invaded the camp of hostages at Iōannina and, after overpowering the Italian guard, liberated 150 prisoners."[9]

After the Italian capitulation, the camp came under German control, and living conditions deteriorated dramatically. Food distribution was extremely problematic: the quality of food was atrocious, and the prisoners' relatives were forbidden to bring them food. Hygienic conditions were also appalling. Unsanitary

conditions and lice were common problems for the prisoners, and the risk of epidemic disease put their lives in danger. National Solidarity (*Ethnikí Allileggýi*, EA) organized a public demonstration in Iōannina, demanding better conditions for the prisoners and permission to provide them with food. This appeared to have brought some results, because not only did the food improve but the authorities also allowed EA to send food to the prisoners and do their laundry. However, four local members of EA were arrested during the demonstration and sent to the Pavlos Melas camp, among them the teacher and former volunteer to the Hellenic Red Cross (*Ellinikós Erythrós Staurós*, EES), Eutychia Printzou.[10]

The Germans used as a detention facility the historic Zōsimaia School, which had been damaged by Italian bombings in November 1940. After being arrested at an ambush on August 12, 1943, in the region of Paramythia, the priest Fotios Georgiou was incarcerated in the school basement. On August 17, he was tortured during interrogation and then, half-dead, was transferred to Athens to the Chatzēkōsta prison, where he passed away the same day.[11]

SOURCES Information on the Iōannina camp is available in the following published works: Takēs Adamos, *Istories tēs Antistasēs (Diēgēmata)* (Athens: Sygxronē Epochē, 1983); Alekos Raptēs, "Ē Italikē Katochē sta Yannena 1941–1943," *Ēpeirōtikos Agōnas*, October 28, 2011, pp. 16–18; Dēmētrios Gkontzios (Mpanasēs), *Odoiporiko Mnēmēs* (Thesprōtiko: N.P., 2001); *Ethniki Allileggyi. Mia Prospatheia kai enas Athlos: To Ergo tis Ethnikis Allileggyis Ellados* (Athens: N.P., 1945); "Apeleftherōsē Omērōn," *Rizospastēs*, 43 (March 25, 1943); Mētropolitou Lēmnou Dionysiou, *Ektelesthentes & Martyrēsantes Klērikoi 1941–1949: Pistoi achri Thanatou* (Athens: Eleutherē Skepsis, 2009 [1959]); and Christoph U. Schminck-Gustavus, *Mnimes Katochēs II: Italoi kai Yermanoi sta Yannena kai ē Katostrophē tēs Evraikēs Koinotētas* (Iōannina: Isnafi, 2012).

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NOTES

1. Raptēs, "Ē Italikē Katochē sta Yannena," p. 16.
2. Ibid.
3. Gkontzios, *Odoiporiko Mnēmēs,* pp. 21–22; Raptēs, "Ē Italikē Katochē sta Yannena," p. 16.
4. Adamos*, Istories tēs Antistasēs,* pp. 137–145.
5. Gkontzios, *Odoiporiko Mnēmēs,* pp. 21–22
6. Ibid.*,* p. 23.
7. Ibid.*,* pp. 23–25.
8. Schminck-Gustavus, *Mnimes Katochis II*, p. 170.
9. "Apeleftherōsē Omērōn," p. 1.
10. *Ethnikē Allēlegyē*, p. 89.
11. Dionysiou, *Ektelesthentes*, pp. 258–259; Raptēs, "Ē Italikē Katochē sta Yannena," p.16.

KALAVRYTA

Kalavryta (Peloponnese region) is nearly 142 kilometers (88 miles) west of Athens. The massacre that took place there on December 13, 1943, has long overshadowed the history of the Kalavryta Italian-run camp. In retaliation for resistance, the Wehrmacht initially murdered almost 200 people from nearby villages and ultimately all the men in the town of Kalavryta, approximately 500 people in total.

The camp consisted of an elementary school built in 1906 near the train station. In mid-July 1941 a small group of carabinieri and later two Italian Army companies commandeered the site.[1] According to some name lists, from May 1941 to March 1943, 500 people were transferred to Kalavryta because of their acts of resistance. The building was used once again as a school after the Italian Armistice of September 8, 1943, until December 1943, when on December 13, the German authorities gathered all of Kalavryta's citizens in the building during the massacre. That same day the men were transferred from that location to a killing site outside the city. The German authorities then burned and razed the village, including the school. The women and children managed to escape from the burning building; the only victim was an elderly woman who was trampled by the crowd.[2]

The camp commandant was a certain "big" Marsalos (Maresciallo). An Italian from Patra, Katramis, was the principal informer in the camp, according to a witness. He informed Marsalos about prisoner reactions, their politics, and who was weakest and thus easiest to manipulate. The carabinieri commander was R. Outselini. One of the guards on the camp staff was a Greek gendarme named Lagocheilas, according to a prisoner account. He often guarded the isolation unit.[3]

Many of the camp's prisoners were Greek Army officers, gendarmes, civil servants, and leftist political prisoners who came from places across the Peloponesse and were accused of resistance against the Italians.[4] The majority of the detainees were from the

towns of Pyrgos, Kalamata, Patra, and Aigio.[5] In the camp, the detainees were divided and organized into groups: police officers, military officers, and the leftists.

Among the army officers held at Kalavryta was a future leader of the Greek People's Liberation Army (*Ellinikós Laïkós Apeleftherotikós Stratós*, ELAS) in the North Peloponnese, Wing Commander Dimitris Michos. Better known as Captain Old-Michos (*Kapetan Gero-Michos*), he was already active in the resistance in Aigio in the autumn of 1942 when the Italian authorities assigned him to supervise the collection of the harvest in the Kalavryta area. While doing that assignment he continued his resistance activities among officers and civil servants on the harvest collection committees. Michos was probably betrayed by a member of one of these committees and was arrested on September 14, 1942, in Kalavryta. After he was thoroughly interrogated by the carabinieri, he was found, along with 50 others in the school auditorium, singing on the same night, while the Italian guard watched from the outside window. According to Michos, the camp had roughly 170 prisoners.[6]

There were a few women detainees, who were held in the camp in the daytime, but slept in the Helmos Hotel in the center of Kalavryta, which the Italian authorities used as a camp annex. Political prisoner Voula Damianakou reported that while in Kalavryta she met two other women, who were accused of hiding British soldiers. The women occupied furnished rooms, but the Italian authorities rarely gave them any food. Every morning a guard escorted them to the school. A few men were also guarded at the same hotel during the night, among them a judge and a priest.[7]

According to prisoner testimonies, living conditions were very poor. Although they often were allowed to go out and walk in the school yard, diseases such as tuberculosis, pneumonia, malaria, and dysentery ravaged the prisoners. The testimonies also mentioned numerous instances of inhumane treatment: bastinado (foot whipping), beatings, harsh interrogation, and strict isolation in the school's dank basement. The detainees were often beaten until they bled. On Good Friday, 1942 (April 3), the Italians beat 35 prisoners until they lost consciousness.

The meager food distributed in the camp usually consisted of just over a kilogram (2.2 pounds) of rice and beans per day.[8] Cold also ravaged the detainees. In letters to the Hellenic Red Cross (*Ellinikós Erythrós Stavrós*, EES), the detainees pleaded for food, winter clothing, and shoes. They tried desperately, according to testimonies of city residents, to get in contact with those living in the town and ask for food. Some of the residents managed to provide food and bribed an Italian guard to ensure his cooperation. The distance between the camp and the prisoners' cities of origin did not permit many relatives to send food, but it appears that some did receive assistance and visits from relatives or acquaintances.[9] One of the prisoners, Michalis Xydeas, said, "We could not go up the stairs because we were hungry and exhausted."[10] Many of the detainees who died in the camp were buried in the town cemetery.

Offenses such as reading illegal newspapers were severely punished with isolation, beatings, interrogation, and deprivation of food and water. Damianakou said that after being caught in possession of illegal propaganda, she was interrogated and tortured by a certain lieutenant and then shut up in her room at the Helmos Hotel, from which the bed had been removed. For 10 days her diet consisted strictly of water. She was totally exhausted and famished. Once per day a guard opened the door so that she could use the rest room. Mice came out from holes in the floor "like cats and they came close to my head and smelled me, I felt their breath in my hair, my cheek, my hand and I didn't have the strength to chase them away." Other detainees managed to send her a message —"Our thoughts are with you. We are proud of you"—along with some fruit. On an apple they carved the words, "Hold on." At some point an Italian officer came and asked her how she felt. She did not reply. In the afternoon of the 11th day, a doctor appeared, and they started giving her food, after which she recovered. One of the hotel guards was an antifascist Italian soldier, who mocked Benito Mussolini, Foreign Minister Galeazzo Ciano, and his own officers.[11]

Local resistance organizations from Kalavryta and nearby villages helped the detainees with packages. These organizations were organized by the communists immediately after the Italians took control of the region. Resisters such as Alekos Vourtsanis,

who were active communists in the Kalavryta region during the interwar period, became active again after the collapse of the front in April 1941, reforming the cells of the Greek Communist party. These cells were eventually integrated into the Greek National Liberation Front (*Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Métopo*, EAM).

After the resistance spread in the region of Aigio-Kalavryta from March 1943 onward, and especially after the attack by resistance fighters in Pyrgaki on April 14, 1943, the Italian authorities were worried that they could not maintain camp security in this mountainous area and so dismantled the Kalavryta camp.[12]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Kalavryta camp include Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Periklēs Rodakēs, *Kalavryta 1941–1944* (Athens: Paraskinio, 1999), which includes some testimonies; Maria Philosofou, "Katochē kai Antistasē stēn Achaia: Koinōnikes kai Ekpaideutikes Diastaseis" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Patras, 2007); Iōannēs Karakatsianēs, "Hē Manē ston Polemo: Katochē, Antistasē kai Emphylios" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Athens, 2010), which contains some testimonies in the appendix; Panagiotis Stouras, "The Greek Resistance in the Area of Kalavrita and Egialia between 1941 and 1944" (unpub. MA thesis, University of Johannesburg, 2012); Iōannēs A. Kosiōrēs, *To Chroniko tis Ethnikēs Antistaseōs Peloponnēsou 1941–1945* (Athens: N.P., 1992); and the official editions on the Kalavryta massacre: Christos Photeinopoulos, ed., *"A House for Our Heroes": An Attempt to Approach the Tragedy in Kalavryta* (Kalavryta, Greece: Municipal Museum of the Kalavryta Holocaust, 2006), www.dmko.gr/en/history.html; and Panos Nikolaidēs, *Enas Diasōtheis Aphēgeitai…* (Kalavryta: Dēmotiko Mouseio Kalavrytinou Olokautōmatos, 2009).

Primary sources documenting the Kalavryta camp can be found in A-ICRC, collection G3/27. Published testimonies are Voula Damianakou, *Hypeuthynē dēlōsē* (1962; Athens: Epikairotēta, 2000).

NOTES

1. Dimitris Michos testimony in Rodakēs, *Kalavryta 1941–1944,* p. 57.
2. Nikolaidēs, *Enas Diasōtheis Aphēgeitai*, pp. 33, 63–72.
3. Damianakou, *Hypeuthynē Dēlōsē*, pp. 274–275 and 281.
4. Ibid., pp. 271–272 and 275–276; Michalis Xydeas testimony in Ioannis Karakatsiannis, *Hē Manē ston Polemo*, pp. 13–19.
5. Damianakou, *Hypeuthynē Dēlōsē*, p. 275.
6. Michos testimony in Rodakēs, *Kalavryta 1941–1944,* pp. 57–59.
7. Damianakou, *Hypeuthynē Dēlōsē*, pp. 272–274.
8. Ibid., p. 279.
9. See relevant testimonies of the inhabitants of Kalavryta town in Philosofou, "Katochē kai Antistasē stēn Achaia," pp. 289–291.
10. Xydeas testimony in Karakatsiannis, *Hē Manē ston Polemo*, p. 14.
11. Quotations from Damianakou, *Hypeuthynē Dēlōsē*, pp. 277–281.
12. A-ICRC, collection G3/27, as cited in Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire*, p. 360.

KATOUNA

Katouna is nearly 246 kilometers (152 miles) northwest of Athens and almost 200 kilometers (124 miles) northwest of Nafplio. The Katouna camp was set up in a requisitioned school, and its yard, of approximately 5,000 square meters (nearly 53,820 square feet), was encircled with a barbed-wire fence. Before the Italians occupied the area, the Greek Army used the camp to detain Italian prisoners during the Italo-Greek war. Under Italian administration Katouna held 200 political prisoners transferred from the Akronafplia (or Akronauplia) camp in the city of Nafplio in two groups of 100 people each, most probably arriving on November 24 and 27, 1942. In reference to their former camp, the new arrivals called themselves *Akronafpliotes*. The first group was put on the second floor, which had large windows. The second group was held on the first floor, which was dark, because the windows were sealed for security reasons.[1]

In later testimony the *Akronafpliotes* mentioned that there were two to three officers and two to three women who were kept in a separate sector encircled by barbed wire. These prisoners suffered a form of torture called "the hanging," in which their arms were bound behind them and elevated, which rendered them helpless. The Italian authorities provided food and clothing to the women, who were removed from the camp 10 days after the *Akronafpliotes*' arrival.[2]

The *Akronafpliotes* organized the camp, establishing a (communist) party committee and an office. The committee represented the prisoners before the camp administration and other wise organized self-help measures. Apostolis Gkrozos represented the group, and Jack Antzel, a Jew from Thessalonika, was the interpreter.[3]

The Italian camp commander was Reserve Captain Ruggero Giannelli. According to prisoners' accounts, he was an educated man from Milan and reputedly a demo crat, pacifist, and humanist.

The deputy commander, a sottotenente, was a lawyer of noble ancestry who hated Fascism and was a leftist supporter.[4]

As soon as the *Akronafpliotes* arrived at the camp, Giannelli summoned Gkrozos and Antzel, promising that he would order the guards to treat the detainees well.[5] Theodosis Christodoulakis recalled that Giannelli gathered them in the yard and announced, "Gentlemen, keep in mind that henceforth you are hostages of the Italian Army. According to international conventions, the Italian command must give you one meal per day. If you can provide another one for yourselves, the camp command will have no objection and will help you. Be advised not to approach the barbed wire, it's very dangerous."[6] Although the guards beat some of the prisoners at the beginning, their behavior soon changed. It seems that most of the Italian soldiers and some of the carabinieri sympathized with the captives and espoused democratic (or at least antifascist) feelings.[7] The Italian soldiers were also in poor physical condition and morally exhausted, as they likely belonged to a unit that had been ravaged on the Eastern Front, whose members had been transferred to Greece to convalesce. One of the detainees recalled, "The soldiers were disappointed, sick of the war, Fascism, and Mussolini, and their only thought was to return home, even to a defeated country."[8] Gerasimos Antonatos said, "I should mention that the Italians, regardless of what they did elsewhere, treated us more humanely than the Greek guards."[9] In addition to the morning and evening roll calls, the Italians made surprise inspections at night, but did not otherwise interfere with barracks life.[10]

The *Akronafpliotes* showed obvious signs of malnourishment. There was, however, plenty of potable water, and there were fountains in the camp where the detainees also did their laundry.[11] Giannēs Manousakas recalled, "We had to hunt for calories and vitamins." He also mentioned that they were told they would be issued "19 gr. [.7 ounces] of rice or pasta, 35 gr. [1.2 ounces] of bread, and of 4 gr. {.14 ounces] each of salt, oil and tomato juice. These portions were distributed daily and were less than 400 calories; therefore many could die, given the conditions we were in." However, the detainees managed to bring with them some food they kept from Akronafplia. They distributed it for the journey to Katouna and when they arrived, 90 percent of it was

returned to the group, thereby raising the daily portions to 800 to 1,000 calories for a time.[12] The Italians also gave them a three-day supply of a type of flatbread (*paniota*) and extra food.[13]

The camp committee worked to improve the living conditions. Among other things, the *Akronafpliotes* built a kitchen and an oven with materials given to them by civilians. The Italians allowed groups of detainees to go out and buy food. By this means the *Akronafpliotes* managed to contact the Hellenic Red Cross (*Ellēnikos Erythros stauros*, EES) at Agrinio and request food aid. Gkrozos and Antzel secured food and other provisions on the camp's behalf from EES and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and Dr. Yannis Koutsodimos obtained medicine. The detainees who brought food into the camp also smuggled illegal publications and other goods inside the food containers. Those who were sent out for food were also helped by the town residents, who often sold them food at very low prices. The civilians allotted them a piece of land, where they cultivated vegetables. The committee also organized a canteen that sold a type of cornbread (*bobota*) that detainee Vaggelis Ntavas baked at one of the houses in town. The regional resistance organizations and especially National Solidarity (*Ethnikē Allēlegyē*, EA) also rendered assistance.[14]

The relations among the Italian guards, detainees, and civilians were good. An incident described by Sotiris Kakaes typified those good relations. He was a plumber and was sent to repair some damage to the town water reservoir; a civilian and an Italian guard accompanied him there. "The Italians were thrilled. They were also left without water for 24 hours, as was the case for the village and the camp. Since then, they would allow me to go to the village to fix the plumbing. That helped us."[15] At the road in front of the camp, the detainees used to talk with local passersby, although the Italians forbade it.[16] The Italian authorities did allow the detainees to receive financial aid from relatives.[17]

As living conditions improved, the danger of being murdered as hostages in retaliation for acts of resistance replaced that of famine. The detainees were aware of acts of retaliation in other camps, particularly against their former comrades in Akronafplia.[18] Giannelli spoke to Gkrozos, assuring him of his

good will and of his efforts to make the detainees' time in the camp as passable as possible. However, he also warned that, because of the Greek insurgency, it was possible that his superiors would ask him to deliver some hostages for retaliation and that he would be obliged to obey.[19] Although there were some thoughts of escape and resistance organizations made some preparations to that effect, the detainees did not attempt to escape for fear of collective retaliation.[20]

In the end, none of the communists from Akronafplia detained in Katouna was killed as a hostage. Two of the 200 *Akronafpliotes* died. One was Dr. Yannis Sideridis, who died of exhaustion and malnourishment a few days after arrival. At the funeral of the two detainees, the Italians allowed some prisoners to accompany the coffins; some civilians also attended, while local women mourned for the dead.[21]

On March 20, 1943, heavily armed Italian soldiers in trucks entered the camp and without warning transferred all the detainees to the Vonitsa camp.[22]

SOURCES A secondary source describing the Katouna camp is Antōnēs Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronafpliōtes 1937–1943* (Athens: Themelio, 1979).

Primary sources documenting the Katouna camp include the published testimony by Gerasimos Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda: Apo tēn Pylo sto Lazareto 1939–1943* (Athens: Organismos Diatheseōs Ellēnikou Vivliou, 1964), available in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronafpliōtes*; and the published testimony of Giannēs Manousakas, *Akronauplia (Thrylos kai Pragmatikotēta)* (1975; Athens: Dōrikos, 1978).

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NOTES

1. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 438–439; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 259.

2. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 438–439; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 259.

3. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, p. 440; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 264.

4. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, p. 439; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 264.

5. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 264.

6. Ibid., p. 439.

7. Ibid., p. 268.

8. Ibid., p. 271.

9. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, reproduced in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, p. 441.

10. Ibid., pp. 438–439.

11. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 263.

12. Ibid., pp. 263–264.

13. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliotes*, p. 439.

14. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 440–441; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 265.

15. Testimony of Sotērēs Kakaes in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, p. 441.

16. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliotes*, p. 439; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 264.

17. Ibid., p. 440.

18. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 265–270.

19. Ibid., p. 269.

20. Ibid., pp. 270–272.

21. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 441–442; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 259–261.

22. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 273–276.

LARISSA

Larissa (Larisa; Thessaly) is located in central Greece more than 215 kilometers (134 miles) northwest of Athens. In August 1941, the Italian Eleventh Army established a concentration camp almost 5 kilometers (3 miles) outside Larissa, at the former quarters of the antiaircraft artillery, roughly 1 kilometer (about half a mile) east of the Larissa airport.[1] The Larissa camp was the largest and most important concentration camp in the Italian-occupied zone of Greece.

Initially the camp had 100 to 120 soldiers as guards. The successive camp commandants were Captain Silvestri; Captain Tzupani (or Tzulpani); Captain Cavano (or Cavana, 36th Mountain "Forlì" Division), who led with the help of Sergeant Galderani and Corporal Rossi (24th Infantry "Pinerolo" Division); and Captain Lazaro Modiliani ("Forlì"), who ran the camp with the help of Second Lieutenant Francesco D' Alessio ("Forlì") and Corporal Orsini ("Pinerolo"). Initially the carabinieri did not participate in camp administration and only accompanied inmates during transfers. Only after Captain Luigi Grixoni took over in the summer of 1943 did the carabinieri participate in camp administration and surveillance.

The camp originally functioned mainly as a prisoner of war (POW) camp. The first inmates were 1,100 to 1,300 Cretan soldiers rounded up in Athens. Approximately 350 of the inmates escaped during the first five days of detention, taking advantage of the lack of organization. Some British Commonwealth POWs were also detained at Larissa.

Living conditions were deplorable because of the lack of food, shortage of water, and epidemics.[2] The camp was located close to the marshy region of Lake Karla. As a result, almost half of the captives suffered from malaria, whereas others were also sick from tuberculosis and scabies. The inmates were tortured by their Italian guards on a daily basis, an expression of Italian outrage and revenge stemming from the Italian defeat in the Greco-Italian War

of 1940.[3] Death from starvation occurred routinely.[4] In fact, in the summer of 1942, when most of the Cretan inmates were transferred to Piraeus (the port city 8 kilometers [5 miles] southwest of Athens), only 250 remained alive in the camp, and even in Piraeus the conditions were appalling.

From the spring of 1942, detainees were sent to Averōf to stand trial and once convicted by Italian courts-martial were transferred to Larissa. From May to August 1942 alone, approximately 800 such convicts were sent to Larissa.[5]

From late 1942 through 1943, when clashes between the Italians and the resistance movement peaked in occupied Greece, the Italian authorities arrested resistance fighters and civilians whom they accused of aiding resisters. The Larissa camp was filled at this time with residents from central Greece. Hundreds of common people from all walks of life were arrested in cleansing operations in retaliation for resistance acts and were used as hostages.[6] The detainees, especially during the spring and summer of 1943, were mostly farmers from Thessaly and included many elderly, women, and children. They were innocent victims arrested whenever the Italians clashed with the Greek People's Liberation Army (*Ellinikós Laïkós Apeleftherotikós Stratós*, ELAS). Among the 1,394 names found on a list of Red Cross parcel recipients, compiled by a Roman Catholic nun, Sister Eleni Kapari, there were 78 women and 30 children at Larissa between January 17, 1943, and August 18, 1943.

A characteristic case of retaliation befell the town of Almyros, almost 58 kilometers (36 miles) southeast of Larissa. On August 13, 1943, Generale di Corpo d'Armata Adolfo Infante ("Pinerolo"), ordered that "200 inhabitants were sent as hostages to the Larissa camp …. On 17 August a new clash led to another fire and to the complete devastation of the city of Almyros."[7]

In early 1943 the Italians transferred to Larissa 300 communists held at the soon-to-be disbanded Akronafplia camp, located in Nafplio (Peloponnese), more than 233 kilometers (145 miles) south of Larissa. The communists were considered a particular threat and were initially segregated from other prisoners. A precise estimate of how many detainees passed through the Larissa camp is extremely difficult. However, a postwar estimate by the Hellenic

Red Cross (*Ellinikós Erythrós Staurós*, EES) placing the total number of prisoners in excess of 30,000 seems plausible.[8]

Until December 1942, nutrition and housing conditions were extremely poor in the camp. The lack of food, shortage of beds, inadequate sanitation, and poor health care made everyday life unbearable. Early on, the flimsy, weather-exposed buildings worsened the situation, especially considering Larissa's extremely hot summers and unbearably cold winters. When the inmates handed to the camp commander a list addressed to the Red Cross of necessary material for constructing new door frames, he took it but tore it up when the inmates left, saying, "May you die, you filthy dogs. You were not brought here to live, but to die."[9]

Substantial help to Larissa's inmates came from various nongovernmental (NGO) and charitable organizations, including the church, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), EES, and National Solidarity (*Ethniki Allileggyi*, EA) an organization of the National Liberation Front (*Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Métopo*, EAM). The prisoners' nutrition was therefore largely dependent on food received from EA and the Red Cross, although this aid initially failed to prevent deaths from starvation. Only from January 1943 onward did food distribution by the ICRC prevent the prisoners from dying of hunger.

Torture was an ever-present threat in the camp. In addition to individual punishment, there was collective punishment, usually by whipping, for offenses committed by individuals. Common offenses were escape attempts, showing disrespect to the Italian flag, and belated responses to roll calls. Other actions by the guards, such as shooting into the barracks followed by merciless beatings, were intended to terrorize the prisoners. One of the most severe forms of torture, in wide use in the Italian colonies, was the pole torture. The prisoner was tied naked to a pole and whipped alternately by two guards. Wire whips and lashes were mentioned in many testimonies.[10] Other punishments included withholding rations.

The Italian and German authorities deployed the prisoners as forced labor at nearby locations, such as the Larissa airport (expanding the airstrip), military facilities, the railway station (loading and unloading supplies), and for the construction of other

military works and fortifications. The labor conditions were reportedly harsher under the Germans.[11]

From February 1943, deaths from famine sharply declined, but the Italian authorities conducted reprisal killings of Larissa prisoners in response to the rapidly growing strength of the resistance. Between February and June 1943, at least 278 Greek civilians and resisters held (if only briefly) in Larissa were shot by Italian forces. Various accounts estimate that the Italian authorities murdered between 800 and 1,000 prisoners before the Armistice of September 8, 1943.

In August 1943, the Italians started emptying the camp. Generale di Corpo d'Armata Infante released outright some inmates deemed less dangerous, but arranged to transfer most of the detainees to Athens where they were to be handed over to the Germans. The Italian capitulation halted the transports. The 350 to 600 transferred prisoners were incarcerated in the Haidari camp, and many were later murdered by the Germans.[12] After the German takeover of the Italian zone in Greece, the German authorities reopened Larissa as a reprisal camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Larissa camp include Antōnēs I. Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas—Trikalōn 1941–1944*: *Hē Gennēsē tou Antartikou stē Thessalia* (Athens: Papazisi, 1977), which includes many testimonies; Antōnēs I. Phlountzēs, *Ekletesthentes kai Kratoumenoi sta Chronia tēs Katochēs, 1941–1944* (Athens: Philippotē, 1987); Chrēstos Vrachniarēs, *Ta Chronia tēs Laikēs Epopoiias: Polemos, Katochē, Antistasē* (Athens: Pa norama, 1983); Petros Antaios et al., eds., *Mavrē Vivlos tēs Katochēs - Schwarzbuches der Besatzung*, 2nd ed., (Athens: Nationalrat für die Entschädigungsforderungen Griechenlands an Deutschland—Ethniko Symvoulio gia tē Diekdikēsē tōn Opheilōn tēs Germanias pros tēn Ellada, 2006); Kleōn Papaloizos, *Historiographika Sēmiōmata: Kypros-Aigyptos-Ellada* (Athens: N.P., 1977); Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and Lidia Santarelli, "Muted Violence: Italian War Crimes in Occupied Greece," *JMIS* 9: 3

(September 2004): 280–299.

Primary sources documenting the Larissa camp can be found at ERT, HAHE, and TNA (AIR 51/234; WO310/207; WO311/370). A listing of Italian war crimes suspects at the Larissa camp appears with ranks in published form as Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects, *Consolidated Wanted Lists: Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects Consolidated Wanted Lists* (Uckfield, UK: Naval & Military Press, 2005). A newspaper account about Larissa appeared in *Ethnos*, July 5, 1945. Early postwar testimonies and reports about the camp include Iōannēs Gkotsēs, *Phloges ston Olympo* (Athens: Hellas-Amerikē, 1945); *Ethnikē Allēleggyē, Mia Prospatheia kai enas Athlos: To Ergo tis Ethnikis Allileggyis Ellados* (Athens: N.P., 1945); Dēmētrios I. Magkriotēs, *Thysiai tis Ellados kai Egklçmata Katochēs 1941–1944,* (Athens: N.P., 1949); and Kōstas Stournas, *Casa Preventiva: Campo di Concentramento. ta Prōta Italika Stratopeda Sunkentrōseōs stēn Ellada stēn Periodo tēs Katochēs* (Athens: Panorama, 1983).

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NOTES

1. TNA, AIR 51/234 PI Report No. 3033 (Secret American Confidential), June 17, 1943, Target Files—Greece: 3094 Larissa; for a corroborating eyewitness account, see Stournas, *Casa Preventiva*, pp. 33–37.

2. Stournas, *Casa Preventiva*, pp. 37–45.

3. Magkriotes, *Thysiai tis Ellados* p. 201; Stournas, *Casa Preventiva*, p. 43.

4. Antōnēs I. Phlountzēs testimony, ERT, Document No. 0000008138, Chroniko tis Ethnikis Antistasis, Episode 14: I Orgamomeni Tromokratia ton Kataktiton.

5. Magkriotes, *Thysiai tis Ellados*, p. 202.

6. Gkotsēs, *Phloges ston Olympo*, p. 8; Magkriotes, *Thysiai tis Ellados*, p. 201.

7. Greek war crimes reports can be found in HAHE, KaKy, Interior Ministry and Magnesia prefectural reports; quotation from HAHE, KaKy, 1944: 2.7, Prefecture of Magnesia report to Ministry of Interior, Volos 25 September 1943, Confidential Protocol no 67; and Magkriotis, *Thysiai tis Ellados*, p. 191.

8. The report is cited in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas—Trikalōn*, p. 34.

9. Testimony by N. Ramantanis, *Ethnos*, August 17, 1945, in ibid., pp. 248–249.

10. Testimonies found in ibid., pp. 84, 93–94, 98, 257–297, 339.

11. Gkotsēs, *Phloges ston Olympo*, p. 9.

12. Ibid., p. 10.

PHOLEGANDROS

Pholegandros (or Folegandros), one of the Cyclades Islands in the Aegean region, is 183 kilometers (114 miles) southeast of Athens. It was one of the most important places of exile during the "4th of August" regime of Ioannis Metaxas (April 1936 to January 1941).

The exiles and the police guards stayed in "Katō Chōra," one of the two communities in the center of the island. At one point, there were as many as 500 exiles. New exiles and supplies came to this remote island by boat every 15 days. The boats docked at a small bay on the southeastern part of the island. The primary means the exiles had to pay for housing, repairs, electricity, food, medicine, and other necessities was the small daily allowance they received from the government, which supplemented the little financial support sent by their poor families. Most of the exiles were men, who stayed in eight or nine houses. Women, who numbered no more than 12 to 15, stayed in one building. Interactions between the exiled men and exiled or local women were strictly forbidden.[1] The exiles rented an arid field for cultivation. Not only did they clear, plow, and fertilize it but they also dug a well and cultivated vegetables, which were enough to feed themselves, the locals, and even their guards. When the war broke out, the exiles increased food production to create a stock for the difficult times of war.[2]

The exiled communists organized themselves as the Commune of the Political Exiles of Pholegandos (*Omada Symviōsēs Politikōn Exoristōn Pholegandrou*, OSPEPh) in the exile islands in response to the oppression of the Metaxas regime. OSPEPh's members included many skilled workers such as a shoemaker, tailor, barber, cooks, and bakers. There were also educated people and a scientist among them, so they organized an infirmary, a pharmacy, and a dentist's office that served the whole island. They also organized foreign-language classes and classes corresponding to elementary and high school levels. They set up a coffee shop and an auditorium of sorts where they held lectures, and the actors among them performed theatrical shows.[3]

Between 1939 and 1940 there were about 160 exiles on the island. After the Italo-Greek war broke out, the exiles of Pholegandros, as was the case for those on the exile islands of Anafi, Akronafplia, and elsewhere, petitioned the Metaxas regime to be permitted to fight at the front. The response by the undersecretary of state for security Kōnstantinos Maniadakēs was negative, however. After the collapse of the front and the retreat of the Greek Army, the exiles were able to convince the guards to join them in abandoning the island and flee to the still unoccupied island of Crete and fight there against the Germans. The guards helped them carry out this plan. The detainees were separated into four teams of 50 each. They rented boats, and the first team—composed mostly of Cretans, headed by Stergios Anastasiadēs, and including 6 of the 12 guards—departed for Crete between May 10 and 20, 1941. However, as soon as they arrived in Heraklion they were placed under arrest.[4] Later, the prison in Heraklion was destroyed by German bombs during the Battle of Crete, and the detainees escaped, joining the battle alongside the locals; however, many of them were killed in the fighting.

The Germans deployed five soldiers on Pholegandros and installed a watchtower at the highest point of the island. The commander of the Greek gendarmerie hastened to welcome them at the port and offered his pistol as a mark of surrender, but the Germans refused it, replying that they did not have orders to disarm the local gendarmerie. Before taking over the island, the Germans had not made plans to obtain food supplies, so after they requisitioned one of the island's best houses, they focused their attention on securing food from the locals.

The remaining exiles cleverly tried to take advantage of the Germans' concern for provisions. Explaining that they were held on the island as prisoners of the now defunct Metaxas regime, they informed the Germans that most of the exiles had already fled and suggested that they be permitted to do likewise so as to avoid burdening the Germans with their food requirements. The Germans initially replied that they had no orders regarding what to do with the exiles and even ignored their existence. The following morning, however, the Germans announced that the exiles were free to go. As a result, most of the remaining exiles boarded boats for the island of Milos before heading some days later for Athens.

The exiles of Pholegandros were among the first exiles to escape and to arrive in Athens where they rejoined their old organizations or founded new ones. On May 28, 1941, a small group founded the first of the Greek resistance organizations, National Solidarity (*Ethnikē Allēleggyē*, EA), which supported the detainees and their families. This organization grew to become the largest resistance organization with approximately 3 million members: its role became as important as that of the Red Cross, with which it often collaborated. EA often organized prisoners' escapes and hid them in the houses of fellow fighters.[5]

When Pholegandros passed to Italian control, there were no more than 40 to 50 exiles still on the island.[6] One source mentions that they convinced the Italians to release them, and the exiles fled initially to Milos and then to continental Greece, where they later joined the Greek National Liberation Front (*Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Métopo*, EAM).[7] Another source mentions that at the beginning of June 1943 the Italians, probably for security reasons, gathered 80 scattered political exiles from the Aegean Archipelago and transferred them to the island of Kea (Tzia) opposite Attica, close to Athens. The requisitioned boat that conducted trips for this purpose from one island to the other appears to have landed at Pholegandros to pick up the last seven exiles.[8]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the exile island at Pholegandros include Spyros Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou* (Athens: Themelio, 1988); Kōstas Gkritzōnas, *Homades Symviōsēs 1925–1974: Ē Syntrophikē Apantēsē stē Via kai ton Enkleismo* (Athens: Philistor, 2001); Dimitris Sarantakos et al., eds., *Aigaio: Archipelagos martyriōn* (Athens: Hypourgeio Aigaiou: Hetaireia Diasōsēs Historikōn Archeiōn 1940–1974 (EDIA), 2004); Giōrgēs Zōidēs et al., *Historia tēs Ethnikēs Antistasēs 1940–1945* (Athens: Nea Vivlia, 1974); *Chroniko Agōnōn kai Thysiōn tou Kommounistikou Kommatos tēs Elladas*, vol. A: *1918–1945* (Athens: Kentrikē Epitropē tou KKE, 1986); *Epesan gia tē Zōē: Hērōes–Martyres Laikōn, Apeleutherōtikōn Agōnōn*, vol. B (Athens: Kentrikē Epitropē KKE, 1994); and Davide Rodog no, *Fascism's European*

Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Primary documentation on the Pholegandros camp can be found at A-ICRC. Published documentation about this site is available in Giōrgēs Zōidēs et al., *Historia tēs ethnikēs antistasēs 1940–1945: Dokimio* (1974; Athens: Synchronē Epochē, 1984). Published testimonies by former Pholegandros exiles include Panos Dēmētriou, *Ek vatheōn: Chroniko mias zōēs kai mias epochēs* (Themelio: N.P., 1997); and Kleōn Papaloizos, *Historiographika simēiōmata: Kypros-Aigyptos-Hellada: ethnikē allēlengyē: antistasiakē-eamikē organōsē. Pholegandros, Aēs Stratēs: nēsia tēs exorias: phylakes Aiginas. Akronauplia, Bloko tēs Kokkinias, Dekemvrēs 1944* (Athens: N.P., 1977).

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NOTES

1. Dēmētriou, *Ek Vatheōn*, pp. 67–68.
2. Ibid., p. 79.
3. Ibid., pp. 68–73.
4. Papaloizos, *Historiographika simēiōmata*, p. 51; *Chroniko Agōnōn kai Thysiōn tou Kommounistikou Kommatos tēs Elladas*, p. 133; Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou*, p. 437; Dēmētriou, *Ek Vatheōn*, pp. 67–68, 82.
5. Papaloizos, *Historiographika simēiōmata*, pp. 53–58, 64–66; Dēmētriou, *Ek Vatheōn*, pp. 67–68, 82–87
6. Sarantakos et al., *Aigaio*, p. 177; A-ICRC, G 3/27 CI, B. 148, as cited in Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire,* pp. 460–461.
7. Sarantakos et al., *Aigaio*, p. 177.
8. Thodorēs Roumpanēs, "Apo ta xeronēsia tou Metaxa sto

apospasma tōn nazi," *To Ethnos*, October 26, 2007, www.ethnos.gr/article.asp?catid=22768&subid=2&pubid=141256.

THEBES

Thebes (Thēva) is located 68 kilometers (42 miles) northwest of Athens. After the roundups of Greek civilians during counterinsurgency operations in the Roumeli region, the Italian authorities established a provisional concentration camp (*Campo di concentramento provisorio*) just to the east of the city of Thebes.[1] Most of the detainees were civilians suspected of aiding the resistance or supporting the underground nationalist organizations (e.g., the Greek National Liberation Front, *Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Métopo*, EAM; Greek Communist Party, *Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas*, KKE; and the Greek People's Liberation Army, *Ellinikós Laïkós Apeleftherotikós Stratós*, ELAS). An entry in the Italian Army's war diary of September 29, 1942, concerning counterinsurgency operations in the area announced that the provisional camp was "to be set up in the area of Levadeia."[2] An entry from October 6, 1942, noted that there was a demand for the "urgent delivery of barbed wire."[3] The camp was finally opened at the end of 1942 with 1,500 to 2,000 detainees.

Greek citizens who participated in resistance actions and innocent hostages were sent to the camp. Former prisoner Lampros Mpourogiannēs reported that a Greek collaborator turned him in to the collaborationist Legionaries, which in turn handed him over to the Italians. He was arrested by the Domokos carabinieri and after a 10-day detention was sent to the Thebes camp. He reported that the camp was new, disorganized, and inadequate. It was fenced in with barbed wire and was staffed by many guards. There were 150 to 200 detainees as hostages, who slept in twos in tents on the ground. The camp lacked basic amenities, such as bed coverings, and most of the prisoners slept in their clothes. The morning roll call was at 9 A.M., and the detainees had to return to their tents two hours before sunset.

Squalor, fear, and hunger were commonplace. Some of the

prisoners' relatives brought them food and clothes, but in general food was very scarce. The daily meal was soup with a little pasta and a small slice of bread weighing about 150 grams (5.3 ounces). Some detainees earned money in the camp's black market by selling *Ntarí*, a millet-based bread of very poor quality. The sanitary conditions were extremely poor: "There was no hygiene whatsoever, dirt and stench, for toilets we used group troughs, we received water by coupon and washing was not compulsory."[4] Terror reigned in the camp: "Talking of freedom! … [T] here was fear and terror, it was not allowed for more than three prisoners to be gathered outside the tents."[5]

In the course of the postwar investigations of Axis crimes in Greece, the competent judicial authorities collected data from the communities and municipalities of every prefecture to support any indictments. A name list of nine "citizens of Vaghia murdered by the conquerors" that the community of Vaghia sent on June 7, 1945, to the Eparchos (district head) of Thebes stated that two of the victims were murdered by the Italians and the other seven by the Germans. One of these victims was noted as having died in the Thebes camp.[6] One of the three Italians accused of committing war crimes in Thebes and mentioned in the *Central Register of War Criminals and Security Suspects Consolidated Wanted List* (CROWCASS) of the United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC) was the Thebes guard, Caporale Cicero Aldo.[7]

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Thebes provisional concentration camp is Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Thebes camp can be found in GAK, Central Service, ANV; and AUSSME, N1-11. A published testimony is Lampros Mpourogiannēs, "Anamnēseis ap'tē zōē sta stratopeda Thēvas and Larissas," *EA,* 39 (1984): 19–22.

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NOTES

1. AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 1070, Commando II CdA al Commando del Genio di CdA, as quoted in Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire*, p. 360.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Mpourogiannēs, "Anamnēseis ap'tē zōē sta stratopeda Thēvas and Larissas," p. 20.
5. Ibid.
6. GAK, ANV, Egklēmaties Polemou (War Criminals), (1945–1947).
7. Aldo's CROWCASS and index card are missing from USHMMA, RG-67.041M (UNWCC), but are listed online at www.criminidiguerra.it/Crowcass1.shtml.

TRIKALA

Trikala (Trikala province, Thessaly) in central Greece is more than 244 kilometers (151 miles) northwest of Athens. In September 1941, the Italians established a concentration camp, officially called a *campo concentramento detenuti preventivi*, or *casa preventiva* (house custody) in the town. It was set up in the old, deserted premises of the Association of the Agricultural Cooperatives of Trikala, consisting of a garage, ware houses, and machine workshop. It was located in the farthest quarter of the city of Trikala, across from the train station, behind the church of Zoodochos Pigi, and on the bank of Aghia Moni (Agiamoniotis), a tributary of the Litheos River. The detainees called the camp "the Mills," probably because of the area's old flour mills. The Italians made the local people renovate the upper floor to include rooms for the detainees. Two to three carabinieri served as administrators, and there were approximately 20 soldiers as guards. The detainees recalled that Brigadiere Cicero Calogero of the carabinieri was head of the camp.[1]

The abandoned building was very old and had iron bars on the windows. Just outside, the nearby tributary formed small pools of dirty water. The living conditions were deplorable. Humidity, lice, and mice plagued the life of the prisoners in this dank building.[2] According to the testimony of former prisoner Kōstas Stournas, the Trikala camp was "a building in decay which stood on the mud of the river bank" of the Aghia Moni. Added Stournas, "There is no doubt that we were brought here to die!" He went on to observe, "Casa Preventiva is a prison of the worst kind that even a long-term prisoner cannot imagine."[3] The Italian authorities did not feed the detainees. Instead, the city of Trikala provisioned the camp.[4]

The first detainees came mostly from the Thessaly region. One hundred twelve common criminals from the Volos area were held there from the beginning of September 1941. They had been convicted by an Italian military court of sabotage (theft of food,

tires, and so on) from the Italians. Later, 54 political prisoners from Volos and Larissa were transferred to the camp, handcuffed and under armed escort; among them was one woman. These prisoners were characterized as "dangerous communists" (*Pericolosi Communisti*). The communists were confined in the darkest and most humid room of the building and were taken out to the yard at different hours than the common criminals. Later, a third group of prisoners arrived from Larissa. On November 25, 1941, a fourth group, consisting of 23 Athenian political prisoners, was received in the camp. There was a separate smaller room for women, where four female detainees lived, one Jew among them. The number of women detainees eventually reached 20.[5]

The detainees' largest problem was the lack of food, because little food was provided by the city of Trikala, and the country as a whole was suffering from the terrible famine of the winter of 1941. "Our life in the camp was agonizing in every aspect …. During our stay in Casa Preventiva the food distributed was impossible to keep us alive. The Italians did not give us anything. We cooked and ate what ever the city gave us," noted former prisoner and lawyer Giannis Katsounotos.[6] There were some contacts with some aid organizations in Trikala, but they could not send much food. The situation was aggravated by the harsh and close surveillance, especially of the communists.[7]

At first, the camp commandant was very strict, and the guards shouted at and battered the detainees for the slightest reason. Later, the commandant became more lenient, allowing visiting hours for every one once a week. The detainees thought better of the Italian soldiers, who seemed to behave better than the carabinieri.[8]

The 23 Athenian politically sophisticated communists, among them the former mayor of Kilkis, Costas Gavriilidis, who arrived in late November helped organize the detainees. They secretly formed committees and adopted a strategy to encourage the commandant to improve conditions. As a result, visiting hours were extended beyond the previously scheduled days, and the commandant allowed the prisoners to establish a common fund to improve the food situation.

What the detainees mostly wanted was to move to another camp, because the conditions at Trikala were deplorable for

detainees and guards alike. The issue was brought to the commandant's attention. After a command shakeup and the transfer of the original carabinieri on December 19, 1941, the prisoners were moved to the 8th Elementary School in the Koutsomilia quarter, a building in much better condition. The Italians fenced in the site with barbed wire.[9] The detainees earned the new commander's trust and thus maintained the privileges they had previously gained. They organized working groups and built showers, a kitchen, wooden beds, and extra toilets. They cultivated a garden and had regular postal service. The carpenters among them made wooden shoes that were sold to the Trikala merchants in exchange for better food. When the guards went to buy food, the prisoners' committee decided which detainees would join them. In the new camp, the prisoners were separated by room in the same way as in the Mills: common criminals, communists, and women.

After an inspection by an unidentified Italian general on February 7, 1942, the food was greatly improved, according to prisoner testimonies, because the Italian Army finally recognized the prisoners' rights as prisoners of war (POWs) under the Geneva Convention. Henceforth the Italians provided the prisoners with their food.[10] On the same day as the general's inspection, a group of prisoners from Volos sent a letter to their home city asking for financial assistance for their families in Volos. The city decided to include these families in the municipal distribution of food and give each family the lump sum of 1,000 drachmas.[11]

From February 1942 onward, Trikala increasingly functioned as a transit camp, so the prison population fluctuated greatly. Common criminals, political prisoners, and resistance fighters who hid or helped the British flee the country were transferred there. Some of the original Trikala prisoners were also released.[12]

In early 1943 the camp started to receive prisoners from other parts of the country. At the beginning of February, two groups of detainees from the Peloponnese region, Messenia and Laconia areas, were transferred there. The former were arrested in Kalamata and sent to Trikala from Averōf prison; the latter were sent from the Kalavryta camp. On September 14, 1943, 50 communist prisoners were taken from the Italian-run Akronafplia camp, half of whom were transferred to the Larissa camp and the other half to Trikala.[13] The living conditions in the Trikala camp

were so much better than those at other Italian or German camps that the 25 prisoners from Akronafplia who arrived at Trikala on September 16 became suspicious. A woman prisoner who arrived from the Kalavryta camp, Voula Damianakou, recalled that she was left speechless when she compared the conditions in Trikala with those of Kalavryta.[14]

During the camp's final phase, the Italian authorities conducted retaliatory murders at the cemetery located close to the camp. Some of the victims were Trikala prisoners.[15] The Trikala camp was disbanded on May 18, 1943, and the last 158 detainees, including 20 women, were then sent to the Larissa camp.[16]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Trikala camp include Antōnēs I. Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas—Trikalōn 1941–1944*: *Hē Gennēsē tou Antartikou stē Thessalia* (Athens: Papazēsē, 1977); Nitsa Koliou, *Agnōstes Ptyches Katochēs kai Antistasēs, 1941–44: Historikē Ereuna gia to Nomo Magnēsias* (Volos: self-published, 1985); Chrēstos Vrachniarēs, *Ta Chronia tēs Laikēs Epopoiias: Polemos, Katochē, Antistasē* (Athens: Panorama, 1983); Petros Antaiosa et al., eds., *Mavrē Vivlos tēs Katochēs - Schwarzbuches der Besatzung*, 2nd ed., (Athens: Nationalrat für die Entschädigungsforderungen Griechenlands an Deutschland - Ethniko Symvoulio gia tē Diekdikēsē tōn Opheilōn tēs Germanias pros tēn Ellada, 2006); Maroula Kliapha, *Trikala: Apo ton ōs ton Ts Seiphoullach itsanē. Oi Metamorphōseis mias Koinōnias opōs Apotypōthēkan ston Typo tēs Epochēs*, 3 vols. (Athens: Kedros, 2000), vol. 3: *1941–1960*; and Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006);

Primary sources documenting the Trikala camp can be found at DIKI and HAHE. A testimony by a woman detainee can be found in Voula Damianakou, *Hypeuthynē Dēlōsē* (1962; Athens: Epikairotēta, 2000). Early postwar testimonies and reports about the camp include Kōstas Stournas, *Casa Preventiva: Campo di Concentramento. Ta Prōta Italika Stratopeda Sunkentrōseōs*

stēn Ellada stēn Periodo tēs Katochēs (Athens: Pylē, 1974), which was written during his detention but only published 33 years later. See also Crēstos Vrachniarēs, *Ta Chronia tēs laikēs epopoiias. Polemos-Katoxē-Antistasē* (Athens: Pa norama, 1983).

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NOTES

1. Stournas, *Casa Preventiva*, p. 85; testimonies found in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas*, pp. 400–401.
2. Stournas, *Casa Preventiva*, pp. 85–87, 97–100; testimonies found in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas*, pp. 400–401.
3. Stournas, *Casa Preventiva*, pp. 85–86.
4. Ibid., pp. 87–88.
5. Testimonies found in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas*, pp. 401–405, 423, 428; Stournas, *Casa Preventiva*, pp. 85–91.
6. Interview, April 1, 1976, reproduced in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas*, p. 423.
7. Ibid., p. 405.
8. Ibid., p. 404.
9. Stournas, *Casa Preventiva*, p. 102.
10. Testimonies found in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas—Trikalōn*, pp. 412, 423.
11. DIKI, Municipal Archive of Volos, Municipal Council Minutes, Decision No. 1216, March 9, 1942; also found in Koliou, *Agnōstes Ptyches Katochēs,* pp. 87–88.
12. HAHE, KaKy 6, 1942, Regia Rappresentanza D' Italia per la Grecia, Atene, April 20, 1942; testimonies found in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas*, pp. 412, 420–421, 424–425.

13. Testimonies found in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas*, pp. 99, 428.

14. Damianakou, *Hypeuthynē Dēlōsē,* pp. 292–301.

15. Testimonies found in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas—Trikalōn*, pp. 425, 434–435; Damianakou, *Hypeuthynē dēlōsē,* pp. 313–317.

16. Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas*, p. 426.

VONITSA

Vonitsa is 269 kilometers or 167 miles northwest of Athens in the Aetolia-Acarnania region. Most of the information on the Italian camp at Vonitsa comes from the testimonies of the political prisoners who were initially held at the Akronafplia camp. Called *Akronafpliotes*, they were first transferred to the Katouna camp, but were sent for security reasons, under heavy guard, on March 20, 1943, to the camp on the plain of Vonitsa. During the transfer to Vonitsa, the Italians ordered the prisoners to leave their belongings, which led the prisoners to think that they would be shot. Their belongings, however, were sent later on to Vonitsa with three prisoners who had stayed behind temporarily at Kantouna. Adding to their fear of reprisal was the statement by the Italian commander at Katouna, Reserve Captain Ruggero Giannelli, who told them that, because they were considered hostages of the Italians they were subject to being shot at any time and that he could do nothing about it.[1]

South of the plain of Vonitsa in the middle of a small field, the Italians fenced an area with barbed wire and divided it into three equal parts of about 6 hectares (15 acres) each. The 198 *Akronafpliotes* were put in one of those areas surrounded with barbed wire. It was a flat area that lacked buildings, and there were only a few tents. To the south, there was another similar empty area and then another camp with tents and detainees. The prisoners in the third area, numbering approximately 100 people, were from the historical regions of Epirus and Roumeli. They consisted chiefly of resistance fighters and supporters of the Greek National Liberation Front (*Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Métopo*, EAM) and related organizations.

Six communist *Akronafpliotes* occupied each tent. On arrival, the Italians distributed blankets, metal pots for food, and copper mugs for water. Through the middle of the camp ran an artificial stream with water from a nearby swamp that was used for prisoner

hygiene. The Italian authorities delivered potable water by wagon. When it rained, the detainees' tents sank deep in the mud as if in a swamp.[2]

According to former detainee Gerasimos Antōnatos, the commander told the detainees that "you'll live here and you can do what ever you want." One of the representatives of the team replied, "Mr. Commander, we could live here only if you give us the appropriate tools to build what we need." Indeed, the Italians gave them some tools.[3]

The camp guards stayed in a small church.[4]

At Vonitsa the prisoners built and organized the camp from scratch with little available means. Their accomplishment was so exemplary that it was admired not only by the detainees of the other camp but also by the Italian soldiers. The other detainees, although they were locals and hence had more available means because they received support from their families, had not been able to organize themselves in such a way.[5] One of the *Akronafpliotes*, Giannēs Manousakas, said that "our camp could be distinguished from the other, just next to it, which had other hostages and it was a piece of empty land. There was not a single tree, not a building and what is worse even the occupiers did not respect them, treated them violently, and battered them. We were isolated from them—even though they were detained for patriotic action—and we could not help them to get organized."[6]

The communist detainees placed their tents next to each another and used the largest ones as storerooms. They dug a trench parallel to the barbed wire to lead the rainwater out of the camp, they brought manure, and they planted flowers around the tents. They built alleys using the small stones found in the camp and left a two-hectare (five-acre) open space to be used as a square. They asked the Italians for material to construct small buildings, and although their request was denied they succeeded in building a kitchen and an oven: under the guidance of Karampinis, a detainee recognized among the others as particularly intelligent and gifted, they collected broken pieces of ceramic found in their enclosed area, and adding dirt, they built the oven for baking bread. The Italian commander was initially very skeptical about the success of this plan, but ended up congratulating the detainees on its

construction.[7] They also constructed a lavatory with bricks made from withered grass stubble and mud from dirt and water. Manousakas recalled, "Everything we built within a short period of time had a great impact on the Italian soldiers. Many times we took the axe from the hands of the soldiers, who wanted to cut the wood for us or do other work, to show their appreciation to us and to the ideology we believed in."[8]

Despite all their efforts and the contribution of the Red Cross—mostly flour and pulses—and of the National Solidarity (*Ethnikē Allēleggyē*, EA), the detainees' diet was poor. The detainees sent representatives to the nearby city of Vonitsa for supplies, and they thus came into contact with representatives of the Hellenic Red Cross (*Hellēnikos Erythros stauros*, EES). The EES representative at Vonitsa was the city's priest, Xrēstos Kaourēs, or Father Fourtouna, as the detainees called him. Every Sunday afternoon, the priest brought them food supplied by the EES and EA. At Easter, he brought them a black lamb, which the detainees did not kill, but kept as a camp mascot. They butchered it only two days before leaving the camp, because they could not take it with them.[9] At the beginning of May, the communist detainees decided to start a vegetable garden in one of the camp's other empty areas. The Italians had no objection: a local farmer plowed it, and the detainees used small hoes to complete the work.[10] The food situation was thus better than in the Katouna camp, and the inmates' symptoms of malnutrition faded. The good local climate, the sun, and spring weather definitely played a role in their return to health.

After organizing their basic needs for living, the detainees formed a chorus and a band for entertainment. On Sunday afternoons, the band members played the violin, the guitar, and mandolin, and the choir sang Greek songs and a few translated into Italian. Manousakas remembered that "the guards used to come outside our square, close to the barbed wire, without guns, many even without their hats and jackets and watched our program." Another detainee recalled that "the Italians watched, listened and clapped. The following Sunday it was they who came outside the square with accordions and guitars and played while we were clapping."[11] However, as Manousakas said, "Once, during this leisure time, one completely furious fascist officer chased them

away swearing at them and pushing them. Frustrated, they looked at us with sympathy, as if they apologized and their appreciation and affection toward us grew stronger. With great yearning and little precautions they were often saying, '*Pote finis polemos kamarat*?' ('When is the war going to finish, comrade?'); and breathing and sighing heavily replied, spitting out every word, '*la guerra de catastrofa*' ('the war of catastrophe')."[12]

Once, a group of Italian officers visited the camp, probably Generale d'Armata Carlo Geloso with his staff or some other military commander of Italian-occupied Greece. The detainees' order and organization made a positive impression on them. After that visit, the detainees reported that the Italians, even the Fascists, treated them even better, although the security measures were strengthened. Two fully equipped machine guns were set up, and when the guards attended the music events put on by the detainees, they were in uniform and armed.[13]

The *Akronafpliotes* stayed at the Vonitsa camp for three months. On June, 20, 1943, they were transferred to Lazaretto Island near Corfù first by military vehicles and then by boat. Two or three military boats accompanied them.[14]

SOURCES A secondary source describing the Vonitsa camp is Antōnēs Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronafpliōtes 1937–1943* (Athens: Themelio, 1979).

Primary sources documenting the Vonitsa camp include the published testimonies by Gerasimos Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda: Apo tēn Pylo sto Lazareto 1939–1943* (Athens: Organismos Diatheseōs Ellēnikou Vivliou, 1964); and Giannēs Manousakas, *Akronauplia (Thrylos kai Pragmatikotēta)* (1975; Athens: Dōrikos, 1978).

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NOTES

1. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 442–443; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 269.

2. Testimony of Gerasimos Antonatos in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, p. 443.

3. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, p. 39.

4. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 277.

5. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, p. 443; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 281.

6. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 281.

7. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, p. 40; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 277–279.

8. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 279.

9. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, p. 41; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 281–282; Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, p. 444.

10. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 284.

11. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, p. 40.

12. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 280.

13. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, pp. 40–41; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 280–281.

14. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, pp. 41; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 287–288.

ITALIAN-OCCUPIED NORTH AFRICA*

BUQBUQ

Buqbuq was located in a desert area east of the Libyan-Egyptian border, 163 kilometers (101 miles) east of Tobruk (Tubruq) and 160 kilometers (99 miles) west of Mersa Matruh (Marsa Matrūh). For the second time in the North African campaign, German and Italian forces occupied Buqbuq (variously transliterated as Buq Buq, Bog-Bog, Bug-Bug, Bukbuk, and Baq-Baq) in the third week of June 1942. The Italian-run camp at Buqbuq in the Matrūh province of Egypt opened at the end of August 1942.

At the end of August 1942, approximately 350 Jewish men from the Sidi Azaz camp in Libya were sent to Buqbuq to repair roads, which were used as a central supply route for Axis forces against the British Eighth Army. This Jewish labor camp (*campo lavoro per operai ebrei*) was under the control of the Italian camp commandant of Sidi Azaz, to which Buqbuq regularly reported. Neither Italian soldiers nor police provided a permanent guard force. Although there was a sign posted at the entrance, the camp did not have a fence. In any case, escape was impossible, because the prisoners were situated between the desert and roads heavily trafficked by Axis troops. The only official permanently attached to the camp was an Italian military doctor.

Buqbuq's camp population consisted exclusively of Jewish men aged between 18 and 45 years, who primarily originated from Tripoli and its surrounding area. They were deployed on road-building work, particularly the crushing of boulders. The gravel this produced was used for road reinforcement. The Jewish capo, Moshe Hadad (or Mose Haddad), who organized the workers, also ordered the men to dig slit trenches for inmate protection against Royal Air Force (RAF) attacks. So far as is known, only the Italian military authorities utilized Buqbuq's labor.

Many inmates became ill due to inadequate food rations, water shortages, heavy physical labor, and the harsh climate. They suffered primarily from skin diseases. After being examined by the Italian military physician, forced laborers who were sick were transported back to Tripoli. The doctor also dismissed Jews who had injured themselves or faked illness. Consequently the number of inmates fell to just over 200 within two months.

Hadad, an engineer, occupied the highest position among the prisoners as senior capo. He picked out the 350 men from the Sidi Azaz camp to transfer to Buqbuq, monitored their activities, and directed their work. The sign outside the camp indicated his position as engineer and bore an inscription in Hebrew that read "God Almighty." In addition to Hadad, each Jewish labor group had a leader. All inmates lived in four-to eight-man tents. Hadad and the group leaders traded wine delivered by the Italian authorities every couple of days for additional food.

A signboard at the entrance to the Buqbuq labor camp, which was set up for Jews by Italians in Libya. The smaller sign above reads, "1* CORP. EBREI" or "First Jewish Corps." The Hebrew writing above the Italian reads "Shadday," which means "God Almighty." The abbreviated Italian signage reads, "Labor Camp for Jewish Workers." USHMM WS #30937, BEIT HATFUTSOT, THE OSTER VISUAL DOCUMENTATION CENTER, COURTESY OF THE CULTURAL CENTER OF JEWS OF LIBYA, TEL AVIV.

The labor camp's small size and brief existence apparently precluded the development of a defined prisoner culture. At

Buqbuq, prisoner resistance took the form of work slowdowns and an attempt by a work crew to hinder the passage of Italian troops.

After the British victory in the Battle of El Alamein and the Axis forces' subsequent retreat to the west, the Italian authorities dissolved the Buqbuq camp on November 6, 1942. The remaining 200 or so Jewish prisoners were ordered back to Tripoli. Although Hadad and a few other Jews traveled to Tripoli by automobile with the Italian doctor, the remaining forced laborers had to reach the city on their own.

There is no information about inmate deaths or murders in Buqbuq, nor were there any trials against Italian military personnel in connection with the camp.

SOURCES There has been little research on the Buqbuq camp, and there is no scholarly monograph concerned exclusively with the camps erected in Libya and Egypt between 1940 and 1943. Basic information on Buqbuq can be found in 'Irit Avramski-Blai, ed., *Pinḳas ha-ḳehilot. Luv; Tunisyah: Entsiḳlopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hiṿasdam ṿe-'ad le-aḥar Sho'at; Milḥemet ha-'Olam ha-Sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1997); a contribution by A. Guetta on the Buqbuq and Sidi Azaz camps in Va'ad ḳehilot Luv be-Yisra'el, *Yahadut Luv: ma'amarim u-reshimot 'al ḥaye ha-Yehudim be-Luv: yotse le-'or leregel melot 'eśer shanim la-'aliyat Yehude Luv* (Tel Aviv: Va'ad ḳehilot Luv be-Yisra'el, 1960); "Libyen, Arbeits-und Internierungslager," in Eberhard Jäckel, Peter Longerich, and Julius H. Schoeps, eds., *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden*, (Munich: Piper, 1995); Liliana Picciotto Fargion, "Gli Ebrei in Libia sotto la dominazione italiana," in Martino Contu, Nicola Melis, and Giovannino Pinna, eds., *Ebraismo e rapporti con le culture del Mediterraneo nei secoli XVIII–XX* (Florence: Giuntina, 2003), pp. 79–106; Rachel Simon, "It Could have Happened There: The Jews of Libya during the Second World War," *Afr. J.*16 (1994): 391–422; Renzo de Felice, *Jews in an Arab Land: Libya, 1835–1970*, trans. Judith Roumani (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985); and Maurice M. Roumani, *The Jews of Libya: Coexistence, Persecution, Resettlement*

(Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2008).

Primary sources on the Buqbuq camp can be found in YVA, collection O.3 (testimonies), listed under Sidi Azaz. Additional reports by Libyan Jews are located in AFCDEC in section AG, 5Hb. In ACS, collection MAI, there are additional documents on the Italian persecution of Jews in Libya. Guetta's article is also in part a testimony on the Buqbuq camp.

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NOTE

* For a map of the camps in Italian-controlled North Africa, see page 397.

GIADO

The camp at Giado (Jadu) was erected in a former military camp, located in the desert approximately 153 kilometers (95 miles) southwest of Tripoli. It was established in accord with an order by Benito Mussolini on February 7, 1942, which provided for the confinement of Jews from Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in camps. The camp served almost exclusively for the detention of Italian and Libyan Jews from Cyrenaica, especially Benghazi, one of the largest Jewish communities in Libya. The camp also briefly held both Jews with French citizenship, who were subsequently deported to Tunisia in 1942, and Jews with British passports, who were later interned at Ferramonti di Tarsia in Italy and at a few other camps in Libya.

Jewish families were accommodated in Giado. Individual men were called up for various assignments such as cleaning latrines, disposing of garbage, transporting sand and stone, and tiling roofs both inside and outside the camp, but there was not a fixed daily work quota. It is not known whether any private firms deployed Jews held at Giado as forced labor.

Between May and October 1942, Jews were brought from Cyrenaica to Giado in twice-weekly truck convoys, so that the camp population continually increased. By the end of June 1942 there were 2,584 Jews confined in the camp, including 47 with Italian citizenship. The number dramatically fell after a louse-borne epidemic of typhus in December 1942, that the British liberators ultimately stopped. The estimated number of deaths exceeded 560, putting the mortality rate in Giado at about 21 percent, principally caused by malnutrition and typhus.

Because of overcrowding, many Jews in Giado were sent to other sites. In the spring of 1942, a few hundred went to an assembly site in the town of Gharian (also called Ghuryan). Others were held in the villages of Jefren (Yefren) and Triginna (Tighrina), which were near Giado. Accommodations in Gharian, Jefren, and Tigrinna were in separate buildings, one family per

room. The authorities monitored the Jews' presence every morning and prohibited freedom of movement. Jewish communities already existed in those three villages, which together supported a minimum of around 400 detainees.

The camp commandant was General d'armate (from August 12, 1942, Marsciallo d'Italia) Ettore Bastico, who, from July 19, 1941, was governor of Libya and commander-in-chief of the Italian troops in North Africa. Known as a convinced antisemite in the military, Bastico directed that the Jewish inmates be treated poorly. Serving as his deputy was Maggiore Guerriero Modestino. The dominant figure in Giado, Modestino repeatedly ordered the confinement of individual inmates in order to have them beaten. The guard force consisted of Italian and Arab police, commanded by Italian officers. The police belonged to the Police of Italian Africa (*Polizia dell'Africa Italiana*, PAI). According to survivors' accounts, the Germans—presumably members of the Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo) or the Nazi Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD)—regularly came into the camp and inspected the internment of Jews. These visits were probably related to the assignment of SS-Obersturmführer Theodor Saevecke, who functioned as the SD liaison for the PAI and was responsible for its Jewish policy.

A capo and a deputy lived with the prisoners in each of the 10 barracks in the Giado camp. The capos formed a camp council, which represented the prisoners' interests to the commandant. Camus Suarez chaired the council. With the permission of the deputy camp commandant, he was able occasionally to permit bartering for food. Because the capos were responsible for the Jewish community's organization inside the camp, they held a privileged position inside the camp. For example, the capos organized the allocation of firewood and food. Well-off prisoners, who could trade with Arab merchants, held a similar position. The detained families sought to create a small private sphere for their relatives in the undivided barracks, by hanging blankets as partitions. This measure helped to prevent tensions among the prisoners.

One of the barracks served as a synagogue. The inmates also acquired permission from the camp authorities to bury the dead in

the vicinity of the former medieval Jewish cemetery nearby. This concession turned out to be particularly important during the typhus epidemic.

Although many prisoners in Giado died, it appears that none of the inmates was shot by the guards or other wise killed. However, the camp administration tolerated deaths by starvation.

Knowledge of Giado's harsh conditions did spread outside the camp. Arab merchants selling food at the camp fence or inside the camp with the camp direction's permission learned of the prisoners' plight. The Jewish community in Tripoli gathered information about the camp's living conditions and sent assistance: the financial report for Tripoli's Jewish community listed a subsidy of nearly 1.7 million lire for Giado prisoners in 1943.[1]

Shortly before the camp's liberation, the Tripoli Jewish community dispatched driver Benedetto Arbib, with two other Jews, to the camp with food. After getting stuck in the mud following a rainstorm and being pulled out by some South African troops, their vehicle continued on to Giado. On arrival, they discovered that it had not yet been liberated. While delivering the food, an Italian policeman struck Arbib.[2]

There is no information about any uprisings or resistance in the camp before January 1943. Around 200 Jews fled the camp in January 1943 before British troops reached Giado, after they noticed that some of the guards had already run away; Italian troops then opened fire on the remaining prisoners.

The Giado camp was liberated in the second half of January 1943 by the British Eighth Army, following the westerly retreat of Italian and German forces. The same was the case for the smaller detention sites near Gharian and Yefren. At Giado, the British found approximately 480 seriously ill prisoners, who were subsequently hospitalized in Tripoli. The camp's evacuation required a few months, because the Jews could only gradually be transferred either to Tripoli or Gharian. In March 1943 there were still many Jews in Giado, including 60 orphans, who were allowed to immigrate to Palestine. The British finally dissolved the Giado camp at the beginning of October 1943.

So far as is known, there were no trials involving the camp's

administration or guards. In 1999, Saevecke stood trial before an Italian military tribunal in Torino, in connection with atrocities perpetrated on Italian soil during the German occupation of northern Italy after September 8, 1943.

SOURCES Obtaining information about the Giado camp is difficult, because there are no scholarly monographs exclusively concerned with the camps erected in Libya between 1940 and 1943. Basic information on Giado can be found in Rachel Simon, "The Giado Concentration Camp," in Norman A. Stillman and Phillip Isaac Ackerman-Lieberman, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, 5 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 2: 283–284; 'Irit Avramski-Blai, ed., *Pinḳas ha-ḳehilot. Luv; Tunisyah: Entsiḳlopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim lemin hiṿasdam ṿe-'ad le-aḥar Shoʾat; Milḥemet ha-'Olam ha-Sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1997); "Libyen, Arbeits- und Internierungslager," in Eberhard Jäckel, Peter Longerich, and Julius H. Schoeps, eds., *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (Munich; Zu rich: Piper, 1995); Liliana Picciotto Fargion, "Gli Ebrei in Libia sotto la dominazione italiana," in Martino Contu, Nicola Melis, and Giovannino Pinna, eds., *Ebraismo e rapporti con le culture del Mediterraneo nei secoli XVIII–XX* (Florence: Giuntina, 2003), pp. 79–106; Rachel Simon, "It Could have Happened There: The Jews of Libya during the Second World War," *Afr. J.*16 (1994): 391–422; Renzo de Felice, *Jews in an Arab Land: Libya, 1835–1970*, trans. Judith Roumani (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985); and Maurice M. Roumani, *The Jews of Libya: Coexistence, Persecution, Resettlement* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2008). On Saevecke's role in the persecution of Jews in Libya, see Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Martin Cüppers, *Nazi Palestine: The Plans for the Extermination of the Jews of Palestine*, trans. Krista Smith (New York: Enigma Books in Association with USHMM, 2010).

Primary sources on the Giado camp can be found in YVA, collection O.3 (testimonies). Additional reports by Libyan Jews are located in AFCDEC in section AG, 5Hb. In ACS, collection MAI, there are additional documents on the Italian persecution of

Jews in Libya. A published reference to Jewish relief efforts at Giado can be found in Comunità israelitica della Tripolitania, *Relazione morale-economica dell' esercizio 1943* (Tripoli: Comunità israelitica della Tripolitania, 1943). VHA has four testimonies, all in Hebrew, by Giado survivors. The testimony of Benedetto Arbib, conducted in November 1998, is available at geoimages.berkeley.edu/libyajew/LibyanJews/testimonies/testimonydavidbenedetto-excerpt.html. A published testimony is Eric Salerno, *Uccideteli tutti: Libia 1943; gli ebrei nel campo di concentramento fascistaa di Giado; una storia italiana* (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 2008).

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NOTES

1. *Relazione morale-economica dell' esercizio 1943*, p. 21.
2. Arbib interview transcript, November 1998, available at geoimages.berkeley.edu/libyajew/LibyanJews/testimonies/testimonydavidbenedetto-excerpt.html.

SIDI AZAZ

Sidi Azaz (today: Sidi Said) is located in a desert area approximately 32 kilometers (20 miles) northwest of Homs (Khoms; today: Al Khums) and about 73 kilometers (45 miles) southeast of Tripoli. A camp was established in July 1942 in accord with the decree of June 28, 1942, by General d'armate (from August 12, 1942, Marsciallo d'Italia) Ettore Bastico, who simultaneously served as governor of Libya and commander in chief of Italian troops in North Africa as of July 19, 1941. In this decree, male Jews between 18 and 45 years of age in the Italian province in North Africa were obligated to do forced labor. This command followed a similar one adopted in Italy proper on May 6, 1942. Sidi Azaz served exclusively for the detention of Jewish men, who were brought there to do forced labor.

The majority of the inmates came from Tripoli, the largest Jewish community in Libya, but there were also men from the neighboring city of Homs. The inmates were mainly used in street repair and railway construction according to military needs. A few Jews remained in the camp, however, and were employed in cleaning and kitchen details.

Shortly after the founding of the camp, around 3,000 men were brought to Sidi Azaz, but only around 1,000 remained there, and the others were returned to Tripoli. Among the Jews who remained in the camp were those assigned construction activities or able to perform physically demanding labor, as well as specialists. Physically disabled or seriously ill Jews were exempted from forced labor by a medical commission and sent home. Above all, well-to-do Jews among the 3,000 were released, so that it was mostly poorer men who remained. At the end of August 1942 around 350 Jews were moved to the Buqbuq labor camp in Axis-occupied Egyptian territory. Information about the number of deaths at Sidi Azaz does not exist, but it must have been very low, because the prisoners were mostly young, while the sick or other wise unfit inmates were released by an Italian Army doctor, who

came to Sidi Azaz twice a week.

Italian officers functioned as camp commandants, and a few members of the Police of Italian Africa (*Polizia dell' Africa Italiana*, PAI) served as guards. Once a week, German officers came to Sidi Azaz to inspect the progress of the construction work.

The Jewish inmates worked together in groups of around 50 people, who had to fulfill their daily work quota under the supervision of a capo. Unlike the other inmates, who slept in four- to five-man tents, the capos lived in a barrack like the guards and the commandants—making it clear that they occupied a privileged position in the camp. People who could bring money into the camp also had an advantage, because they could purchase extra food from Arab traders. So far as is known, only one Jewish inmate in the camp, Kamos Zakani, who was employed as a camp clerk, was shot by an Italian guard. There was evidently a quarrel between the two, the precise reason for which is unknown. After this incident the Italian guard was transferred to another camp. Later Jakov Legovi was killed when a truck full of forced laborers, in which he sat, tipped over.

A provisional synagogue, which had a Torah scroll, was set up in the camp to meet the religious needs of the prisoners, which strengthened their resilience. The inmates were also successful in having the Sabbath recognized as a day off work, enabling the Jewish inmates to observe this fundamental commandment. In addition, the Jewish capos gave permission in individual cases for inmates to purchase food in the city of Homs for the camp.

The camp's management permitted the inmates to trade for food with Arab merchants. Relatives of inmates and deputies of the Tripoli Jewish community visited the camp, through which both Jews and non-Jews in Tripoli learned about the conditions in Sidi Azaz. Consequently the deputy of the Tripoli Jewish community organized food relief, especially for the weakest Jews in the camp, to prevent their starvation. The 1943 financial report for Tripoli's Jewish community listed a subsidy of 59,859 lire ($498 in 1943 USD) for the "militarized and requisitioned workers" at Sidi Azaz. (It is not clear whether this item referred to requisitioned workers under Italian rule or British occupation, but the small sum suggested the former.[1]) Contact with the Arab population in the

vicinity of the camp was not free of conflict, and it is likely that a Jew was murdered in an incident involving such contact.

There is no information about escapes from the camp or other resistance actions. Of course, many inmates attempted to get an exemption from forced labor, either by bribing a guard or by wounding themselves.

In late January 1943, after advances to the west in the direction of Tripoli, the British Eighth Army liberated the Sidi Azaz camp. As far as is known, there were no war crimes trials against the camp leadership or guards after January 1943.

SOURCES Little research has been done on the Sidi Azaz camp, and there is no scholarly monograph concerned exclusively with the camps erected in Libya between 1940 and 1943. Basic information on Sidi Azaz can be found in ʻIrit Avramski-Blai, ed., *Pinḳas ha-ḳehilot. Luv; Tunisyah: Entsiḳlopedyah shel hayishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hiṿasdam ṿe-ʻad le-aḥar Shoʾat; Milḥemet ha-ʻOlam ha-Sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1997); a contribution by A. Guetta on the Buqbuq and Sidi Azaz camps in Va'ad ḳehilot Luv be-Yisra'el, *Yahadut Luv: maʾamarim u-reshimot ʻal ḥaye ha-Yehudim be-Luv: yotse leʾor le-regel melot ʻeśer shanim laʻaliyat Yehude Luv* (Tel Aviv: Va'ad ḳehilot Luv be-Yisra'el, 1960); "Libyen, Arbeits-und Internierungslager," in Eberhard Jäckel, Peter Longerich, and Julius H. Schoeps, eds., *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (Munich; Zu rich: Piper, 1995); Liliana Picciotto Fargion, "Gli Ebrei in Libia sotto la dominazione italiana," in Martino Contu, Nicola Melis, and Giovannino Pinna, eds., *Ebraismo e rapporti con le culture del Mediterraneo nei secoli XVIII–XX* (Florence: Giuntina, 2003), pp. 79–106; Rachel Simon, "It Could have Happened There: The Jews of Libya during the Second World War," *Afr. J.* 16 (1994): 391–422; Renzo de Felice, *Jews in an Arab Land: Libya, 1835–1970*, trans. Judith Roumani (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985); and Maurice M. Roumani, *The Jews of Libya: Coexistence, Persecution, Resettlement* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2008).

Primary sources on the Sidi Azaz camp can be found in YVA, collection O.3 (collected testimonies). Additional reports by Libyan Jews are located in AFCDEC in section AG, 5Hb. In ACS, collection MAI, there are additional documents on the Italian persecution of Jews in Libya. A published reference to Jewish relief efforts at Sidi Azaz can be found in Comunità israelitica della Tripolitania, *Relazione morale-economica dell' esercizio 1943* (Tripoli: Comunità israelitica della Tripolitania, 1943). Guetta's publication, cited earlier, is partly a memoir of his confinement in the Sidi Azaz and Buqbuq camps.

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NOTE

1. *Relazione morale-economica dell' esercizio 1943*, p. 21.

ITALIAN-OCCUPIED SOUTHEAST FRANCE*

EMBRUN

In May 1943, the Italian Fourth Army established a civilian internment camp (*campo internati civili di guerra*) in Italian-occupied France at Embrun (Basses-Alpes Département; today: Hautes-Alpes), 114 kilometers (71 miles) northwest of Nice and 119 kilometers (74 miles) northwest of Menton, the headquarters of the Fourth Army.[1] Embrun held British, American, French, Italian, and Belgian nationals suspected by the Italian military of being security threats. Its establishment took place within the context of the expanded occupation of southeastern France that followed the Anglo-American landings in North Africa (Operation Torch) in November 1942. The camp was set up in a commandeered former French prison, Caserne Vallier de Lapeyrouse.[2] Carabinieri guarded the camp.

The Embrun camp was closely related to two other camps in the expanded Italian occupation zone: Sospello (Alpes-Maritimes Département) and Modane (Savoie Department). After being interrogated at Lynwood Villa in Nice by members of the Italian Organization for Vigilance and Repression of Anti-Fascism (*Organizzazione vigilanza repressione antifascismo*, OVRA), internees were dispatched to Sospello until its closure in late May 1943. Those considered "dangerous" were then transferred to Embrun.[3] In defiance of the Italian authorities, the mayor of Nice, Jean Médecin, greeted the internees at the railway station during their transfer from Sospello to Embrun.[4]

According to records (*fiches des renseignements*) of the French police in the Alpes-Maritimes, on May 7, 1943, the Italian authorities dispatched to Embrun three French nationals and naturalized French citizens who had been arrested during the

roundup of alleged communist resisters by the Italian Fourth Army. One of the arrestees was a man of Jewish background from the Netherlands who had lived in France since 1918, and another was a member of the Armistice Commission for the Southern Zone. There is little information on the third prisoner.[5]

According to historian Jean-Yves Mollier, the Italian authorities released 229 Embrun internees at the time of the Armistice, September 8, 1943.[6] Mollier also reports that, in an effort to forestall the roundup by Vichy and German authorities of its just-released detainees, the Italian Army burned the camp's records.

Based on a Belgian report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), some Embrun internees were sent to Imperia Prison, the Bagno a Ripoli camp, and other sites in northern Italy.[7] In a few instances, internees released from Embrun before it closed were assigned to the locality of forced residence (*località di soggiorno obbligatorio*) at Vence.[8]

SOURCES The most detailed secondary source on the Embrun camp is Emanuele Sica, "Italiani Brava Gente? The Italian Occupation of Southeastern France in the Second World War, 1940–1943" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Waterloo, 2011). Additional secondary sources that mention or document the camp are J. P. Domérégo, *Sospel: Une commune du Comté de Nice dans l'histoire* (Nice: Éditions Serre, 1980); André Dupouy, *Ma ville à l'heure italienne: Chronique du canton de Modane pendant l'occupation italienne: 11 novembre 1942–9 septembre 1943* (Saint-Julien-Montdenis: Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Maurienne, 1997); Jean-Yves Mollier, *Édition, presse et pouvoir en France au XXe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2008); Jean-Louis Panicacci, "La répression des activités résistantes," in Jean-Louis Paniacacci, ed., *La résistance auzuréene* (Nice: Éditions Serre, 1994), pp. 85–96; Jean-Louis Panicacci, *En territoire occupé: Italiens et Allemands à Nice* (Paris: Vendémiare, 2012); Jean-Louis Panicacci and Jean Marie Guillon, *L'Occupation italienne: Sud-Est de la France, juin 1940–septembre 1943* (Rennes: Presses universitaires, 2010); Davide Rodogno, *Il nuove ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche*

di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943) (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003); and Jean Vandenhove, *Les prisons d'Embrun du moyen âge jusqu'en 1943: La maison centrale de détention d'Embrun au XIXe siècle, la déportation de 167 corses en 1808* (Embrun: Jean Vandenhove, 2004). A postwar photograph of the caserne is available at www.histoire-embrun.com/du-consulat-a-nos-jours.php.

Italian documentation for the Embrun camp can be found in NARA, T-821 (Collection of Italian Military Records, 1935–1943), roll 265, IT 3099. Additional primary sources can be found in USHMMA, RG-43.115M (AD-A-M), 616W242 (Relations with the Italians, 1942–1945), which contains brief prefectural reports and correspondence from the Alpes-Maritimes Department concerning the camp. In ITS, a Belgian report can be found on Embrun in collection 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutsch-land und besetzten Gebieten), which is available in digital form at USHMMA. Additional documentation can be found in ADH-A. A report titled "Camp Reports: France: Embrun, Haute Alpes," is available in NARA, RG-389 (Records of the Office of the Provost Marshal General), box 2142.

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NOTES

1. Rapporto No. 4471/Inf. "Trasferimento campo di concentramento," I CdA, Ufficio "I," May 30, 1943, NARA, T-821, roll 265, IT 3099, as cited in Sica, "Italiani Brava Gente?" p. 324.

2. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 29, Royaume de Belgique, MRDG, Rapport définitif No. 526 bis: Embrun, received August 12, 1952, Doc. No. 82374609.

3. Quotation in ibid.

4. Notiziario No. 30, Comando I CfA, Ufficio "I," June 6, 1943, NARA, T-821, roll 266, IT 3099, as cited in Sica, "Italia Brava Gente?" p. 327.

5. Fiches des Renseignements, n.d., Siegfried K.; Marius Octave C.; André Léopold Léon V., USHMMA, RG-43.115M, 616W242, pp. 665, 731, 799.

6. AD-H-A, W342/12641, as cited in Mollier, *Édition, presse et pouvoir en France au XXe siècle,* p. 120.

7. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 29, Royaume de Belgique, MRDG, Rapport définitif No. 526 bis, Doc. No. 8374610.

8. Ibid.

* For a map of the camps in Italian-controlled Southeast France, see page 398.

LYNWOOD VILLA

During the expanded Italian occupation of southeastern France that followed the Anglo-American landings in North Africa (Operation Torch) in November 1942, the Italian authorities commandeered a British-owned villa, Lynwood, in Cimiez, a northeastern neighborhood of Nice, for the purpose of establishing a regional interrogation center. Nice (Italian: Nizza; Alpes-Maritime Département) is 160 kilometers (99 miles) northeast of Marseille and 22 kilometers (approximately 14 miles) southwest of Menton, the Italian Fourth Army headquarters. Two Italian intelligence agencies operated the center: the political police, officially called the Organization for Vigilance and Repression of Anti-Fascism (*Organizzazione vigilanza repressione antifascismo*, OVRA) and the Military Intelligence Service (*Servizio Informazioni Militare*, SIM). The Italian authorities called the site "Villa Lynwood," although some French police reports referred to it as "Nice-Cimiez."[1] Carabinieri guarded the center, and the commandant was named Bodo.[2]

The prisoners consisted mainly of suspected French resisters and Italian antifascists. According to historian Emanuele Sica, some of the prisoners were the victims of scurrilous denunciations by irredentists residing in the Italian occupation zone. It is not known how many prisoners passed through Lynwood, but the number could easily have reached into the hundreds, especially during the Fourth Army's crackdown on resistance activities in the Nice area in May 1943. Prominent detainees at Lynwood included a World War I French general, Albert Bardi de Fourtou, and a Scottish Presbyterian minister, Donald Caskie. After the war, Caskie was named to the Order of the British Empire (OBE) for assisting as many as 2,000 Allied military personnel in evading captivity in occupied France.

Under OVRA administration, the once well-appointed villa fell into a dilapidated state. Rooms were converted into barred jail cells. There were men's and women's floors, with the only toilet

available on the women's floor. For male detainees, the facilities were only available under armed escort and not during curfew.[3]

The prisoners' food consisted of hardtack and water. Eating it, explained Caskie, required immersing the hardened bread in the water.[4] An abstract of Belgian testimonies submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS) claimed that personal effects, including money, were confiscated on arrival and never returned.[5]

To those who passed through its cells, Lynwood Villa was the "House of Torture" (*"Maison des Supplices"*).[6] The prisoners were forced to walk in a circle (*gira*) until they confessed. Carabinieri took turns supervising this ordeal, which according to Caskie sometimes went on for days.[7] Prisoner Conrad Flavian described a typical morning at Lynwood: "The cellar awakens. Same atmosphere of hallucinations. The condemned of regime 'A' continue their terrifying 'gyrations,' '*Gira, gira, sempre gira'* ('round, round, always round') and the cries of the guard slave-drivers and the blows that rained down."[8] Two reports submitted to the United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC) made similar charges, and the one against the commandant added that outside the villa's entrance was the quotation from Dante's *Inferno*, "Abandon all hope, ye who enter here."[9] Another source reports that OVRA used the time-worn Fascist torture technique of force-feeding castor oil to the prisoners.[10]

Flavian, his wife Élise, and a Hungarian immigrant, Joseph P., were arrested on May 31, 1943, and sent to Lynwood. All three were members of the Association of the Friends of Foreign Legion Volunteers (*Fédération Amicale Engagés Volontaires étrangers*), a front for resistance activities, and Flavian was its regional head for the Alpes-Maritimes Department. Élise was released the next day, after receiving a stern warning to report all telephone calls and visitors. A French police report pointed out that "two German civilians" accompanied the Flavians' arrest. Likely one of the Germans was SS-Obersturmführer Ernst Dunker, a department head with the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service (*Kommandeur der Sicher heitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes*, KdS), who assumed the alias "Delage" during torture sessions. Flavian later identified Dunker-Delage as one of his tormentors at Lynwood.[11]

Following "interrogation" at Lynwood Villa, the detainees were either transferred to internment camps in southeastern France at Sospello, Embrun, and Modane or were remanded to prisons in Italy during or after secret courts-martial by the Fourth Army at Breil-sur-Roya. Together with others awaiting trial, including Flavian, Bardi, the retired French general, was dispatched to Imperia Prison via Menton in June 1943.[12] He died in the Neuengamme concentration camp in March 1945.

The exact date of Lynwood's closure as an interrogation center is not known. French police records (*fiches des renseignements*), which give the arrest date and detention site where known, indicate that, as late as July 8, 1943, the site was still admitting prisoners.[13]

SOURCES The most detailed secondary account to date on Lynwood Villa is Emanuele Sica, "Italiani Brava Gente? The Italian Occupation of Southeastern France in the Second World War, 1940–1943" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Waterloo, 2011). Other secondary sources that describe or mention the site are Yvan Gastaud, "Les tendences italophobes dans l'opinion niçoise à la libération (1944–1946)," *CDLM* 52 (June 1996): 33–57; Jean-Louis Panicacci, "La répression des activités résistantes," in Panicacci, ed., *La résistance auzuréenne* (Nice: Éditions Serre, 1994), pp. 85–96; Michel Germain, *Les maquis de l'espoir: L'occupation italienne en Haute-Savoie* (Les Sables d'Olonne: Le Cercle d'or, 1990); and the website of Gedenkorte Europa, www.gedenkorte-europa.eu/content/list/352/, which includes a postwar photograph of Lynwood Villa.

Primary sources documenting Lynwood Villa can be found in AD-A-M (616W233 and 616W242, the latter digitally copied to USHMMA as RG-43.115M). Additional documentation about this camp can be found in UNWCC, available at USHMMA as RG-67.041M. More documentation can be found in ITS (Hängemappe Italien/Bolzano), reproduced at www.campifascisti.it/scheda_campo.php?id_campo=517.
Additional ITS documentation on detainees held at Lynwood is located in 1.2.4.3, Service Watson, Imperia Italie Prison Deportés Français, available in digital form at USHMMA. The maquis-

affiliated newspapers in Nice, *CNSE* and *L'Ergot*, published eyewitness accounts shortly after the city's liberation. Two published testimonies by Lynwood prisoners are Donald C. Caskie, *The Tartan Pimpernel* (London: Oldbourne, 1957), and Conrad L. Flavian, *De la nuit vers la lumière* (Paris: Peyronnet & Cie, 1946).

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NOTES

1. Fiche de Renseignements, n.d., Élise Flavian, née Georgescu, USHMMA, RG-43-115M (AD-A-M), 616W242, p. 750.
2. Charges against Italian War Criminals, No. 36, 67/Fr/It/2, PAG-3/2.0: 63-67, USHMMA, RG-67.041M (UNWCC), reel 10, fr. 1150.
3. Flavian, *De la nuit vers la lumière*, p. 125.
4. Caskie, *The Tartan Pimpernel*, p. 191.
5. ACVG, "Liste indicative des prisons et des camps situés en Italie ou en territoire exclusivement administre par l'ennemi," May 24, 1949, p. 9, ITS, Hängemappe Italien / Bolzano, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it/scheda_campo.php?id_campo=517.
6. Flavian, *De la nuit vers la lumière*, p. 106; see also "Maison des Supplices: Les Mystères de la villa Lynwood repaire des tortionnaires de l'Ovra," *L'Ergot*, November 23, 1944, headline reproduced at www.musee-resistance-azureenne.com/la-resistance-azureenne/dossiers-thematiques/la-repression-de-la-resistance-par-vichy-et-par-les-occupants-dans-les-alpes-maritimes.html.
7. Caskie, *The Tartan Pimpernel*, pp. 192–193.
8. Quotation in Flavian, *De la nuit vers la lumière*, p. 123.
9. Charges against Italian War Criminals, No. 36, 67/Fr/It/2, PAG-3/2.0: 63-67, USHMMA, RG-67.041M (UNWCC), reel 10, fr. 1150; Charges against Italian War Criminals, No. 1267,

67/Fr/It/2, PAG-3/2.0: 63-67, USHMMA, RG-67.041M, reel 10, fr. 1199–1200.

10. Cours de Justices des Alpes-Maritimes, Dossier Guillaume P., Procès-Verbal No. 2176, déclaration de M. Vaizman, December 2, 1942, AD-A-M, 318W31, as cited in Sica, "Italiani Brava Gente?" p. 322.

11. Fiches des Renseignements, n.d., Élise Flavian, née Georgescu; and Joseph P., USHMMA, RG-43.115M, 616W242, pp. 750, 752; Flavian, *De la nuit vers la lumière*, pp. 124–125.

12. Flavian, *De la nuit vers la lumière*, pp. 131–132; for Bardi and Flavian, see ITS, 1.2.4.3, Service Watson, Imperia Italie Prison Deportés Français, Doc. Nos. 1284717–1284718.

13. Fiche de Renseignements, n.d., Jeanne P.V.D., USHMMA, RG-43.115M, 616W242, p. 787.

MEGÈVE

On April 8, 1943, the Italian authorities established a center for assigned residence for Jews in the French Alpine resort of Megève (Haute-Savoie Département), which is approximately 39 kilometers (24 miles) southeast of the departmental capital, Annecy, and roughly 245 kilometers (152 miles) northeast of Nice. An Italian report described it as a concentration camp for Jews (*campo di concentramento per ebrei*).[1] After the expanded Italian occupation of southeastern France that followed the Anglo-American landings in North Africa (Operation Torch) in November 1942, the Italian authorities decided to transfer the approximately 7,000 mostly foreign Jewish refugees in and around Nice to several localities of assigned residence (*località di soggiorno obbligatorio*) in April 1943.

On April 2, 1943, Colonello Henquizzi informed the mayor of Megève that approximately 1,000 Jews were soon to be quartered at hotels in his town. The Haute-Savoie prefecture was to pay for their upkeep, and a cordon of caribinieri was assigned to ensure that the Jews could not escape. The commander of the caribinieri was Sottotenente Caspardo. The first two groups of Jews arrived in two cars on the night of April 8.[2] The center for assigned residence soon grew to house approximately 770 people, including many children, but never reached Henquizzi's stated projection. Because the Italian authorities never conducted a census of the Jews at Megève, estimates of the number of Jews derive from French sources. Several Haute-Savoie prefectural reports asserted that some 80 Jewish children were missing.[3]

The Jews were required to report for roll call twice daily. Although they were not to leave Megève, some were employed as cobblers, tailors, hotel employees, and caregivers in the town. According to a French report, the Jews looked to the caribinieri as benefactors.[4]

By July 1943, an office of the French Children's Aid Society

(*Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants*, OSE) opened in Megève. Given the town's proximity to Switzerland, OSE worked to sneak Jewish children across the border, in some cases successfully.[5]

Because Megève was apparently the first Italian assigned residence to be announced, it drew inordinate attention from the Vichy authorities. Incensed by what it perceived as Italian interference in Vichy Jewish policy, the Haute-Savoie prefecture issued repeated demands to the Italian Commission of the Armistice with France (*Commission italienne d'armistice avec la France/Commissione Italiana di Armistizio con la Francia*, CIAF). The prefecture's first demand was the handover of Jewish escapees from French camps relocated to Megève. A second sought a list of all Jews in town, and a third called for the handover for forced labor of men aged 18 to 50.[6] On behalf of the Italian occupiers, CIAF rejected all such demands.[7]

The choice of Megève as a center for assigned residence also interfered with the Vichy government's desire to relocate some 1,800 French refugee children there. Historian Pierre Le Brun has claimed that Vichy premier Pierre Laval specifically selected the resort in a bid to forestall Italian interference in Jewish policy. Despite Italian objections, his plan went forward, with children from Dieppe, Paris, and elsewhere being sent to live in Megève's resort hotels.[8] The children's center operated under the ambiguous name of the Medical Teaching Institutions of Megève (*Centres Scolaires Médicaux de Megève*, CSMM). Some of the Jews in residential assignment worked at CSMM, caring for sick and injured children.

The German occupiers, also incensed with Italian policy, followed the events in Megève closely. The head of the Gestapo Jewish Affairs office in Lyon, Klaus Barbie, informed his superiors in Paris about the site.[9] In Paris, the Inspector General of the French Police, René Bousquet, in turn complained to the German authorities about the Megève center. Given the state of Axis relations, the German response was not to place too much pressure on the Italian counterpart, Inspector General of Police, Guido Lospinozo.[10]

The fate of the Jews held at Megève took a disastrous course before and after the Armistice. During their withdrawal from

Haute-Savoie, Italian forces closed the residential assignment center on September 6, 1943, and interned the Jews at a similar center at Saint-Martin-Vésubie.[11] After Saint-Martin-Vésubie's evacuation, the troops brought the Jews to Cuneo, nearly 42 kilometers (26 miles) to the northeast and just across the Italian border. Under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), most of the Jews ended up in German and Italian custody; some were confined to the Borgo San Dalmazzo camp in preparation for deportation. A few Jews, mostly elderly, hid in Megève after the evacuation, but were rounded up by the German authorities in October 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the residential assignment center at Megève include a detailed account in Pierre Le Brun, *Les pupilles de Vichy dans les palaces de Megève, 1943–1945* (Montigny-le-Bretonneux: Yvelinédition, 2012); brief mentions in Gabriel Grandjacques, *La montagne refuge: Les juifs aux pays de Mont-Blanc. Saint-Gervais, Megève* (Montmélian: Fontaine de Siloé, 2007); and Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Megève residential assignment center can be found in AD-H-S, collection 22W19 (foreigners and Jews), available in digital form at USHMMA as RG-43.084M (AD-H-S), reel 4; and ITS, 1.2.7.18 (Persecution Measures in France and Monaco), folders 2 and 9. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. See also CDJC, collection DXLIX-7, available in microform at USHMMA under RG-43.075M.

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NOTES

1. Tenente Colonnello Paolo Giovannelli, CIAF, alla P/H-S, July 17, 1943, Ogg.: "Questioni riguardanti gli ebrei," USHMMA, RG-43.084M (AD-H-S), 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1416.

2. Berard, "Bericht über die Unterbringung von 1000 Juden in Megeve durch die italienischen Behörden," April 2, 1943, ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 9, Doc. No. 82196964. This document is a translation of an Haute-Savoie prefectural report.

3. See, for example, P/H-S à Chef du Gouvernement, CGQJ, Section d'Enquête et de contrôle, June 14, 1943, Obj.: "Installation de juifs dans la région de Megève," USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1395.

4. Commissaire de Police, Alexis Brustel, à Commissaire Principal, Chef du Service départemental des Renseignements Généraux, Obj.: "Au sujet de la situation créée à Megève à la suite de la fixation à résidence dans cette ville des juifs étrangers évacués du littoral méditerranéen," July 25, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1407.

5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Helene Neuman (DOB May 12, 1932), Doc. No. 43974628.

6. On wanted suspects, Hulot, Brigade de Megève, "État nominatif des israélites étrangers en residence assignée à Megève sous contrôle des Autorités Italiennes, et faisant l'objet de mésures administratives ou judiciaires diverses," May 24, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1402; on the list of Jews and forced labor, P/H-S à Colonel, Chef du 9th Groupe de contrôle et de liaison Hotel d'Angleterre, June 4, 1943, Obj.: "Installation à Megève de juifs et étrangers en provenance de la côte mediterranéene," USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1382.

7. On wanted suspects, P/H-S à Service des relations franco-allemandes et italiennes en zone Libre, June 14, 1943, Obj.: "Execution des mesures administratives et judiciaires concernant les juifs," USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1397; on the list of Jews, Tenente Colonnello Paolo Giovannelli, CIAF, alla P/H-S, July 17, 1943, Ogg.: "Questioni riguardanti gli ebrei," USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1416; on forced labor, Tenente Colonnello Paolo Giovannelli à P/H-S, Obj.: "Recrutement des juifs pour le travail obligatoire," August 11, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1515 (original copy in French

without indication of translation).

8. For Italian objections, see Tenente Colonnello Enea Anchisi, Comando Truppe Italiane, al P/H-S, Ogg.: “Colonia di bimbi francesi a Megève,” April 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1348; on CSMM, Brustel, “Au sujet de la situation créée à Megève,” July 25, 1943, fr. 1407.

9. Barbie, Lyon, to BdS Frankreich, telegram, May 15, 1943, ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 9, Doc. No. 82198806.

10. SS-Sturmbannführer Hagen, “Auszug aus Besprechungsniederschrift mit Secretaire à la Police Bousquet am 23.6.43,” June 23, 1943, ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 9, Doc. No. 82198815; BdS Paris to RFSS and Kaltenbrunner, July 1, 1943, Betr.: “Behandlung der Judenfrage in Frankreich durch die italienischen Besatzungsbehörden,” ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 2, Doc. Nos. 82196964–82196965.

11. For the closure date and destination, see P/H-S à Chef de l’État-Major allemand de liaison, Obj.: “Camps de concentration,” September 13, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1487.

MENTONE

During the Italian invasion of France, on June 23, 1940, Italian forces occupied the city of Menton (Italian: Mentone), which is located 179 kilometers (111 miles) northeast of Marseille and 145 kilometers (90 miles) south of Turin. The city was the Fascist regime's principal conquest in what was otherwise a highly ineffective and expensive campaign. The French Army evacuated most of Mentone's inhabitants shortly before the city changed hands. Renamed Mentone and annexed by Italy, the city became the focal point of the Fascist regime's italianization policy in France. After the expanded occupation of southeastern France following the Allied landings in North Africa (Operation Torch) in November 1942, it served as the headquarters of the Italian Fourth Army.

The Italian authorities established the judiciary prison of Mentone (*carcere giudiziare di Mentone*) in the city's former town hall, known locally as Forty Barracks (*Caserne Forty*). During the roundup of foreigners (especially Allied nationals), regime opponents, and resisters, the Mentone prison served as a pretrial detention center. Those tried before the Fourth Army's secret courts-martial at Breil-sur-Roya were held at Mentone. The prison also held common law prisoners (Italian and foreign). Some political prisoners in the occupied zone awaiting transfer to camps and prisons in Italy passed through the prison in Mentone because of its close proximity to the port.[1] The Military Intelligence Service (*Servizio Informazioni Militare*, SIM) ran the detention site,[2] and the carabinieri served as guards.

A French report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS) complained that prisoners received only 200 grams (just over 7 ounces) of cornbread per day and a thin rice soup. Health care was inadequate, with one prisoner, Marcel P., not receiving any treatment for chronic medical conditions. Only the deposal of Benito Mussolini on July 25, 1943, brought some improvement in treatment.[3]

Common law and political prisoners of all backgrounds shared cells, called "chambers" (*cameroni*), grouped by a dozen prisoners at a time. For those not held in solitary confinement, once-daily exercise breaks—a 10-minute walk in the courtyard—took place chamber by chamber. Prisoners were accorded the privilege of writing letters and receiving parcels, but because of the city's annexation by Italy, they had to pay "international" postage when corresponding with relatives in France.[4]

According to Daniel Fauquier, a prisoner held in connection with resistance activities between May and July 1943, the Italian authorities conducted interrogations inside the prison.[5] Apart from local lore, Mentone did not garner the loathsome reputation as a torture site as did Lynwood Villa.

The Italian authorities abandoned the prison in Mentone at the time of the Armistice on September 8, 1943. The prison continued to serve briefly as a detention site under the German occupation.[6]

SOURCES To date, there is scant historical literature on the Italian-run prison at Mentone. A brief reference to it can be found in Solange Frediani, "Les lieux de mémoire à Menton: De 1860 à nos jours" (Mémoire de maîtrise, Histoire contemporaine, Nice, 2001), www.departement06.fr/documents/Import/decouvrir-les-am/rr162-memoimenton.pdf.

Primary sources documenting the Mentone prison start with ITS (Hängemappe Italien/Bolzano, reproduced online at campifascisti.it; and AD-A-M (616W242, Relations with the Italians, 1942–1945, reproduced digitally at USHMMA as RG-43.115M). Published accounts by former prisoners are Michel Fauquier, *Itinéraire d'un jeune résistant français, 1942–1945* (Paris: Harmattan, 2005), which consists of the annotated memoir of Fauquier's father, Daniel; Conrad L. Flavian, *De la nuit vers la lumière* (Paris: Peyronnet & Cie, 1946); and E. A. Rheinhardt, *Tagebuch aus den Jahren 1943/1944: Geschrieben in den Gefängnissen der Gestapo in Menton, Nizza und Les Baumettes (Marseille)*, ed. Martin Krist (Vienna: Turia + Kant, 2003).

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1. Flavian, *De la nuit vers la lumière*, pp. 131–132.

2. ACVG, "Liste indicative des prisons et des camps situés en Italie ou en territoire exclusivement administre par l'ennemi," May 24, 1949, p. 9, ITS, Hängemappe Italien / Bolzano, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it/scheda_campo.php?id_campo=517.

3. Ibid.; for the arrest of Marcel P., see also USHMMA, RG-43.115M (AD-A-M), 166W9 (The Italian occupation: Name lists, 1942–1945), p. 574.

4. Fauquier, *Itinéraire d'un jeune résistant français*, pp. 57–58, 60.

5. Ibid., pp. 65–67.

6. Rheinhardt, *Tagebuch aus den Jahren 1943/1944*, p. 7.

MODANE

In May 1943, the Italian Fourth Army established a civilian internment camp (*campo internati civili di guerra*) in Italian-occupied France near Modane (Savoie Département), 172 kilometers (107 miles) northwest of Menton, the headquarters of the Fourth Army.[1] Although commonly referred to as Modane, the camp was actually located closer to the village of Aussois, 6.7 kilometers (4.2 miles) northeast of Modane, in Fort Vittorio Emmanuel, the largest of a network of nineteenth-century fortresses erected by the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia called the Forts of the Esseillon Mountains (*Forts de l'Esseillon*). Perched above the Arc River valley at an elevation of 1,600 meters (almost 1 mile), Fort Vittorio Emmanuel had a capacity of 1,500 troops, complete with hospital, chapel, and military jail. The remotely placed camp was only accessible by an elevated bridge, called Devil's Bridge (*Pont du Diable*).

Modane's establishment followed the roundup of French resisters and resistance suspects in Nice in early May 1943 and took place concurrently with the closure of the Sospello internment camp and the opening of a similar camp at Embrun. The mostly French, Italian, and some Jewish internees in the Modane internment camp numbered about 450. Modane's population was supposed to consist of suspected communists and Gaullists, but French police documentation, discussed later, calls that claim into question.

The first commandant, Colonello Calzolari, warned the new arrivals: "You are all terrorists or communists. At the slightest intention of escape or disorder, you will be shot by firing squad. If incidents take place in Nice, you will be held responsible. You are here, on Italian territory."[2] Calzolari's allusion to Nice referred to attacks in late April 1943 on Italian troops by the maquis. In retaliation, the Fourth Army initiated a roundup of French citizens, Italians, naturalized French citizens of Italian origin, and others in Nice on May 6 and 7, 1943. Most of the arrests took place in the

early hours of the morning. The French police in the Alpes-Maritimes Département assiduously recorded what could be discovered about the arrests because the cases were considered a violation of French sovereignty. The file of police records (*fiches des renseignements*) had information on 59 people who were either definitely or likely dispatched to Modane. Of the 59 cases, only 8 were identified as former or active leftists (communists, Popular Front members, radical socialists, or members of the French Section of the Workers' International), and there was one Gaullist. The political views of seven arrestees were characterized as loyal to the Vichy regime or "correct" in the eyes of the French police. In an indication of Vichy priorities, the French police identified eight suspects as Jewish or half-Jewish. Of the 59 arrestees, 40 were taken into custody during the May 6–7 roundup; a smaller wave of 15 arrests took place on June 11, 1943.[3]

A French report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS) listed a number of complaints about the conditions at Modane: The camp lacked medical services, punishment consisted of isolation in dank cells for 8 to 15 days without fresh air or light, and until late July 1943, the diet consisted of watery tomato soup with a few onions floating in it and 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread a day. In the wake of imminent military defeat, food rations improved, and the Italian authorities replaced the camp staff with a new commandant and guards. The report further alleged that, although the detainees were permitted to receive parcels, the Italian guards stole from them.[4] One internee, Henri Lautier, underscored that complaint in a letter to his wife.[5]

The small number of Jewish suspects held at Modane were of French, Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian origins. At least two of them, Roger Béard and Richard Weil, were active in the French Resistance, according to historian Jean-Louis Panicacci.[6]

The Italian authorities abandoned Modane on September 8, 1943. Some of the internees managed to flee the camp thereafter, but the German authorities rearrested many in the weeks that followed.

SOURCES The most detailed description of Modane to date is Emanuele Sica, "Italiani Brava Gente? The Italian Occupation of

Southeastern France in the Second World War, 1940–1943" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Waterloo, 2011). Additional secondary sources that mention or document the camp are André Dupouy, *Ma ville à l'heure italienne: Chronique du canton de Modane pendant l'occupation italienne, 11 novembre 1942–9 septembre 1943* (Saint-Julien-Montdenis: Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Maurienne, 1997); Michel Germain, *Le sang de la barbarie: Chronique de la Haute-Savoie au temps de l'occupation allemande, septembre 1943–26 mars 1944* (Les Marches: Fontaine de Siloé, 1992); Jean-Louis Panicacci, "La répression des activités résistantes," in Panicacci, ed., *La résistance auzuréenne* (Nice: Éditions Serre, 1994), pp. 85–96; Davide Rodogno, *Il nuove ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003); and Christian Villermet, *Á Noi Savoia: Histoire de l'occupation italienne en Savoie, Novembre 1942–septembre 1943*, foreword by Pierre Milza, preface by Pierre Guillen (Les Marches: La Fontaine de Siloé, 1991).

Primary sources documenting the Modane camp can be found in NARA, T-821 (Collection of Italian Military Records, 1935–1943); AD-A-M (616W242, Relations with the Italians, 1942–1945, reproduced digitally at USHMMA as RG-43.115M); ITS (Hängemappe Italien/Bolzano, reproduced at campifascisti.it); and the letters of internee Henri Lautier, digitalrussell.mcmaster.ca/wwiiccc/German-Concentration-Camps-and-Prisons-Search/results/field_internment_camp%3A%22Modane+(Fort+l'Esseillon)%22 (his name is misspelled "Lantier" at the site).

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NOTES

1. Rapporto No. 3925/Inf. di prot. "Internati civili," Comando I CdA, Ufficio "I," May 14, 1943, NARA, T-821 (Collection of Italian Military Records, 1935–1943), roll 265, IT 3099, as cited in Sica, "Italiani Brava Gente?" p. 322.

2. Quotation from ACVG, "Liste indicative des prisons et des

camps situés en Italie ou en territoire exclusivement administre par l'ennemi," May 24, 1949, p. 9, ITS, Hängemappe Italien / Bolzano, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it/scheda_campo.php?id_campo=517.

3. Fiches des renseignements, USHMMA, RG-43.115M (AD-A-M), 616W242 (Relations with the Italians, 1942–1945), pp. 673–800 (with gaps).

4. ACVG, "Liste indicative des prisons et des camps situés en Italie ou en territoire exclusivement administre par l'ennemi," p. 8.

5. Henri Lautier to Anna Lautier, August 18, 1943, digital letter collection (Modane), August 7–September 3, 1943, available at digitalrussell.mcmaster.ca/wwiiccc/German-Concentration-Camps-and-Prisons-Search/results/field_internment_camp%3A%22Modane+(Fort+l'Esseillon)%22.

6. Fiches des renseignements, Béard, Roger; and Weil, Richard Joseph Elie, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.115M, 616W242, pp. 704, 800.

SOSPELLO

In early 1943, the Italian Fourth Army established a civilian internment camp (*campo internati civili di guerra*) in Italian-occupied France at Sospel (Alpes-Maritimes Département), about 24 kilometers (just over 15 miles) northeast of Nice near the prewar Franco-Italian border.[1] The camp was also slightly more than 12 kilometers (7.6 miles) northwest of Menton, the headquarters of the Fourth Army. Called Sospello by the Italian authorities, it held approximately 450 men, including British, American, French, Italian, and Belgian nationals and approximately 40 foreign Jewish males from various countries. The Sospello camp's establishment took place within the context of the expanded occupation of southeastern France that followed the Anglo-American landings in North Africa (Operation Torch) in November 1942.

The Sospello camp held groups suspected by the Italian authorities of being security threats, especially as the French Resistance became active in the Italian zone in the spring of 1943. A Belgian report, based on three testimonies and submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), noted that Sospello held civilians deemed "dangerous" to the "Fascist regime."[2] According to historian Jean-Louis Panicacci, at least some of the internees underwent interrogation at Lynwood Villa by the Organization for Vigilance and Repression of Anti-Fascism (*Organizzazione vigilanza repressione antifascismo*, OVRA) before consignment to Sospello. According to author Stanley Jackson, the Italian authorities rounded up all male British subjects up to 70 years of age in the Italian zone and briefly dispatched them to Sospello as a form of intimidation.

The Sospello camp consisted of a barrack called the Caserne Salel and a hotel, to which two houses were added for officials. Barbed wire surrounded the site. The internees wore civilian clothing. The carabinieri served as guards,[3] and the commandant was Capitano Migliavacca. As presumptive security risks, the

inmates were forbidden to leave the camp and did not serve on labor details. At least one internee, an American citizen, died in custody.[4]

About 40 foreign Jewish males were detained as part of the intensification of persecution of Jews by the Fascist regime and possibly because they were of military age. A report by the Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, RSHA), which described the site as a "concentration camp," erroneously claimed that Sospello held only Jews who were politically active.[5] Harry Burger, a Jewish refugee from Vienna, in his description of conditions at Sospello in early 1943, contradicted claims that Sospello was a concentration camp as conventionally understood: "They (the Italian authorities) treated us very well. They gave us food, nothing was rationed, we had clean beds. As a matter of fact, Italian *soldiers* made up the beds because the inmates of this camp were all American and British citizens who lived in the southeast of France in their own big villas and they were very rich people …. [in actuality there were other nationalities represented here]."[6] In an interview, Burger added that the Italian authorities furnished the Jews with kosher food for a Passover seder.[7] Possibly through the intercession of Jewish rescuer Angelo Donati, the Italian authorities transferred Jewish internees to localities of forced residence (*località di soggiorno obbligatorio*) in May 1943. Burger was among the group sent to Saint-Martin-Vésubie.[8] Other Jews were transferred from Sospello to similar forced residences at Le Mourtier, Megève, Saint-Gervais-les-Bains, and Vence.[9] Sospello internee Edmond Landau was sent to Saint-Gervais.[10]

Internees classified as resisters or communists faced different fates. Those considered "dangerous" to Italian forces, such as the Belgians Hugo Kesler, Jacques Verbrugghen, and Lucien Verbrugghen, were sent to the detention site at Embrun (Hautes-Alpes Département) at the time of Sospello's closure.[11] Alleged communists, in contrast, were sent to the fortress prison near Modane (Savoie Département).

The internment of native and naturalized French citizens at Sospello gave rise to some complaints in the Alpes-Maritimes Department and in at least one case prompted a minor diplomatic

dispute. A Belgian-born French citizen, Yvonne Girard, addressed an anguished letter to the prefecture after learning that her son, arrested before dawn at their home by the Italian authorities on January 25, 1943, was being held at Sospello. In addition to desiring his release, she wanted to know why he was arrested.[12] Her plea went unanswered. The case of Albert Reymond, an engineer and director of a cement factory in Gé-névrey de Vif, involved low-level negotiations by the Italian Commission of the Armistice with France (*Commission italienne d'armistice avec la France/Commissione Italiana di Armistizio con la Francia*, CIAF). Accused of illegally trafficking explosives, Reymond was detained at Sospello in early January 1943. The French delegation to CIAF sought his release, but the Italian Fourth Army was only prepared to do so provided the engineer was kept under strict surveillance. The Gendarmerie Nationale took custody of Reymond on January 24, 1943, at Sospello, and immediately placed him under house arrest at Nice.[13]

The Sospello camp closed in late May 1943, when its inmates were dispatched to the new Embrun and Modane camps. In defiance of the Italian authorities, the mayor of Nice, Jean Médecin, greeted the internees at the railway station during their transfer from Sospello to Embrun.[14]

The Belgian report submitted to ITS erroneously claimed that the Sospello camp closed on September 4, 1943, just weeks before Italy's Armistice with the Western Allies.[15] As late as June 1943, a French police report indicated that Sospello still admitted internees.[16]

SOURCES The most detailed secondary source on the Sospello camp is Emanuele Sica, "Italiani Brava Gente? The Italian Occupation of Southeastern France in the Second World War, 1940–1943" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Waterloo, 2011). Additional secondary sources that mention or document the camp are André Jeannin, "Le camp italien d'internés civils de Sospel (Alpes-Maritimes)," *Docs Ph* 13: 62 (1974): 147–161; J. P. Domérégo, *Sospel: Une commune du Comté de Nice dans l'histoire* (Nice: Èditions Serre, 1980); Stanley Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo* (New York: Stein and Day, 1975); Michele Sarfatti,

"Fascist Italy and German Jews in South-eastern France in July 1943," *JMIS* 3: 3 (1998): 318–328; Jean-Louis Panicacci, "La répression des activités résistantes," in Panicacci, ed., *La résistance auzuréenne* (Nice: Éditions Serre, 1994), pp. 85–96; Panicacci with Jean Marie Guillon, *L'Occupation italienne: Sud-Est de la France, juin 1940–septembre 1943* (Rennes: Presses universitaires, 2010); Panicacci, *En territoire occupé: Italiens et Allemands à Nice* (Paris: Vendémiare, 2012); Davide Rodogno, *Il nuove ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003); Susan Zuccotti, *Holocaust Odysseys: The Jews of Saint-Martin-Vésubie and their Flight through France and Italy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); and "Les Juifs dans la zone d'occupation italienne: Conférence de Davide Rodogno," available at www.cercleshoah.org/spip.php?article25&lang=fr. A useful website on Sospello and other detention sites in Alpes-Maritimes is "La repression de la Résistance par Vichy et par les occupants dans les Alpes-Maritimes," www.musee-resistance-azureenne.com.

Italian documentation for the Sospello camp can be found in NARA, T-821 (Collection of Italian Military Records, 1935–1943), rolls 265 and 266, IT 3099; and AUSSME, M3 476. Additional primary sources can be found in USHMMA, RG-43.115M (AD-A-M), 616W242 (Relations with the Italians, 1942–1945), which contains brief prefectural reports and correspondence from the Alpes-Maritimes Département concerning the camp, available in digital form. According to Sica, much more extensive AD-A-M documentation on Sospello can be found in collection 104W4. ITS, collection 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiter-lager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA, holds a report on the camp. Two reports titled "Camp Reports: France: Sospel Civilian Internment Camp," and "Camp Reports: France: Sospel" are available in NARA, RG-389 (Records of the Office of the Provost Marshal General), box 2142. A published document on Sospello by the German authorities in the collections of CDJC can be found in Léon Poliakov, ed., *La*

condition des Juifs en France sous l'occupation italienne, preface by Justin Gudard (Paris: Éd. du Centre, 1946). USHMMA also holds a testimony by a Jewish internee at Sospello, RG-02.027, "Harry Burger, a Holocaust Survivor: Memoir of the War—1938–1945." VHA holds two testimonies by Jewish internees of Sospello, including Harry Burger's (#22059). A published testimony on the camp by former internee, Edmond Landau, can be found in House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Investigation of Problems Presented by Refugees at Fort Ontario Refugee Shelter,* Hearings on H. Res. 52, 79th Congress, 1st session, June 25 and 26, 1945 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1945), pp. 86–88.

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NOTES

1. Rapporto No. 1065, "I," "Repressione reati in danno delle truppe di occupazione," Comando IV Armata, Ufficio "I," 1/30/1943, NARA, T-821, roll 265, IT 3099, as cited in Sica, "Italia Brava Gente?" p. 322.

2. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 29, Royaume de Belgique, MRDG, Rapport définitif No. 526: Sospel, received August 12, 1952, Doc. No. 82374605.

3. Ibid., Doc. No. 82374604.

4. Rapport No. 145, "Décès d'un américain interné au camp de concentration italien de Sospel," Commissaire de Breil, January 16, 1943, AD-A-M 166W9, as cited in Sica, "Ital ia Brava Gente?" p. 344.

5. SD-Einsatzkommando Marseille to BdS IV-B, Paris, July 10, 1943, CDJC, facsimile reprinted in Poliakov, *La condition des Juifs en France sous l'occupation italienne*, p. 162.

6. USHMMA, RG-02.027, "Harry Burger, a Holocaust Survivor," p. 7 (original emphasis).

7. VHA #22059, Harry Burger testimony, October 31, 1996.

8. USHMMA, RG-02.027, "Harry Burger, a Holocaust

Survivor," pp. 10–11.

9. On forced residence sites, SS-Obersturmführer August Moritz to BdS im Bereich des Militärbefehlshabers in Frank-reich, stamped received May 27, 1943, CDJC, facsimile reprinted in Poliakov, *La condition des Juifs en France sous l'occupation italienne*, p. 160.

10. Statement of Edmond Landau, House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Investigation of Problems Presented by Refugees at Fort Ontario Refugee Shelter,* p. 88.

11. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 29, Rapport définitif No. 526: Sospel, Doc. No. 82374606.

12. Letter, Yvonne Girard to P/A-M, February 14, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.115M (AD-A-M), 616W242, pp. 91–92.

13. Aldo de Ferrari, Adjoint au Président de la Délégation (Commission Italienne d'Armistice avec la France, Délégation de Contrôle pour le Dispositif Alpin) à Monsieur le Colonel Émile Bonnet, Officier de Liaison auprès de la Délégation Permanente, January 9, 1943, Objet: "Ingénieur Reymond Albert," USHMMA, RG-43.115M, 616W242, p. 642; Ferrari à Bonnet, January 23, 1943, Objet: "Ingénieur Reymond," USHMMA, RG-43.115M, 616W242, p. 644; GN, XV Legion, Compagnie des Alpes-Maritimes, Section de Roquebrune, Brigade de Sospel-Normal, Procès-Verbal constanant la prise en charge de l'interné Reymond, Albert, au camp de concentration Italien de Sospel, January 24, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.115M, 616W242, p. 647.

14. Notiziario No. 30, Comando I CfA, Ufficio "I," June 6, 1943, NARA, T-821, roll 266, IT 3099, as cited in Sica, "Italia Brava Gente?" p. 327.

15. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 29, Royaume de Belgique, MRDG, Rapport définitif No. 526: Sospel, received August 12, 1952, Doc. No. 82374603.

16. Fiche de Renseignements, n.d., Marcel Honoré G., USHMMA, RG-43.115M, 616W242, p. 760.

VENCE

During Fascist Italy's expanded occupation of southeastern France that followed the Anglo-American landings in North Africa (Operation Torch) in November 1942, the Italian authorities assigned the town of Vence to become a "locality of forced residence" (*località di soggiorno obbligatorio*). Located about 13 kilometers (8 miles) west of Nice and approximately 106 kilometers (66 miles) southeast of Embrun, Vence was one of five such assigned residential centers in the Italian-occupied zone. The town held approximately 250 internees, mostly Jews and a few non-Jews released from the Italian-run camp at Embrun.[1]

The German authorities were well aware of the Jews in Vence. A telegram from SS-Obersturmführer August Moritz listed Vence as among the sites where the Italians dispersed some 2,400 Jews from Nice.[2]

Among the Jewish families who eventually were held in Vence was the Gerstl family, headed by Pauline and Wilhelm, Central European refugees who had already been through ordeals in the French-run camps. When the Italians abandoned Vence, Wilhelm and Pauline hid in Nice for a short time, but eventually secured a hiding place with the Picco family in Vence.

After the Armistice of September 8, 1943, most of the internees were evacuated from Vence to internment camps in northern Italy.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the camp at Vence are Davide Rodogno, *Il nuove ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003); and Jonathan Steinberg, *All or Nothing: The Axis and the Holocaust, 1941–1943* (London: Rout-ledge, 2002).

Primary sources documenting the locality of obligatory residence at Vence can be found in ITS, 2.3.5.1, Belgischer

Katalog über Konzentrations-und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten, folder 29, available in digital form at USHMMA; and CDJC. The latter documentation is reproduced in Léon Poliakov, ed., *La condition des Juifs en France sous l'occupation italienne*, preface by Justin Gudard (Paris: Éd. du Centre, 1946).

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NOTES

1. Rapport définitif No. 526 bis, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 29, Doc. Nos. 82374609–82374610.

2. BdS im Bereich des Militärbefehlshabers in Frankreich, Telegram, stamped received, May 27, 1943, reproduced in Poliakov, ed., *La condition des Juifs en France sous l'occupation italienne*, p. 160.

ITALIAN-OCCUPIED YUGO SLAVIA*

ANTIVARI

The Italian Ninth Army set up the Antivari concentration camp in Bar, an ancient coastal city in Montenegro, in the summer of 1942, and the first internees arrived in September of that year. Bar is almost 42 kilometers (26 miles) southwest of the Montenegrin capital, Podgorica, and just on the opposite shore from Bari (hence the Italian name), nearly 216 kilometers (134 miles) northeast across the Adriatic. The facility was built in Topolica, a small neighborhood close to Bar.

Following the insurrection that broke out in Montenegro in July 1941, both the governorship and Italian occupation forces issued a number of announcements and provisions pertaining to the internment of civilians in special concentration camps. Initially, both the actual and suspected rebels ended up confined in concentration camps in close proximity to Albania. Later, when those camps were overcrowded, the authorities established the Antivari camp situated close to the Albanian border; there, the rebels were locked up along with their relatives (sometimes entire families) who resided in Bar as well as other nearby places.[1] The camp consisted of 22 houses divided into 10 sectors, each designed in a semicircle. One sector of the camp was reserved for women and children and was separated from the sectors for men by barbed wire.

Many of the internees arriving at Bar came from the Albanian concentration camps of Kavaja (Kavajë), Klos, Tepa, and Burell (Gërman). Others came from temporary camps located across Montenegro (Podgorica, Cetinje or Cettigne, and Kolašin). There were already some 2,000 internees present at the camp of Bar in early November 1942, and by April 1943, the number had increased to 3,000. The maximum occupancy occurred in June 1943, when some 7,000 people, including 900 women and several

hundred children of all ages, were being held in the camp.

The living conditions were particularly harsh at Antivari, and hunger was constant. The prisoners did not receive any material aid or other kind of protection, local or international. Above all, food was insufficient to guarantee the minimum amount of calories required to sustain life. Along with poor sanitary conditions, starvation was responsible for the deaths of 34 detainees in the course of one year.

Antivari served as a camp for political prisoners who had often been selected arbitrarily. The police managed the camp's internal security. Frequently, they employed random disciplinary actions against the internees: beatings, sometimes to the point of loss of consciousness; denial of rations for days; "pole punishments" (in which the prisoner was tied to a pole and whipped); and security cell lockups. Several internees were treated as hostages. In early 1943, following heavy losses suffered by the Italian Army at the hands of Yugoslav Partisans, the governor of Montenegro, Pirzio Biroli, ordered that 180 internees from Antivari, most likely belonging to the resistance movement, be murdered in retaliation. The victims included boys younger than 16 years of age and the elderly as old as 72. On June 24, 1943, they were divided into seven groups before leaving Bar for other places in Montenegro where, to make an example, they were publicly executed.

The retaliatory murders of Antivari internees continued to occur occasionally even on the eve of the Fascist regime's demise. On September 17, 1943, after the announcement of the Armistice between Italy and the Allies, the camp passed into German hands. After a few days, the German authorities released certain categories of internees (namely the elderly, sick, and the young) and closed the camp on October 19, 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Antivari camp include Gojko P. Vukmanović and Radoje Pajović, *Koncentracioni logor u Baru: 1942–1943* (Podgorica: Istorijski Institut Crne Gore, 2002); and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 67–78. Brief mentions can be found in Ales-sandra Kersevan, *Lager italiani:*

pulizia etnica e campi di concentramento fascisti per civili jugoslavi 1941–1943 (Rome: Nutrimenti, 2008); Giocomo Scotti, *Bono Taliano: Militari italiani in Jugoslavia dal 1941 al 1943: Da occupatori a "disertori"* (Rome: Odradek, 2012); and Davide Rodogno, *Il nuove ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003).

Primary sources documenting the Antivari camp can be found in VaB and A-IICG, "Koncentracioni logor u Baru." Additional documentation can be found in ITS, collection 1.2.7.23, folder 7. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. A published testimony is Dragutin Drago V. Ivanović, *Memorie di un internato montenegrino: Colfiorito 1943* (Foligno: Editoriale Umbra, 2004).

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. See the report by Pero Damjanović, "Le Camp de concentration de Bar (Campo di concentamento internato—Antivari)," ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 7, Doc. No. 82205202.

* For a map of the camps in Italian-controlled Yugoslavia, see page 396.

ARBE

The Italian Second Army established the Arbe camp in July 1942 on the southeastern part of the Italian-annexed Yugoslavian island of Rab (Italian: Arbe), which is 66 kilometers (41 miles) southeast of Rijeka (Italian: Fiume). Established in the town of Kampor (Italian: Campora) on a wide plain, it was located between the Campora and Sant'Eufemia coastal inlets. Officially called the Arbe concentration camp of civilian internees (*campo di concentramento internati civili Arbe*), the camp's mostly South Slavic inmates called it Rab or Kampor. At the end of June, Italian soldiers began building a complex intended to hold some 16,000 Slovenian civilian internees. The camp was initially divided into two areas, one with barracks for 10,000 people and the other with tents for 6,000. In the autumn of 1942, the Italian authorities reduced the camp's capacity to 10,000 detainees.

Arbe's first commandant was carabiniere tenente colonnello Vincenzo Venne. Its last commandant was a carabiniere of the same rank, Vincenzo Cuiuli, known to the inmates as the "Snake" (Serbo-Croatian: *zmija*). Approximately 2,000 soldiers and carabinieri served as guards and other security personnel. A Yugoslavian report submitted in 1946 to the International Tracing Service (ITS) depicted the Italian guard force as "very strict."[1]

Initially, Arbe consisted only of camp I, subdivided into four sectors. From the vantage of the town of Arbe, camp I was located on the northeast side of the main road. On the southwest side were spaces set aside for camps II through IV. Additionally, there were various security structures and a prisoners' graveyard. Women, children, and the elderly were initially accommodated in camp I and then in camp III; finally in the late autumn of 1942 they were moved to the Gonars camp in Italy. In the spring of 1943, camp II opened and accommodated 2,761 Jewish men, women, and children held in "protective internment" (*internamento protettivo*). The space originally intended for the fourth camp remained virtually unused.

Barracks construction started in the autumn of 1942. Some buildings were wooden, whereas others were made of brick. The first structures were not completed until January 1943; before that time Arbe's detainees were lodged in six-person tents. Larger tents capable of accommodating 80 to 90 people were supplied only after completion of the first barracks.

The first prisoners, 198 Slovenian males, came from Ljubljana (Italian: Lubiana) on July 28, 1942, after being transported from Fiume aboard the ship *Plav*. Because Arbe was still far from being completed, they had to pitch their tents. The second transport with 243 Slovenian men arrived on July 31. The largest transport, 1,194 internees from Ljubljana, reached Arbe on August 6, 1942. Arbe's population peaked at 5,562 inmates on December 29, 1942.

An entrance to the Arbe internment camp, 1943. USHMM WS #98920, COURTESY OF BEIT LOHAMEI HAGHETAOT (GHETTO FIGHTERS' HOUSE MUSEUM).

Despite the influx of new prisoners in several transports, Arbe's population gradually fell, beginning in late 1942. The decline was due partly to increased mortality and transfers to Italy: between December 1942 and April 1943, almost 1,800 detainees, mostly women, children, and the elderly, were sent to the Gonars, Monigo, and Chiesanuova camps in Italy. In addition, many prisoners enlisted in collaborationist formations called "anti-communist voluntary militias" (*Milizia volontaria anticommunista*, MVAC).[2]

Based on Arbe police command reports on transfers, at least 27 transports with a total of 7,541 civilian detainees, labeled "punitives" (*repressivi*), arrived at the camp.[3] Two-thirds were Slovenians and the remainder Croatians, the latter originating predominantly from the Gorski Kotar area, which had been recently annexed to the province of Fiume. Rounding out Arbe's detainees were 2,761 Jews, either residents or refugees in the Italian-occupied zone, who were protectively interned at Arbe in the spring of 1943. Throughout its existence, more than 10,000 civilians were held in the camp: men, women, children, and often nuclear families. Five thousand inmates originated from the Ljubljana province, around 1,900 from the Fiume province (particularly from the Čabar area), and 350 from the Monigo, Chiesanuova, and Gonars camps in Italy. The Jews came from the Porto Re internment camp and from "free internment" (*internamento libero*) in Italian-occupied Yugoslavia. The detainees consisted mostly of farmers, lumberjacks, and laborers, but there were also merchants and a small number of intellectuals included in this group.

In the punitive camps I and III, the living conditions were harsh, marked by hunger, cold, and overcrowding, especially for those sleeping in tents. According to former prisoner Metod Milač, the tents were so crowded that three prisoners at a time had to roll over "in unison" in their bedrolls.[4] During thunderstorms in the autumn of 1942, rain clogged the few available latrines, causing widespread outpours of sewage. On the night of October 29, a storm swept away more than 400 tents and five children drowned. The rations in camps I and III were insufficient. For example, prisoners did not receive more than 80 grams (just under 3 ounces) of bread a day. As a result, even the youngest and most able-bodied quickly lost half their body weight. Moreover, Italy had not yet consented to the International Committee of the Red Cross's (ICRC's) intervention in favor of "ex-Yugoslav" detainees, and the first food supplies sent by prisoners' relatives did not arrive until November 1942. A January 1943 report by Captain Giovanni de Filippis described conditions in the camp as "nearly barbarous" (*quasi inumane*).[5] Hygienic conditions were equally deplorable, particularly for pregnant women who often gave birth to stillborn babies.[6] In the most critical periods, there were deaths reported

almost daily. Arbe's military doctors falsely attributed such deaths to "heart attacks," when in reality, hunger was the cause. In a November 1942 memorandum, Italian medical officer Carlo Alberto Lang conceded that the increased mortality rate among Yugoslavian internees was "caused by an insufficient food supply that failed to meet standard nutritional requirements."[7]

The conditions in camp II were better. The Jews formed a self-administration committee, thereby shielding the internees against much Italian interference. Interned doctors furnished medical care, so that Italian army doctors rarely visited the camp. In contrast to the tent camps, the Jewish internment camp had well-equipped barracks. The internees maintained a sizable kitchen, a small library, and a Jewish school for the children.[8]

According to the Superior Command of the Armed Forces, "Slovenia and Dalmatia" (*Comando Superiore FF. AA. "Slovenia e Dalmazia,"* or Supersloda), 502 Arbe prisoners had died by mid-December 1942.[9] The first significant wave of deaths occurred in August 1942; the second, starting at the end of October, lasted until January 1943. It remains impossible to definitively determine the number of deaths because Italian authorities usually placed more than one corpse in a single coffin. At present, only 1,436 bodies have been identified, or more than 19 percent of the Slavic inmates at Arbe.

On September 11, 1943, following the Armistice, a Slovenian Liberation Front cell active inside Arbe disarmed its military garrison, arrested Cuiuli, and sentenced him to death. The commandant subsequently committed suicide. The revolt led to the formation of a partisan group consisting of 1,600 men and women, the "Rab" Brigade commanded by Franc Potočnik. It had five battalions, one exclusively Jewish, which fought against the Germans and Ustaše, the Croatian fascist organization. Approximately 250 Jews—the elderly, women, children, and the sick—remained on the island before their deportation by the German authorities, first to the Risiera di San Sabbaca camp and then to Auschwitz. With the help of Yugoslav Partisans, some Jewish ex-internees crossed the Adriatic Sea via the Island of Vis and reached British-controlled Bari, Italy. According to survivor Ivo Herzer, the British authorities redirected their landing to Taranto, where they received assistance.[10]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Arbe camp include Tone Ferenc, *Rab-Arbe-Arbissima: Confinamenti, Rastrellamenti e Internamenti nella Provincia di Lubiana 1941–1943* (Ljubljana: Institut Za Novejso Zgodovino, 2000); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia Fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 268–271; Ivan Kovačic, *Kampor 1942–1943: Hrvati, Slovenci i Židovi u koncentracijskom logoru Kampor na otoku Rab* (1983; Rijeka: Adamic, 1998); Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Zrtve Genocida i Ucesnici NOR* (Belgrade: Savez Jevrejskih Opstina Jugoslavije, 1980); Jonathan Steinberg, *All or Nothing: The Axis and the Holocaust, 1941–1943* (London: Routledge, 1990); and Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine Mediterraneo: Le politische di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)*, preface by Philippe Burin (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2003). Arbe prisoner and resistance fighter Franc Potočnik published a memoir about the camp and the "Rab" Brigade, titled *Koncentracijsko Taborisce Rab* (Koper: Zalozba Lipa, 1975). An early collection of documents on the Italian occupation of Slovenia contains some information on Arbe: Komisija za ugotavljanje zločinov okupatorjev in njihovih pomagačev za Slovenij, ed., *Zločini italijanskega okupatorja v Ljubljanski pokrajin*, vol. 1: *Internacije* (Ljubljana: Institutu narodne osvoboditve pri predsedstvu vlade LRS, 1946). A scholarly anthology that concerns the persecution of Slavic youth in Italian camps, including Arbe, is Metka Gombač, Boris M. Gombač, and Dario Mattiussi, *Als mein Vater starb: Zeichnungen und Zeugnisse von Kindern aus Konzentrationslagern der italienischen Ostgrenze (1942–1943)*, trans. Karl Stuhlpfarrer und Andrea Wernig (Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlag, 2009). A brief guide to the Arbe camp is Herman Janež, *Koncentracijsko taborišče; Koncentracijski logor Kampor-Rab: 1942–1943* (Ljubljana: Glavni odbor ZZB NOB Slovenije, Komisija za bivše politične zapornike, internirance in druge žrtve nacifašizma, Taboriščni odbor Rab, 1999).

Primary sources on the Arbe camp can be found in A-RS, II, folder 1079, Seznami internancev, sub-folder 1-67 (Rab);

AUSSME, Uff. PG, SME, Ds; AVI, Anj, Br. Reg. 20/5, k. 897; and NARA, RG-242 (Foreign records, seized, 1942–), T-821 (Records of the Italian Armed Forces, ca. 1940–1945, 506 reels). A report on Arbe and Gonars is available in AICRC (G17/74). Some documentation on the Jewish internment camp at Arbe is in AME-ASD, in fondo Lancellotti. At CDEC, there is a collection on the founding of the Jewish internment camp under Fondo Israel Kalk (archival holding G-1). An early postwar report on Arbe, "Konzentrationslager Insel Raab, June 1943–Ende 1943," submitted by the Yugoslavian Information Division, can be found in ITS, 1.2.7.23, Persecution Action in Serbia, folder 5, Doc. No. 82204839 (available in digitized form at USHMMA). The collection of documents, *Zločini italijanskega okupatorja v Ljub ljanski pokrajin*, reproduces a number of captured Italian Army documents from Supersloda, the Second Army, and other units dealing with Arbe and related camps. Photographs of Arbe are available at YVA, GFH, and JIM-bg. USHMMPA holds copies of these photos, including some of the Jewish internment camp (for example, WS # 78469, showing Jews working in the camp kitchen). Owing to Arbe's role as a protective internment camp, VHF has collected nearly 150 Jewish survivor testimonies that mention the camp. USHMMA holds the interview with former internee Ivo Herzer (RG-50.030 *0097). Published letters and drawings from the Arbe camp can be found in the earlier cited anthology, *Als mein Vater starb*. A published testimony is Metod Milać, *Resistance, Imprisonment, and Forced Labor: A Slovene Student in World War II* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002); Milać also published an article on his ordeal, "The War Years, 1941–1945: From My Experiences," *SlSt* 16: 2 (1994): 31–47.

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NOTES

1. "Konzentrationslager Insel Raab, June 1943–Ende 1943," ITS, 1.2.7.23, Persecution Action in Serbia, folder 5, Doc. No. 82204839 (digital copy available at USHMMA).

2. On recruitment at Arbe, see, for example, Comando MVAC Horjul al Comando I. Battaglione, January 3, 1943, reproduced in *Zločini italijanskega okupatorja v Ljubljanski pokrajin*, Doc. 86, p. 167.

3. A-RS, fasc. 1079, Seznami internancev, s.f. 1-67.

4. Milać, *Resistance, Imprisonment, and Forced Labor*, p. 75.

5. De Filippis, Comando 209 Sezione mista Carabinieri Reali al Comando dei Carabinieri Reali dell' XI CdA, January 3, 1943, reproduced in *Zločini italijanskega okupatorja v Ljubljanski pokrajin*, Doc. 79, p. 163.

6. Note à l'attention de M. Salis, délégué du CICR en Italie, April 14, 1943, A-ICRC, G17/74, B 488, as cited in Rodog no, *Il nuovo ordine Mediterraneo*, p. 421, n. 59.

7. Supersloda (II Armata), relazione del capitano medico Carlo Alberto Lang, November 22, 1942, NARA, RG-242, T-821, roll 398; see also Alto commissario per la provincia di Lubiana al comando dell' CdA, Uff. Segretaria Particolare, No. 1642/2 Ris., Ogg.: Rientro internati Situazione sanitaria, December 15, 1942, reproduced in *Zločini italijanskega okupatorja v Ljubljanski pokrajin*, Doc. 78, p. 162.

8. See USHMMPA, WS # 78484, Jewish prisoners work in the kitchen at the Rab internment camp, 1943 (Courtesy of JIM-bg).

9. Generale Mario Roatta al CS, December 16, 1942, AUSSME, N I-II, Ds, B 1130, as cited in Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine Mediterraneo*, p. 420, n. 58.

10. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0097, Ivo Herzer, oral history interview, September 13, 1989.

BRAZZA ISLAND

In November 1942, following an order by Benito Mussolini for the imprisonment of Jews in Italian-occupied Croatia, the Italian Second Army established several small camps on the Adriatic island of Brač (Italian: Brazza). Brazza Island is 282 kilometers (175 miles) southeast of Zagreb. The camps were located in the villages of Bol (Boli or Vallo della Brazza), Milna (Milona), Nerezisce (Néresi), Postire (Postira), Sumartin (San Martino), and Supetar (San Pietro della Brazza). Already by the summer of 1942, plans existed to confine Jews fleeing to Italian-occupied territory in Croatia, including Brazza Island. Finally, the Italian XVIII Army Corps, to whose region the island belonged, seized a few buildings toward the end of October 1942 and made them available for the detention of Jews.

Beginning in November 1942, Jews were confined in various camps on Brazza Island. The conditions in these camps were similar. The Jews, who mostly came from the regions of Knin and Drniš, were permitted to leave the seized buildings, all small houses, during the day, but had to remain within a radius of 150 meters (almost 500 feet). There was a prohibition against leaving the buildings at night. The Jewish prisoners apparently were forced to perform construction work on roads and at electrical power plants. The carabinieri were in charge of guarding the prisoners. At the beginning of December 1942, six Jews from Omiš (a town in Croatia) arrived at the San Martino camp, which consisted of an unfinished hotel. Franjo Spitzer, who published books under the pseudonym Ervin Sinkó, was elected capo by the inmates. He organized life in that camp and maintained contact with the Italian authorities.

According to historian Jaša Romano, there were only 211 Jews imprisoned on Brazza Island. However, he mentions only the camps at Postire and San Martino, which in April 1943 were listed in a report by the Italian Second Army. In any case the camps on the island were small, consisting mostly of single, isolated

buildings. The small number of prisoners eased the strain on food supplies to the island. According to Romano, the prisoners in Postira and San Martino did not suffer from hunger.

According to Italian documentation, 217 Jews were imprisoned on Brazza Island as of December 29, 1942.[1] On February 1, 1943, an Italian account lists a total of 240 Jewish prisoners—115 men, 118 women, and 7 children—on the island camps: 42 in San Martino, 41 in Postira, 15 in Néresi, 45 in Milona, 25 in Boli, and 72 in San Pietro.[2] On April 15, there were only 238 detainees—32 children, 111 women, and 95 men—in three camps: 115 in Postira (of whom 12 were listed as Catholics and 1 as Orthodox Christian), 1 (a Jew) in Milona, and 122 in San Martino (including 9 Catholics and 1 Orthodox Christian). On April 25, 1943, the Italian authorities transferred 50 internees to the Monigo concentration camp near Treviso in Italy.[3] Whether these changes resulted in a different absolute number of internees or there was a small exchange of prisoners with other camps is unclear.

By mid-to late June 1943, according to Italian sources there were only 113 people—103 Jews, 1 Orthodox Christian, and 9 Catholics—held in Postira, whereas an additional 118 prisoners were counted in San Martino, including 107 Jews, 4 Orthodox Christians, and 7 Catholics.[4] The number of children was reduced to 4, whereas that of men rose to 107 and that of women to 121. One may presume that some of the children were recategorized as adults. As far as is known, the Italians did not murder any prisoners in the small camps. At least in the beginning, there existed contacts between the inhabitants of the island and the prisoners, so the non-Jewish villagers knew about them.

In March 1943, the Italian Second Army closed the camps at Boli, Néresi, and San Pietro della Brazza, and the one at Milona in April. The inmates from these camps were brought to Postira and San Martino. The last two camps on Brazza Island were dissolved when the prisoners were transferred to the Arbe camp on June 27, 1943. This transfer may have taken place via Split, from where the inmates were dispatched together with the Lesina Island prisoners, who had already been brought to the Dalmatian port city.

SOURCES No monographic study on the Brazza Island camps is

available, but there are a few works that mention them in connection with the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia. Some information can be found in Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR* (Belgrade: Saveza jevrskih opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Duško Kečkemet, "Transit Camps for Jews in Areas under Italian Occupation," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism— Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 117–128; and Milan Ristović, *U potrazi za utočištem: Jugoslovenski jevreji u bekstru od holokausta 1941–45* (Belgrade: Službeni List SRJ, 1998). From Italian sources, Davide Rodog no, *Il nuove ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003), has assembled the official estimate of the prisoners on Brazza Island. In German, the camps are mentioned in the second volume of Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993). The camps are briefly mentioned in Marija Vulescica, "Kroatien," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*: *Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9: 313–336.

Primary sources on the Brazza Island camps can be found in USSME (fondo M3, B. 64, fasc. Campi di concentramento; and B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia); ASdMAE (Fondo Lancellotti); CDEC (collection G-1, Riconoscimenti benemeriti dell'opera di soccorso Fondo Israel Kalk); NARA (T-821, Records of the Italian Armed Forces); JIM-Bg; and YVA (collection O-10, Yugoslavia). Some USSME documentation is reproduced online at www.campifascisti.it. Under its Croatian name, VHA holds eight testimonies by Brazza Island camp survivors. The published diary of Franjo Spitzer is Ervin Sinkó, *Bezúzott háborús napló, 1939–1944*, ed. István Bosnyák (Újvidék: Jugoszláviai Magyar Művelődési Társaság, 2000). A published testimony on the San Martino camp is Nada and Vlado Salzberger, "The Osijek Flying Squad," in Aleksandar Gaon, ed., *We Survived … Yugoslav Jews on the Holocaust*, trans. Stephen Agnew and Jelena Babšek, 3 vols. (Belgrade: Jewish Historical Museum, 2005), 1:

144–153.

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Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. II Armata, Supersloda, "Situazione internati civili alla data 29 Dicembre 1942-XXI," USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

2. II Armata, Supersloda, "Situazione internati civili alla del 1e Febbraio 1942-XXI," USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

3. II Armata, Intendenza del Supersloda, Ufficio prison-ieri di guerra, Ogg.: "trasferimente internati civili," April 25, 1943, USSME, fondo M3, B. 64, fasc. Campi di concentramento, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

4. II Armata, Supersloda, "Situazione internati civili alla data 1 Giugno 1943-XXI," USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

BUCCARI

Buccari (Croatian: Kakar) is a small town on the coast of Dalmatia roughly 126 kilometers (79 miles) southwest of Zagreb. During the Italian occupation of Slovenia it became part of the province of Lubiana and was annexed directly to the Kingdom of Italy. The Superior Command of the Armed Forces, "Slovenia and Dalmatia" (*Comando Superiore FF. AA. "Slovenia e Dalmazia,"* or Supersloda), set up a concentration camp at Buccari for the internment of family members of "rebel Croats"; that is, family members of Yugoslav Partisans kept there as hostages. Together with the Porto Re internment camp, Buccari came under the jurisdiction of the Italian V Army Corps of the Italian Second Army. The decision to build the camp was made between January and February 1942. On March 10, 1942, the camp contained 53 people, all relatives of "rebel Croats."

A document of the military administration office Intendancy (*Intendenza*) of Supersloda, from April 20, 1943, relating to the transfer of interned civilians, established that the non-Jewish internees of the camp would be "carefully cleaned, because there were a few cases of typhus [*tifo*]," and then transferred.[1] According to historian Davide Rodogno, on April 15, 1943, there were 861 internees at Buccari: 460 men, 334 women, 40 boys, and 27 girls. In a document of April 20, 1943, the Interior Ministry refused permission to transport sick prisoners into Italy, because Italian law prevented the entry of foreigners without valid passports and consular visas into the territory of the kingdom. The document went on: "[In cases such as] the camps of Porto Re and Buccari [where] the people involved are predominantly of the Jewish race, the solution appears even more difficult due to noted principal policies which prohibitively forbid the entrance of foreign Jews into national territory."[2]

On April 30, 1943, there were 893 inmates in the camp, of whom the non-Jews, numbering 842, were subsequently transferred.[3] The camp closed in July 1943.

SOURCES No specific studies exist for the camp of Buccari, but minimal reference to it can be found in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Internamento e deportazione dei civili jugoslavi (1941–43)," in Costantino Di Sante, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Italia* (Milan: Angeli, 2001), p. 154; Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 136; and Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine Mediterraneo: Le politische di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)*, preface by Philippe Burin (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2003), p. 425.

The archival sources on Buccari come from ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 109 and 134; and USSME, "Massime" M3, B. 64.

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Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTES

1. USSME, "Massime" M3, B. 64, cited in Davide Rodog no, *Il nuovo ordine Mediterraneo*, p. 425.
2. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B.109.
3. USSME, "Massime" M3, B. 64, Comando II Armata al v CdA e all'Intendenza, May 31, 1943, as cited in Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine Mediterraneo*, p. 425.

CIGHINO AND TREBUSSA INFERIORE

In February 1942, the Italian Second Army established a camp at Cighino (Slovenian: Čiginj; Gorica province; today: Nova Gorica), 4 kilometers (more than 2 miles) south of Tolmin and almost 63 kilometers (39 miles) northeast of Llubljana. As part of the same command structure, the Italian authorities set up a similar but smaller camp at Trebussa Inferiore (Dolenja Trebuša), almost 13 kilometers (8 miles) northeast of Cighino. The two provisional camps held suspected Slovenian resisters from the Llubljana area.[1]

Cighino was designed to hold 600 prisoners in a single, barbed-wire enclosed barrack; it reached capacity in March 1943. To enhance security, the windows were bricked in, and a high wall was erected; the prisoners were only permitted to go outside the dark barracks for a half hour each day. They slept on wooden bunks. The Italian authorities did not issue uniforms, so the inmates wore what ever clothing they had. The Second Army's cut in bread rations for prisoners of war (POWs) in March 1943 affected the Slovenes held at both Cighino and Trebussa Inferiore.

Like Cighino, Trebussa Inferiore was a barrack camp, but with a capacity of only 400. In April 1942, both camps were closed, and the prisoners were dispatched to Gonars, nearly 50 kilometers (31 miles) southwest of Tolmin. At the time, Cighino had 400 prisoners, the other 200 having already been transferred to other Italian-run camps, including Arbe (Rab Island).

SOURCES The camps at Cighino and Trebussa Inferiore are briefly described in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *Renicci: Un campo di concentramento in riva al Tevere* (Milan: Mursia, 2003); Luciano Patat, *Percorsi della memoria civile: La Resistenza nella provincia di Gorizia* (Udine: Istituto friulano per la storia del movimento di liberazione, 2005); Francesco Caccamo and Luciano Monzali, eds., *L'occupazione italiana della Iugoslavia, 1941–1943* (Florence: Le Lettere, 2008); Fabio

Galluccio, *I lager in Italia: La memoria sepolta nei duecento luoghi di deportazione fascisti*, 2nd ed. (Civezzano: Nonluoghi, 2003); Daniele Finzi, *La vita quotidiana di un campo di concentramento fascista: Ribelli sloveni nel querceto di Renicci-Anghiari (Arezzo)* (Rome: Corocci, 2004) (eBook); Alessandra Kersevan, *Un campo di concentramento fascista: Gonars 1942–1943* (Udine: Kappa Vu, 2003); Vitomil Zupan, *Menuet za gitaru: U dvadeset i pet pucnjeva* (Zagreb: Globus, 1985); and Ivan Kovačić, "Problem broja žrtava fašističkog logora Kampor na otoku Rabu, 1942–1943. Godine," *VDAR* 40 (1998): 243–287.

Primary sources documenting the Cighino and Trebussa Inferiore camps can be found in USSME, fondo Diari Storici II Guerra Mondiale, SMRE, Racc. 667, Uff. PG; and ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), folder 7. The latter documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTE

1. Pero Damjanović, "Lager Ciginj (Campo di concentramento Cighino)," April 29, 1976, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 7, Doc. No. 82205337.

CUPARI

In November 1942, following an order by Benito Mussolini for the imprisonment of Jews in Italian-occupied Croatia, the Italian Second Army established a camp in a place south of Dubrovnik called Kupari (Italian: Cupari).[1] A few weeks earlier the Italian VI Army Corps, which included the Dubrovnik region, had commandeered the Kupari Hotel to house the inmates. Dubrovnik is approximately 397 kilometers (246 miles) southeast of Zagreb.

Along with the Gravosa and Mezzo Island camps, Cupari was one of the Dubrovnik camps, which together held almost 1,800 Jews from the city of Dubrovnik and from Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Cupari camp primarily detained Jews from Bosnia and 117 people previously imprisoned in Gacko (Bosnia-Herzegovina). In addition to the Yugoslav Jews, there also were German and Austrian refugees imprisoned in Cupari. The Jews in Cupari did not have to perform forced labor for the Italians.

According to Italian reports, on December 29, 1942, there were 294 Croat Jews imprisoned in the Kupari Hotel in Cupari.[2] In February 1943, the number of people interned in the hotel rose to 420, of whom 324 were listed by the Italians as Jews, along with 81 Catholics, 10 Protestants, 1 Orthodox Christian, and 4 Muslims. Altogether, there were 202 men, 201 women, and 17 children internees. Historian Davide Rodogno has established that the officially registered number of prisoners rose to 428 by April 15, 1943. At this point, Italian sources list 422 as Jews, 5 Catholics, and 1 Orthodox Christian. The number of men rose slightly to 204 and that of women rose to 209, whereas the number of children decreased to 15. On June 27, 1943, the number of Jewish prisoners increased to 445, of whom 439 were Jews, 5 Catholics, and 1 Orthodox Christian.[3] Surprisingly, the number of men decreased to 193 and that of women to 204, whereas 48 children were then imprisoned. According to historian Milan Ristović, however, the Italians accommodated about 900 Jews in Cupari. The discrepancy between the official number given by the Italian occupiers and the

actual number of prisoners is found in numerous Italian-run camps in Croatia.

Tenente Riccardo Ricci was the commandant of all Dubrovnik region camps. His deputy was Favoloro. The guards were carabinieri.

Rudi Bier served as the prisoner capo. He maintained contact with the Italian camp leader and had a deputy named Maestro. In addition, a Jew from Sarajevo named Sprung was in charge of the mail, which was an influential position because the packages sent from Dubrovnik brought essential aid to the prisoners. Another Jew named Icković from Doboj worked as the chief cook and was responsible for prisoner food supplies.

The prisoners pooled their financial resources to purchase additional food through the Italian Army. In addition, care packages arrived from the Dubrovnik Jewish community and from friends or relatives of the prisoners. Through these means, a small but sufficient supply of food was assured for all of the prisoners. The prisoners also organized cultural events to raise morale.

Historian Klaus Voigt reports that from the very beginning the prisoners in Cupari were completely isolated from the local population, but some survivors report that at least in November 1942 they were still able to walk to neighboring places. Although some authors note that there was no barbed wire around the camp, historian Duško Kečkemet reports that Cupari was the only Dubrovnik camp surrounded by barbed wire; thus relationships could not easily exist between the prisoners and the local population.

The Cupari camp was dissolved in July 1943 after all of the prisoners were transferred to the Arbe camp on Rab Island, presumably together with the Jewish prisoners from Gravosa.[4]

SOURCES No monographic study on the Cupari camp is available, but there are a few works that mention it in connection with the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia. Some information can be found in Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR* (Belgrade: Saveza jevrskih opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Duško Kečkemet, “Transit

Camps for Jews in Areas under Italian Occupation," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 117–128; and Milan Ristović, *U potrazi za utočištem: Jugoslovenski jevreji u bekstru od holokausta 1941–45* (Belgrade: Službeni List SRJ, 1998). From Italian sources, Davide Rodogno, *Il nuove ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003), has assembled the official estimate of the prisoners at Cupari. In German, the camp is mentioned in the second volume of Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993).

Primary sources on the Cupari camp can be found in USSME (fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia); ASd-MAE (Fondo Lancellotti); CDEC (collection G-1, Riconoscimenti benemeriti dell'opera di soccorso Fondo Israel Kalk); NARA (T-821, Records of the Italian Armed Forces); JIM-Bg; and YVA (collection O-10, Yugoslavia). Some USSME documentation is reproduced online at www.campifascisti.it. Available at USHMMA are RG-61.011M, Ustaša Supervisory Office—Jasenovac, Lobor-Grad, Gornja Rijeka, Kruščica, and Kupari Concentration Camps, microcopied from HDA; and an oral history interview with Iakov Kayun, RG-50.120*0073, n.d. VHA holds 18 survivor testimonies on the Cupari camp.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. VI CdA, Ogg.: "Internati ebrei. Disciplina," USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

2. II Armata, Supersloda, "Situazione internati civili alla data 29 Dicembre 1942-XXI," USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

3. II Armata, Supersloda, “Situazione internati civili alla data 1 Giugno 1943-XXI,” USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

4. Ibid.

CURZOLA ISLAND

In November 1942, following an order by Benito Mussolini for the imprisonment of Jews in Italian-occupied Croatia, the Italian Second Army established two camps on the Adriatic island of Korčula (Italian: Curzola), in the eponymously named village and in the village of Vela Luka (Valle Grande or Vallegrande). Curzola is 83 kilometers (52 miles) southeast of Split and 330 kilometers (205 miles) southeast of Zagreb. After the official establishment of camps on the island, the Italian authorities described them collectively as a "quarantine camp for Jews at Curzola."[1]

Jews were imprisoned in the Curzola Island camps beginning in 1942. As early as August 1941, however, the Italian authorities from the city of Split sent very small transports of Jews to the island under house arrest: these Jews were refugees from occupied Yugoslavia fleeing German and Ustaša persecution. Among them were Jews who had immigrated to Yugoslavia from Central Europe before the war. Larger transports were inaugurated with a first group of 50 Jews on November 20, 1941. Five more transports followed until there were 740 Jews interned in vacant hotels and private houses in Curzola and Valle Grande by December 15, 1941. In Valle Grande, a hachshara (Zionist collective) facility that existed before April 1941 as a Jewish fishery school was also used to hold internees. Toward the end of 1941, the first 100 Jews were transferred from Curzola through Trieste to Fort Vittorio Emmanuel, a camp near Modane in Italian-occupied France; other transfers followed. Beginning in November 1942 stricter rules were imposed on the Jews: they were confined to their quarters at night and during the day had to stay within a surrounding area of 150 meters (about 500 feet). According to survivor Alexander Mošić, the curfew was in force all day for Jews sent to the island, but ran from dusk to dawn for local inhabitants.[2] In January 1943, the number of internees in Curzola and Valle Grande stood at 534.[3] The total number of Jews held on Curzola Island declined to 506 by August 1943.

It is not known whether the Italian authorities subjected the Jews to forced labor. Until November 1942, however, young Jews in Valle Grande worked in the village as a means of support.[4]

In 1941, the linguist Angelo (Anđelko) Farhi, who spoke good Italian, represented the Jews in Curzola before the occupying authorities. In December 1941 the Italians transferred him to the Fort Vittorio Emmanuel camp, together with others. Afterward, the Italian-speaking trader Heinrich (Hajnrih) Levi took charge. He organized contact not only with the occupying authorities but also with the Jewish community in Split. He also created facilities such as a communal kitchen for Jewish youths in one of the internment buildings, and a school. In Valle Grande, the former bank director Jozef Maestro together with two assistants represented the approximately 300 Jews held there to the Italian guards, who were led by a non-commissioned officer (NCO) of the carabinieri. Avram Papo headed a communal kitchen for the Jews accommodated in the hachshara facility.

On January 25, 1943, in Valle Grande, the Italian authorities shot five inhabitants and three Jews—Isak Kabiljo, Avram Roman, and Leon Romano—among others, in reprisal for a partisan attack that killed seven carabinieri. This incident seems to be the only case in which the carabinieri murdered imprisoned Jews. However, based on a denunciation in the fall of 1942, the carabinieri arrested the brothers Fedor and Boris Njemirovski from Zagreb and brought them to a prison in Šibenik. Fedor subsequently died from the effects of mistreatment suffered in prison.

Given that around 600 Jews were confined to Curzola after November 1942, the mortality rate amounted to 0.5 percent.

Interned with his parents at Valle Grande, Fred Schiller was one of the young Jewish men rounded up after a partisan attack. Taken by motor launch to Curzola with 30 others, he recalled that the carabinieri handcuffed them to each other, two at a time. One day after reaching the Curzola jail, the suspects were released thanks to protests by their fellow internees, who warned the Italian authorities of repercussions in the case of the illegal killing of internees who were protected by the Geneva Convention.[5]

Under Captain Alfredo Roncoroni, the commandant of the Stazione Carabinieri in Curzola, the carabinieri kept watch on the

Jews. Roncoroni also supervised the NCOs assigned to Valle Grande and was thus responsible for both camps. On various lists of Italian war criminals alleged to have committed crimes in Yugoslavia, Roncoroni was accused of murdering people in Dalmatia and on Curzola Island in 1943. However, he never came to trial.

In Curzola, Josef Alkalaj from Sarajevo and Isak Kučo from Belgrade founded a sort of cooperative in the Bon Hepos Hotel that accommodated about 100 Jews. In addition, beginning in 1942, there existed a school, in which imprisoned Jewish students were active as teachers. There were lectures, such as the one in German by Franz Theodor Csokor about the history of art. There were also musical performances by Samuel Čačkez from Mostar and by the singers Maks Savin and Zvonko Glika, supported by Zagreb composer Bruno Bjelinski. Such activities mostly ceased in November 1942. From 1941 on, the Jewish community in Split and the Italian Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM) helped support the Jews on Curzola Island. Additionally, Leon Alkalaj organized a supply of bread from Italian soldiers, which supplemented the daily ration of 300 grams (10.6 ounces) per Jewish family.

At the beginning of 1943, 15 young Jews joined the Partisans. Because they could not be removed from the island, however, they had to return at night to their assigned accommodations. Only after Italy's capitulation was the group finally able to join the Partisans.

Because of the more liberal conditions of their stay before November 1942, some close contacts existed between the imprisoned Jews and some of the island inhabitants, especially in Valle Grande. In this way toward the end of 1942 the Jewish internees found out from a Franciscan monk named Fra Vid (Andro Vid Mihičić, later a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb) that the Germans demanded from the Italians the deportation of Jews from occupied Croatia.

The Italian authorities dissolved the Curzola Island camps at the time of the September 1943 Armistice. Most of the inmates were transported by ship to liberated southern Italy. Some Jews joined the Partisans, whereas 88 remained on the island. Shortly after the

German occupation, on December 23, 1943, the remaining Jews on Curzola fled with groups of Partisans to the island of Vis, and from there they were brought to liberated Italy, with only one falling into German hands.

Among the 88 Jews remaining on the island were Fred Schiller and his parents. Caught in the crossfire between Partisans and the retreating carabinieri, they took shelter in an abandoned house and were able to escape the island on a barge in October 1943. Their harrowing crossing of the Adriatic ended with their landing behind British lines, after which they went to the displaced persons (DP) camp at Carbonara, near Bari.[6]

SOURCES To date, there is no monographic study on the Curzola Island camps, but there are a few works that mention them in connection with the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia, such as: Duško Kečkemet, "Transit Camps for Jews in Areas under Italian Occupation," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 117–128; and the second volume of Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993). Information on the reprisals against partisan attacks can be found in Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade: N.P., 1957).

Primary sources on the Curzola Island camps can be found in USSME (fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia; and fasc. Campi di concentramento); ASd-MAE (Fondo Lancellotti); CDEC (collection G-1, Riconoscimenti benemeriti dell'opera di soccorso Fondo Israel Kalk); NARA (T-821, Records of the Italian Armed Forces); JIM-Bg; and YVA (collection O-10, Yugoslavia). Some USSME documentation is reproduced online at www.campifascisti.it. USHMMA holds the memoir of a Curzola Island survivor, Fred Schiller with Janice Blumberg, "Dancing through the Minefields" (unpub. MSS, n.d.), under RG-02.043. Franz Theodor Csokor published a memoir of his experiences on Curzola Island, *Als Zivilist im Balkankrieg*, ed. Franz Richard

Reiter (1947; Vienna: Elephant Verlag, 2000). As a non-Jew, he was able to move freely about the island. In English, there is a description of the circumstances of one of the Jewish internees by Aleksandar Mošić: "Jews on Korčula," in Aleksandar Gaon, ed., *We Survived … Yugoslav Jews on the Holocaust*, trans. Stephen Agnew and Jelena Babšek, 3 vols. (Belgrade: Jewish Historical Museum, 2005), 1: 208–222.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. Supersloda to VI CdA, Ogg.: "Campo contumaciale per ebrei a Curzola," March 30, 1943, USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

2. Mošić, "Jews on Korčula," *We Survived*, 1: 213.

3. Colonello Carlo Cigliani, VI CdA, "Ebrei residenti in territori della prima zona (internati a Curzola e Vallegrande)," January 18, 1943, USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Campi di concentramento, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

4. Ibid.

5. USHMMA, RG-02.043, Schiller with Blumberg, "Dancing through the Minefields," pp. 79–80, 86.

6. Ibid., pp. 88–89.

GRAVOSA

In November 1942, following an order by Benito Mussolini for the imprisonment of Jews in Italian-occupied Croatia, the Italian Second Army established a camp in a neighborhood of Dubrovnik called Gruž (Italian: Gravosa).[1] Dubrovnik is approximately 389 kilometers (242 miles) southeast of Zagreb. Toward the end of October 1942, the Italian VI Army Corps, which occupied the Dubrovnik region, had commandeered the Vreg and Petak Hotels for this purpose.

Together with the camps at Cupari and Mezzo Island, Gravosa held nearly 1,800 Jews from the city of Dubrovnik and from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Of those, up to 100 Jews from Dubrovnik and its environs were accommodated in Gravosa.

According to Italian documentation, on December 29, 1942, 53 Jews listed as Croat Jews were imprisoned in Gravosa.[2] On February 1, 1943, there were an additional 53 prisoners—16 men, 26 women, and 11 children; 35 of these prisoners were listed as Jews, and the rest were Catholics (14) and Orthodox Christians (4). According to historian Davide Rodogno, as of April 15, 1943, there were 80 prisoners at Gravosa, with the addition of 12 men, 13 women, and 2 children. Of those 80 prisoners, 58 were listed as Jews, with 14 listed as Catholics and 8 as Orthodox Christians. By contrast, Milan Ristović places the number of prisoners at approximately 200. The differing estimates possibly reflect the well-known discrepancy between the numbers claimed in Italian documents and the actual number of prisoners.

Officer Riccardo Ricci was the commandant for all camps in the Dubrovnik area. The guards in Gravosa were carabinieri.

The prisoners pooled their personal funds to procure additional food from the Italian Army, which ensured a small but sufficient food supply. Historian Klaus Voigt reports that from the very beginning, the prisoners were completely isolated from the local population. As a result, close relationships did not develop

between the two groups. It is not known whether the Jews in Gravosa had to perform forced labor for the Italians.

According to Italian sources, there were no prisoners at Gravosa at the beginning of June 1943, so it can be assumed that the camp had been dissolved by this time. It is possible that the prisoners were brought first to the Mezzo Island camp and then deported together with its prisoners to the Arbe camp on Rab Island. An alternative, but less likely, claim is that the prisoners at the Cupari camp were brought to Gravosa in June 1943 and moved together with Gravosa's prisoners by steamship to Rab Island. The Italians, however, still listed prisoners as being held in Cupari toward the end of June, so this camp cannot have been dissolved before Gravosa.[3]

SOURCES No monographic study on the Gravosa camp is available, but there are a few works that mention it in connection with the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia. Some information can be found in Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR* (Belgrade: Saveza jevrskih opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Duško Kečkemet, "Transit Camps for Jews in Areas under Italian Occupation," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 117–128; and Milan Ristović, *U potrazi za utočištem: Jugoslovenski jevreji u bekstru od holokausta 1941–45* (Belgrade: Službeni List SRJ, 1998). From Italian sources, Davide Rodogno, *Il nuove ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003), has assembled the official estimate of the prisoners at Gravosa. In German, the camp is mentioned in the second volume of Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993).

Primary sources on the Gravosa camp can be found in USSME (fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia); ASd-MAE (Fondo Lancellotti); CDEC (collection G-1, Riconoscimenti benemeriti dell'opera di soccorso Fondo Israel Kalk); NARA (T-821, Records of the Italian Armed Forces); JIM-

Bg; and YVA (collection O-10, Yugoslavia). Some USSME documentation is reproduced online at www.campifascisti.it.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Fred Flatow

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1. VI CdA, Ogg.: "Internati ebrei. Disciplina," USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

2. II Armata, Supersloda, "Situazione internati civili alla data 29 Dicembre 1942-XXI," USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

3. II Armata, Supersloda, "Situazione internati civili alla data 1 Giugno 1943-XXI," USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

LESINA ISLAND

In November 1942, following an order by Benito Mussolini for the imprisonment of Jews in Italian-occupied Croatia, the Italian Second Army established three camps on the Adriatic island of Hvar (Italian: Lesina). Lesina Island is just over 303 kilometers (188 miles) southeast of Zagreb. The camps were set up in the village of Lesina, as well as Jelsa (Italian: Gelsa) and Stari Grad (Italian: Cittàvecchia). Plans to detain Jews fleeing to Italian-occupied territory in Croatia on Lesina Island, among others, were devised as early as the summer of 1942. Ultimately the Italian XVIII Army Corps, which occupied the region, commandeered small houses and hotels toward the end of October 1942 and made them available for the imprisonment of Jews.[1] The camps were designed to hold 500 detainees.

Beginning in November 1942, Jews were transferred to various sites on Lesina Island. The imprisoned Jews were former Yugoslav citizens, who mostly originated from Bosnia and more specifically from Sarajevo and Mostar. The Italian authorities categorized the internees as Jews (*confesione religiosa: Ebrei*) and Croats (*razza: Croati*). In the village of Lesina, Jews were accommodated in the Slavija, Palaca, Olevan, and Kovačić Hotels. The internees were permitted restricted movement in daytime, but were under strict curfew at night.

At the Lesina Island camps, the carabinieri guarded the prisoners, whereas the Italian Second Army was responsible for providing food for the Jews. However, the imprisoned women organized communal kitchens in the buildings, so that basic supplies were available for all and no one died of starvation. Survivor Jeti Svarc recalled that the families were assigned rooms, in her case at the Slavija Hotel.[2] It is not known whether the prisoners were called on to perform forced labor.

There were sporadic escape attempts from the Lesina Island camps. Some of the escapees were recaptured by carabinieri and

returned to the camps. The local population knew of the camps, but contact between the prisoners and the inhabitants of the local places was almost impossible because the Jews were watched by the carabinieri at all times and because in daytime they were allowed only to walk in a limited area around their buildings (a distance of 150 meters or almost 500 feet). The Italian authorities, Svarc recalled, only granted permission for leaving the hotel's premises under exceptional circumstances.[3]

According to Italian documentation, 344 Jews were imprisoned in Lesina as of December 29, 1942.[4] A report from December 8, 1942, by the Italian VI Army Corps noted that there were 13 Jews at Cittàvecchia and 130 at Gelsa (here spelled Jelsa).[5] This population was reduced to 215—90 men, 110 women, and 15 children—by February 1, 1943.[6] Historian Davide Rodogno has established that by April 15, 1943, the number of detainees rose again to 365, of whom 342 were Jews, 22 were Catholics (who were imprisoned as "racial" Jews), and there was 1 Muslim. There were 120 men, 142 women, and 103 children. This increase in population was probably related to the dissolution of the Cittàvecchia camp and the transfer of its inmates to the village of Lesina.

There were 364 prisoners on Lesina Island in late June, an unaccounted-for reduction of one internee since the April 1943 report.[7] Contradicting these numbers, historian Jaša Romano reports that 404 Jews were imprisoned on Lesina Island. It is not known whether any Jews in the camps on Lesina Island died as a result of persecution.

On June 23, 1943, the camps on Lesina Island were dissolved, and the prisoners were transferred to Arbe on Rab Island. According to other reports the inmates had already been transferred to Split in May 1943, where they were imprisoned in barracks near the port and then shipped to Rab together with Jews from the Brazza Island camp. This claim, however, contradicts Italian sources, which still indicate the presence of imprisoned Jews at Lesina in June 1943. Presumably the camp in Cittàvecchia and probably also the one in Gelsa were already dissolved in March 1943, and the Jews imprisoned there were transferred to the village of Lesina. Svarc recalled, that some detainees, including herself, were sent directly to Arbe in March 1943.[8]

SOURCES No monographic study on the Lesina Island camps is available, but there are a few works that mention them in connection with the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia. Some information can be found in Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR* (Belgrade: Saveza jevrskih opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Duško Kečkemet, "Transit Camps for Jews in Areas under Italian Occupation," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 117–128; and Milan Ristović, *U potrazi za utočištem: Jugoslovenski jevreji u bekstru od holokausta 1941–45* (Belgrade: Službeni List SRJ, 1998). From Italian sources, Davide Rodogno, *Il nuove ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003), has assembled the official estimate of the prisoners at Lesina Island. In German, the camps are mentioned in the second volume of Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993).

Primary sources on the Lesina Island camps can be found in USSME (fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia); ASd-MAE (Fondo Lancellotti); CDEC (collection G-1, Riconoscimenti benemeriti dell'opera di soccorso Fondo Israel Kalk); NARA (T-821, Records of the Italian Armed Forces); JIM-Bg; and YVA (collection O-10, Yugoslavia). Some USSME documentation is reproduced online at www.campifascisti.it. USHMMA holds a testimony by Jeti Svarc on the Lesina Island camps (RG-50.459*0012, oral history interview with Lea Popovic, Blimka Rosic, and Jeti Svarc, April 18, 1997).

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. VI CdA, Ogg.: "Internati ebrei. Disciplina," USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. II Armata, Supersloda, “Situazione internati civili alla data 29 Dicembre 1942-XXI,” USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

5. VI CdA, Ogg.: “Internamento ebrei a Lesina,” December 8, 1942, USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

6. II Armata, Supersloda, “Situazione internati civili alla del 1e Febbraio 1942-XXI,” USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

7. II Armata, Supersloda, “Situazione internati civili alla data 1 Giugno 1943-XXI,” USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

8. USHMMA, RG-50.459*0012, oral history interview with Lea Popovic, Blimka Rosic, and Jeti Svarc, April 18, 1997.

LUBIANA

In April 1941, following the invasion of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Italy annexed part of Slovenia and established the province of Lubiana (Slovenian: Ljubljana), which is located 116 kilometers (72 miles) west-northwest of Zagreb. The population immediately responded by engaging in partisan warfare against the occupiers. The Fascist regime's reaction was swift and violent, including repression, killings, deportations, and forced italianization. A remand prison was set up close to the Italian Second Army's military tribunal, seated in Lubiana, with the first available source listing the names of 56 people detained there from April 25, 1941. The detainees were arrested on the orders of the Supreme Command (*Commando Supremo*) or because the war tribunal had brought charges against them. In the case of the former, the reasons for arrest were not mentioned, but in the latter case the alleged offenses included "anti-Italian demonstrations," "contempt for the flag and image of the Duce," "possession of arms and explosives," or "failure to deliver material of the former Yugoslav Army."[1]

With the escalation of violence in Slovenia, the people of Lubiana found themselves imprisoned in their own city. On the orders of the High Commissioner of the Lubiana province, Emilio Grazioli, and at the urging of the commander of the Italian Second Army, Generale di Corpo d'Armata Mario Robotti, the occupying forces encircled the city with barbed-wire fencing on the evening of February 22, 1942. The fence was soon dotted with watchtowers and checkpoints, and the city was divided into five sectors.

The former Belgian Army barracks (Slovenian: *Belgiska kasarna*) served as a provisional prison, transit camp, and interrogation center. Located in Sector 3 at the corner of Metelkova and Tabor Streets, it was the headquarters of the 21st Infantry Division, "Grenadiers of Sardinia." The Italian authorities renamed the barracks after King Victor Emanuel III (*Caserma*

Vittorio Emanuele III, V. E. barracks). It is impossible to tell with exact certainty when the prison started operating. A document dated February 11, 1942, mentions a list of 17 people transferred to the prison for interrogation.[2]

In February 1942, the V. E. barracks were used to intern civilians arrested during the first big roundup in Lubiana. The same fate met those arrested en masse in the summer of 1942. There were 645 civilian detainees at the site as of November 1942. The overcrowding, wrote Tenente Mario Rossi of the 375th Section of the carabinieri and who was responsible for Sector 3, led to a scabies outbreak. He urged the removal of some 300 inmates to other facilities as a health measure.[3] The camp was the entry point for the detention of Slovenian prisoners. Their subsequent paths of persecution included detention in a succession of sites, such as Cighino, Visco, Arbe (Rab), and/or Gonars. For some time, the V. E. barracks also served as a holding center for hostages to be shot in retaliation for resistance activity.

After the Armistice of September 8, 1943, the Wehrmacht occupied Lubiana (German: Laibach) and maintained the city's isolation while also stepping up violence against the already very stressed population. Lubiana was liberated by Yugoslav Partisans on May 9, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Victor Emanuel III barracks and the persecution of the Lubiana population include Alessandra Kersevan, *Lager italiani: Pulizia etnica e campi di concentramento fascisti per civili jugoslavi 1941–1943* (Rome: Casa Editrice Nutrimenti, 2008); Metka Gombač, "I bambini sloveni nei camp di concentramento italiani (1942–1943)," *DEP* 3 (July 2005): 49–63, available at www.unive.it/media/allegato/dep/Ricerche/4-I_bambini_sloveni_nei_campi_di_concentramento_italiani.pdf; Metka Gombač, Boris M. Gombač, and Dario Mattiussi, *Als mein Vater starb: Zeichnungen und Zeugnisse von Kindern aus Konzentrationslagern der italienischen Ostgrenze (1942–1943)*, trans. Karl Stuhlpfarrer und Andrea Wernig (Klagenfurt, Austria: Wieser Verlag, 2009); Tone Ferenc, *La provincia "italiana" di Lubiana, documenti 1941–1942: Studi e*

documenti (Udine: Istituto friulano per la storia del movimento di liberazione, 1994); Tone Ferenc and Pavel Kodrič, *Si ammazza troppo poco: Condannati a morte, ostaggi, passati per le armi nella provincia di Lubiana; 1941–1943* (Ljubljana: Društvo piscev zgodovine NOB; Società degli scrittori della storia della Lotta di Liberazione, 1999); Giuseppe Piemontese, *Ventinove mesi di occupazione della provincia di Lubiana: Considerazioni e documenti* (Ljubljana: N.P., 1946); and *Report on Italian Crimes against Yugoslavia and Its People* (Belgrade: State Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes, 1946).

Primary sources documenting the Victor Emanuel III barracks and the persecution of the Lubiana population can be found in A-RS, AS 1775 and AS 1840; and AUSMME, fondo H-8, "Crimini di guerra." USHMMA holds two oral history interviews (in Slovenian) relating to Italian persecution in Lubiana: USHMMA, RG-50.592*0031, oral history interview with Miloš Poljanšek, November 23, 2009; and RG-50.592*0001, oral history interview with Dušan Stefančič, January 31, 2009.

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Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Applicazione decreto del Duce del 19 gennaio 1942 ("Si stabilisce che a norma del Decreto del Duce del 19 gennaio 1942, la difesa delle carceri giudiziarie di Lubiana venga assunta dalle autorità militari"), January 19, 1942, A-RS, AS 1840 660.

2. "Elenco nominativo dei fermati per accertamenti detenuti nelle carceri del 2° Reggimento Granatieri e in quelle della Caserma Vittorio Emanuele III di Lubiana," February 11, 1942, A-RS, AS 1840 5.

3. Rossi to XXI CdA, November 19, 1942, A-RS, AS 1775 661, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

MAMULA ISLAND AND PREVLAKA

Established by the Italian VI Army Corps command's Ordinance No. 1297 on March 30, 1942, the concentration camps for Slavs in Mamula and Prevlaka were located, respectively, on the island of Mamula, 6.3 kilometers long and 2 kilometers wide (3.9 by 1.2 miles), in today's southern Montenegro, and on the peninsula of Prevlaka in the south of Croatia at the entrance to the Bay of Kotor (Bocche di Cattaro). Both camps were about 60 kilometers (37 miles) west of Podgorica. The two camps constituted an "integrated system" with complementary and intertwined functions.

In the nineteenth century, the Austro-Hungarians had constructed sturdy fortifications in Mamula to protect the bay against attack. These fortifications, isolated by sea, came to serve as a residence for internees in rooms previously used for storing guns and with windows overlooking the sea. The doors of the cells were only opened during the hours when the inmates were permitted to go out.

The Prevlaka camp, situated in a Yugoslav Royal Army barracks, was also modified to accommodate those internees whose freedom had to be restricted for security reasons; according to Ordinance No. 1297, they could be both men and women. To proceed with arrests, it was not necessary to prove guilt beforehand, because the mere suspicion of being an enemy of the Italian regime sufficed. The civil authorities could investigate cases even after the disposition of the internment. Many sympathizers of the Unitary People's Liberation Front (*Jedinstveni narodnooslobodilački*, JNOF) or members of Partisans' families were held hostage at Prevlaka.

The two camps held mostly civilian inmates from the zones of Kotor, Herzegovina, and Mediterranean Dalmatia. The interrogations took place at Prevlaka, and the more serious cases were sent to Mamula where the living conditions were harsher. Mamula also functioned as a prison facility where people were

incarcerated either based on a police decision made by a prefect or a provincial police chief (*questore*) or in anticipation of a military tribunal. Only in few specific cases was the direction of transfers reversed. To be sent from Mamula to Prevlaka, reasons of poor health or a special recommendation were necessary.

From the beginning, the Prevlaka camp was divided into two sectors: one that was reserved for internees coming from the region of Kotor and one for prisoners from Herzegovina and Dalmatia. In addition, some subdivisions of sectors were intended solely for men, whereas others sheltered women and children. However, on May 29, 1942, the commander of the Italian VI Army Corps, General Renzo Dalmazzo, ordered that only male detainees expected to remain in the area of Kotor for a long time be sent to Mamula. This very same instruction also stated that all those men and women whose length of internment was not specified be sent to Prevlaka. Thus, in the course of the same month, all women interned at Mamula were transferred to Prevlaka only to be replaced by prisoners coming from Herzegovina.

At the beginning of the summer of 1942, the number of internees started increasing rapidly, soon reaching several hundred, as a result of the continuous dissolution of various formations of the JNOF. These formations remained clandestinely active inside the two camps. During this period, there were more than 1,000 internees in Prevlaka, a number that remained constant according to a Yugoslavian source. However, according to historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, this number, with certain exceptions, gradually decreased over time—there were 640 internees in the camp on December 30, 1942; 497 on February 1, 1943; 283 on April 15, 1943; and 435 on June 1, 1943. Mamula held about 500 inmates from June 1942 until its dissolution. On October 30, 1942, the number stood at 493 before reaching 560 in December 1942 (of whom 380 were sent to the camp by military authorities and 180 by civil authorities). On June 25, 1943, there were 509 inmates in the camp.

As in other Italian camps set up in Yugoslavia, the life of internees in Mamula and Prevlaka was entirely dependent on the camp authorities' mood. In Prevlaka, there were two underground quarries without light or ventilation where the prisoners were sent for punishment that included spending an entire day without water

or food. In addition, the prisoners were beaten, forced to make Fascist salutes, threatened with execution, and deprived of packages they had been sent from home. One of the camp's vice-commanders, dubbed Moskorom, often drove around the camp with a gun in his hand, shouting "I want to see blood!"[1]

The living conditions in Mamula were particularly tough. Before late 1942, when the inmates were finally provided with bunk beds, there were only straw mattresses (at best) crammed in very small rooms sheltering up to 60 people each. The internees were even forbidden to use the toilet; they could only make use of an old barrel that did not have a lid and was emptied only once a day. Such poor hygienic conditions helped spread various kinds of vermin that only added to a deterioration of the already bad sanitary conditions prevailing throughout the facility.

In Prevlaka and Mamula, the daily rations for internees consisted of 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread, a soup containing 30 grams (just over an ounce) of pasta or rice, and 30 grams of cheese. A cup of amaro (Ethiopian) coffee was served in the morning. The internees only survived by receiving food packages from their families not to exceed 5 kilograms (11 pounds) in weight. However, inmates from Dalmatia and Herzegovina, and most prisoners from Prevlaka, could only receive a single package a month, weighing no more than 2 kilograms (4.4 pounds).

It should be noted here that the postal service in Mamula and Prevlaka functioned well—a rare exception in view of the general state of affairs in most other concentration camps for Slavs. Due to the efforts of the 155th Infantry Division (Emilia) under General Ugo Butta, approximately 10,000 packages reached the internees between the summer of 1942 and the autumn of 1943.

There were more than 500 deaths in Mamula and Prevlaka. This mortality rate was one of the highest among all camps in Yugoslavia. In addition, in both the concentration and transit camps located in Montenegro, including Mamula and Prevlaka, about 100 people were killed by shooting.

Following the Armistice of September 8, 1943, the camp of Mamula was dismantled while the one in Prevlaka passed into the hands of German authorities on October 1, 1943. On the same day, the Germans dissolved Prevlaka and released its prisoners.

SOURCES The following secondary sources mention the camps at Mamula and Prevlaka: Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia Fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 273–275; Alessandra Kersevan, *Lager Italiani: Pulizia Etnica e Campi di Concentramento Fascisti per Civili Jugoslavi, 1941–1943* (Roma: Nutrimenti, 2008), pp. 64, 267; and Kersevan, *Un Campo di Concentramento Fascista: Gonars 1942–1943* (Udine: Kappa Vu Edizioni, 2003), pp. 261–270.

Primary sources on the camps at Mamula and Prevlaka are found in ISI, which consist of war crimes investigation reports. Copies of these reports are found in ITS in 1.2.7.23 (Persecution Action in Serbia) as "Le camp de concentration de Prevleka" (Doc. ID 82205114–82205120); and "Le camp de concentration Mamula (Campo Mamula)" (Doc. ID 8220548–8220560). Digitized copies of these reports are available at USHMMA.

Giovanna D'Amico
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTE

1. ISI, "Le camp de concentration de Prevlaka," ITS, 1.2.7.23, Doc. ID 82205117.

MELADA

The island of Melada (Croatian: Molat) lies off the Croatian coast of Dalmatia, 32 kilometers (20 miles) southwest of the city of Zara (Zadar). When Germany and Italy attacked Yugoslavia in March 1941, it was occupied by Italian troops. After the destruction of Yugoslavia it was annexed by Italy and formed part of the Civil Governorate of Dalmatia, prefecture of Zara.

As early as June 1941, the Italians detained political and other prisoners in assembly and internment camps in the occupied Yugoslav territories. On June 27, 1942, the camp on the island of Melada was established as a central place of confinement by order of the governor of the Italian province of Dalmatia, Giuseppe Bastianini.[1] The camp was located in a bay called Jaz Cove.

The detainees were ferried to the camp from various embarkation points on the coast. In the summer of 1942, the majority of the 1,320 detainees were civilian relatives of actual or alleged Partisans, as well as "individuals dangerous to public order" as defined by the prefect of Zara.[2] In addition, 361 inhabitants of the island of Eso Piccolo (Iž Mali) were deported to Melada following the anti-Italian revolt there. Another group consisted of 250 laborers taken from the factories of Lozovac. By August 15, 1942, there were 2,337 prisoners in the camp (1,021 women, 866 men, and 450 children, of which approximately 10 were born in the camp). Even after the fall of Mussolini, groups of prisoners continued to be deported to the camp.

Guarding the island and the camp were 180 carabinieri and a few hundred soldiers, among them a company of the 158th Infantry Division ("Zara"). A few sections of the Volunteer Militia for National Security (*Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN) also guarded the camp. The first camp commandant was Commissioner of Public Security Leonardo Fantoli, who held the position until January 7, 1943. Fantoli was replaced by Carlo Sommer, who was born in Zara on August 21,

1905. Sommer worked as a Zara municipal employee; the regime described him as a "Catholic Aryan." He served as deputy head of the MVSN on inactive reserve.[3] His vice director, Antonio Amoroso, born in Bari on April 25, 1902, was an employee of the city of Milan, a "Catholic Aryan," and a deputy head of the 7th Battalion, MVSN. From February 1, 1943, the director reported directly to the provincial police chief (*questore*) of Zara, who managed the archive containing the records of prisoners from the Melada and Le Fraschette di Alatri camps. Sommer resigned at the end of August 1943, but it seems unlikely that he was replaced before Italy surrendered to the Allies on September 8. The officer in charge of medical services was Dr. Giuseppe Spinone, later replaced by Camillo Croce.

A 1-kilometer (0.6-mile) barbed-wire fence surrounded the camp, dotted by five armed watchtowers for surveillance. The camp's only two-story building served as headquarters. Initially, the camp consisted solely of tents, in which the prisoners slept on a layer of straw. The washroom lacked running water, and the five latrines soon proved insufficient. The hygienic situation was already critical by the end of August 1942. Anticipating the autumn rains, which would have made the prisoners' situation completely unsustainable, Bastianini wrote to the Interior Minister urgently requesting the transfer of at least some of the camp's 2,300 detainees. In response, 12 large wooden barracks were constructed, each on a cement base and each with a capacity of 100 people. At the end of 1942, the camp's population numbered almost 3,000, and on January 9, 1943, 280 prisoners were still living in the temporary tents. When the Melada camp became too crowded, the commandant refused to accept more prisoners, and the newcomers were sent to provisional camps near Vodizza (Vodice) and Zaravecchia (Biograd na Moru). The prisoners were not allowed to work.

Over the course of 1943 the number of prisoners declined notably with the transfer of about 2,000 inmates to camps in Italy like Le Fraschette di Alatri. In June 1943, the prefect of Zara asked the commander of the Italian Second Army, who was in military control of the zone, to remove all the detainees taken prisoner by the army. The camp was then progressively emptied, as groups of 100 prisoners at a time were set free, beginning with women, the

elderly, the infirm, and children.

The number of detainees also declined due to the extremely high mortality rate, which was a result of the terrible living conditions and reprisal shootings. The harsh living conditions included the lack of water on the arid island (less than a liter, or just over one quart, each day for each inmate for drinking and washing); scarcity of food; inadequate medical assistance; and overcrowding. Of approximately 10,000 prisoners, approximately 1,000 died, 300 of whom were shot. The firing squads conducted retribution in cases of rebellion against Italian control. With a decree of May 19, 1943, the then-prefect of Zara, Generale della Milizia Gaspero Barbera, ordered that all male detainees aged 21 to 50 years be considered hostages eligible for shooting.[4] The prefect had the decree displayed in all public offices and parish halls. On the prefecture's behalf, the camp commandant constantly updated the list of detainees who had been shot. Twenty hostages were to be executed for every Italian officer or official killed, and five for every murdered civilian loyal to the Italians. In one case, on May 22, 1943, Barbera ordered the killing of 66 inmates in retaliation for the disruption of a telegraph line. The number of hostages was reduced only after intervention by the Italian Army. The shootings mostly took place outside the camp or on the mainland. Arrival of the police boat, by which hostages were taken to the mainland for shooting, caused panic among the inmates.

The harsh conditions in the camp and the high number of shootings evoked public condemnation of the camp. The bishop of Sebenico (Šibenik), Girolamo Mileta, described the camp as "a tomb for the living" (*un sepulcro di viventi*).[5] However, conditions were less burdensome and the mortality rate somewhat lower than in other camps, such Arbe (Rab), because the prisoners were able to receive care packages from their families and the climate and resources of the area were more favorable. The island was very close and relatively well connected to the mainland, which permitted easier contact between the inmates and the rest of the population.

On September 9, 1943, after hearing of the Armistice, the guards abandoned the camp, marking the end of Melada as a detention site. A group of inmates disarmed the remaining Italian soldiers on the islands. Josip Broz Tito's Partisans successfully

evacuated most of the prisoners to the mainland by boat before German troops reached the island. The majority of the former inmates joined the Partisans, many serving in the partisan maritime detachment that operated on the Adriatic Islands under the name of the "Molat Fleet of Armed Ships."

SOURCES A detailed overview of the Melada camp can be found in Zdravko Dizdar's article, "Italian Policies toward Croatians in Occupied Territories during the Second World War," *RCH* 1 (2005): 179–210. It is partly based on Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Koncentracioni logori talijanskog okupatora u Dalmaciji i Hrvatskom primorju (1941–1943)," *Popr* 2 (1983): 247–283. The Italian-language bibliography contains material on the camp at Melada, but it is rather sparse. The most detailed information can be found in Roberto Spazzali, "Il campo di concentramento dell'isola di Melada (Molat) 1941–1943," *Rd* LXVII: 3 (1996): 210–223. There is also a mention of the camp in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 271–273. Some additional references to the Melada camp can be found in Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine Mediterraneo: Le politische di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)*, preface by Philippe Burin (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2003), pp. 424–425. Additional references and documentation can be found in Oddone Talpo, ed., *Dalmazia: Una cronaca per la storia (1942)* (Rome: Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito, Ufficio Storico, 1990).

Archival references to the Melada camp are in ACS, in Mi and specifically in file Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 138 and in file Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A5g (II Guerra mondiale), B. 425. Some mention of the camp can be found in USSME, file M3, Racc. 64, OP2 "Campi di concentramento." The ITS collection 1.2.7.23 (Persecution Action in Serbia) includes copies of Italian documentation on Melada from ISI. This collection is available in digital form at USHMMA. The Yugoslav war crime commissions also investigated the crimes committed at the Melada camp: see *Komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i kolaboracionista, zločina Italijanskih okupatorskih snaga u*

Dalmaciji (Belgrade, 1946), p. 108.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi and Alexander Korb
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTES

1. Governo della Dalmazia, Ogg.: "Istituzione e funziamento di un campo di concentramento in Melada," June 27, 1943, ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Persecution Action in Serbia), Ord. 8, Doc. No. 82205690.

2. Governo della Dalmazia, Ordine No. 453, June 7, 1943, ITS, 1.2.7.23, Ord. 8, Doc. No. 82205677.

3. R. Prefettura di Zara, CV C. Sommer, August 25, 1943, ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 138.

4. R. Prefettura di Zara, Ordine, May 19, 1943, ITS, 1.2.7.23, Ord. 8, Doc. No. 82205680.

5. As quoted in Spazzali, "Il campo di concentramento dell'isola di Melada (Molat) 1941–1943," p. 217.

MEZZO ISLAND

Mezzo Island (or Isla di Mezzo; Croatian: Lopud Island) is 382 kilometers (237 miles) southeast of Zagreb. Following an order by Benito Mussolini for the imprisonment of Jews in Italian-occupied Croatia, the Italian Second Army established a camp on the island in the village of Lopud in November 1942, after earlier considering it as a place for the confinement of Jews. In fact, the first Jews who fled to Dubrovnik in July 1942 were sent there by the occupying authorities and housed in its hotels. At that point, however, they were not yet imprisoned because the Italian VI Army Corps, which occupied the region, did not commandeer three hotel buildings for the purpose of detention until October 1942.

Together with Gravosa and Cupari, Mezzo Island detained almost 1,800 Jews from the city of Dubrovnik and from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mezzo Island primarily held Jews from Sarajevo and other Bosnian towns.

According to Italian documentation, on December 29, 1942, 377 people were imprisoned on Mezzo Island. They were likely Jews, but were listed as Orthodox Croats.[1] In contrast, on February 1, 1943, 371 Jews—113 men, 165 women, and 93 children—were interned on Mezzo Island. Historian Davide Rodogno has established that in April 1943 the number of prisoners was again 377 because of the admission of 3 women and 3 men. Among them, 330 were listed as Jews, 44 as Catholics (who probably were imprisoned as "racial" Jews), 2 as Orthodox Christians, and 1 as a Muslim. Shortly before the transfer of prisoners to the Arbe camp on Rab Island on June 27, 1943, according to an Italian source, there were 385 prisoners on Mezzo Island; the number of Jews had been reduced by 1, 52 prisoners were listed as Catholics, and 3 as Orthodox Christians.[2] In addition, the number of children stood at 64, whereas the number of men increased to 136 and that of women to 185.

The commandant of all camps in the Dubrovnik region was

Tenente Riccardo Ricci. The guards were carabinieri. Although research indicates that the camp at Mezzo Island was not surrounded by barbed wire, there are scattered reports that there was a barbed-wire fence and that attempted escapes were punished by death. It is possible that memories of imprisonment in Arbe, where there was a fenced-in camp, were confused with those of the Mezzo Island camp.

The imprisoned Jews organized a communal kitchen to ensure that there was sufficient food for every one. It is not known whether the Jews on the island had to perform forced labor for the Italians.

Historian Klaus Voigt reports that the prisoners were completely closed off from the outside world because the seized hotels were located outside the village. Therefore, there was no exchange between Jews and the local population.

In June 1943 the Italians dissolved the Mezzo Island camp, and the prisoners were transferred to Arbe. Historian Jaša Romano reports that somewhere between 600 and 700 Jews were transported from Mezzo Island to the Arbe camp. This finding could mean that the inmates of Gravosa were brought to Arbe via Mezzo Island or that Italian documentation is incomplete. The latter, for example, held true for the Arbe camp, where more Jews were imprisoned than indicated by the Italian authorities.

SOURCES No monographic study on the Mezzo Island camp is available, but there are a few works that mention it in connection with the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia. Some information can be found in two chapters in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997): Narcisa Lengel Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the In depen dent State of Croatia," pp. 89–100; and Duško Kečkemet, "Transit Camps for Jews in Areas under Italian Occupation," pp. 117–128; and Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR* (Belgrade: Saveza jevrskih opština Jugoslavije, 1980). From Italian sources, Davide Rodogno, *Il nuove ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato

Boringhieri, 2003), has assembled the official estimate of the number of prisoners at Mezzo Island. In German, the camp is mentioned in the second volume of Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Ita-lien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993).

Primary sources on the Mezzo Island camp can be found in USSME (fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia); ASd-MAE (Fondo Lancellotti); CDEC (collection G-1, Riconoscimenti benemeriti dell'opera di soccorso Fondo Israel Kalk); NARA (T-821, Records of the Italian Armed Forces); JIM-Bg; and YVA (collection O-10, Yugoslavia). Some USSME documentation is reproduced online at www.campifascisti.it. VHA holds 25 survivor testimonies on this camp.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. II Armata, Supersloda, "Situazione internati civili alla data 29 Dicembre 1942-XXI," USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

2. II Armata, Supersloda, "Situazione internati civili alla data 1 Giugno 1943-XXI," USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

PORTO RE

Following an order by Benito Mussolini for the imprisonment of Jews in Italian-occupied Croatia, a camp that had formerly held Croats began holding Jews in November 1942 in the village of Kraljevica (Italian: Porto Re), which is some 125 kilometers (78 miles) southwest of Zagreb. In Italian documents, the camp was referred to by its Italian name.[1] It was under the command of the antisemitic Generale di Corpo d'Armata Renato Coturri of the Italian V Army Corps.

Eight wooden barracks in the camp housed up to 90 Jews each. In addition, the Italians used four horse stables, into each of which they crammed up to 145 Jewish women and children (according to other sources, up to 300 people). The whole installation was surrounded by barbed wire, and there were watchtowers and permanent sentries at the entrance to the camp. These security measures stemmed from the time when the camp held Croats, who had been arrested by the Italian occupation authorities as Partisans and for reasons of reprisal. The men's section was separated from the women's and children's section by barbed wire, but photographic evidence of the Porto Re camp indicates that the sections were not totally surrounded by fences.

The Jewish inmates were primarily refugees from Zagreb, Slavonija, and other parts of Croatia who had found refuge in Croatian coastal regions and had lived in places such as Crikvenica, Kraljevica, Novi Vinidolski, and Selce. The camp leaders organized the prisoners into construction crews to perform forced labor, such as road construction and quarrying. In addition, the prisoners worked to upgrade the camp.

The inmates in Porto Re elected leaders who kept in contact with the Italian Army authorities to advocate for the prisoners' interests. Among them were the mathematician Dr. Vladimir Vranik (1896–1976) from Zagreb, Milan Singer, Herman Schossberger, the engineer Arthur Lothe, and Slavko Herak. Toward the end of November 1942, they sent a written petition to

Generale Mario Roatta. Their letter, which complained about the difficult living conditions, was forwarded to the Italian V Army Corps, which in reply agreed with the description of the living conditions there, but characterized them to be in accord with Italian camp policies.[2]

Each barrack had a chief called a commandant. The commandants of the barracks were at the top of the camp hierarchy.

By November 2, 1942, there were 1,003 Jewish prisoners in the camp. Historian Jaša Romano reports that according to information of the Italian Second Army there were as many as 1,172 Jews imprisoned in Porto Re, but a more accurate estimate is 1,250 Jewish prisoners. A report submitted by the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia to the International Tracing Service (ITS) confirmed the estimate of 1,250 Jews.[3] In contrast, historian Ivo Goldstein cites a figure of 1,185 imprisoned Jews, including 110 children. However, according to Italian information, on December 29, 1942, 1,173 Jews were imprisoned in Porto Re, 969 of whom were labeled Croats and 204 "others" (*altri*). Among the latter, Germans formed the majority (122), but there were also 61 Hungarians, 5 Romanians, and 1 each from France and Italy. On February 1, 1943, the camp still had 1,172 Jews, including 462 men, 612 women, and 98 children. As of April 15, 1943, there was a slightly lower number of registered prisoners: 1,160 Jews, including 455 men, 609 women, and 96 children. Just before the transport of the prisoners to the Arbe camp on Rab Island on June 27, 1943, there remained 1,163 Jews—453 men, 611 women, and 99 children—imprisoned in Porto Re.[4]

According to Goldstein, among the more than 1,170 people imprisoned as Jews, only about 52 percent considered themselves to be Jewish. Most others said they were Roman Catholics (about 45 percent). In addition, there were a few Protestants (10), Muslims (2), and atheists (2). Of the children, approximately 39 percent came from Zagreb compared to 53 percent of the adults.

As far as is known, the guards, who were carabinieri, did not murder any inmates in the Porto Re camp. However, because of the difficult living conditions and the fear of being handed over to the Germans, several Jews committed suicide.

To ensure prisoner care, the detainees organized a communal kitchen in one of the barracks and a clinic in another one. In addition, they converted a barrack into a facility for nursing mothers. While upgrading the camp, they established in one of the barracks a synagogue as well as a chapel for Christians persecuted as Jews, who in the Italian accounting of the prisoners, were called Jews (*Ebrei*). The inmates were successful in smuggling medicine into the camp. Moreover, the prisoners organized cultural events of various kinds (for example, lectures and musical performances) and a school. To supply this school, the chief rabbi Dr. Miroslav Salom Freiberger and Dr. Hugo Kom, the president of the Jewish community in Zagreb, who were both subsequently murdered in Auschwitz, sent about 80 books and more than 200 notebooks, sketchpads, and other school materials from Zagreb. To supplement the insufficient foodstuffs provided by the Italians, food from the Jewish community in Zagreb also was supplied to the camp until May 1943.

Group portrait of male and child prisoners standing outside their barrack in the Porto Re concentration camp, 1942–1943. USHMM WS #31768, COURTESY OF STANKA WEINREBE LAPTER.

According to several researchers, the camp was dissolved on June 13, 1943, but Italian records continued to list 1,163 Jewish prisoners in Porto Re as late as June 27. Goldstein states that they were likely transported to the Arbe camp between July 5 and 15,

1943.

SOURCES No monographic study of the Porto Re camp is available. Brief sections on the camp can be found in Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade: N.P., 1957); Duško Kečkemet, "Transit Camps for Jews in Areas under Italian Occupation," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 117–128; Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR* (Belgrade: Saveza jevrskih opština Jugoslavije, 1980); and Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber und Židovska općina Zagreb, 2001). See also Davide Rodogno, *Il nuove ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003). In German, the camp is mentioned in the second volume of Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993), and in MacGregor Knox, "Das faschistische Italien und die 'Endlösung' 1942/43," trans. Her-mann Graml, *VfZ* 1 (2007): 53–92.

Primary sources on the Porto Re camp can be found in ASd-MAE (Yugoslavia [Croatia] B138, Gab AP-42 AG Croatia 35, fondo Lancellotti); CDEC (collection G-1 Riconoscimenti benemeriti dell'opera di soccorso fondo Israel Kalk); ACS (Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 109); USSME ("Massime" M3, B. 64); NARA (microfilm T-821, Records of the Italian Armed Forces). Additional sources can be found in JIM-Bg; and YVA (collection 0-10, Yugoslavia). The ITS Sachdokumente contains a brief report on the camp, which is available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMPA holds several photographs (Courtesy of Stanka Weinrebe Lapter), which show prisoners posing at Porto Re (WS #31767–31769). VHA holds 46 testimonies by Porto Re survivors, including Branko Polić (#4725). A publicist and musicologist, Polić published an account of food provisioning at Porto Re, "Logor Kraljevica i njegova dječja kuhinja," *Bilten ŽOZ* 28–29 (1993): 14. The same issue

includes a report by survivor A. Goldstein, "Porto Re 1942/43, Kraljevica," pp. 12–13. A recently published collection of diaries by Porto Re inmates is Mladen Kušec, ed., *Propusnica za koncentracijski logor Kraljevica=Lasciapassare per il campo concentamento di Porto Re* (Rijeka: Adamić, 2007). Some documents related to Porto Re appear online at www.campifascisti.it.

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Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. USSME, "Massime" M3, B. 64, Comando II Armata al Comando della II Armata, UAC, June 6, 1943, as cited in Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine Mediterraneo*, p. 426.

2. ASd-MAE, Gab AP42, 10077-79, as cited in Knox, "Das faschistische Italien und die 'Endlösung,'" p. 87.

3. ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia, "Kraljevica, 1942/1943," Bericht Osijek, March 13, 1946, Doc. No. 822 04839.

4. USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, II Armata, Supersloda, "Situazione internati civili alla data del 1/6/1943," June 27, 1943, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

ZLARINO

Zlarino (Serbo-Croatian: Zlarin) was a short-lived concentration camp established for "ex-Yugoslav" males following a March 1943 ordinance by the Italian XVIII Army Corps, then commanded by General Quirino Armellini and based in Spalato (Split). It dissolved only three months later, on June 15, 1943. The camp was located on Zlarino Island, annexed in May 1941 to the province of Zara, which was already part of Italy in 1920. The island is 236 kilometers (147 miles) south of Zagreb. The camp was located on a barren and rocky terrain situated at Capo Marino. Its structure required a space of 6,400 square meters (7,654 square yards) to accommodate approximately 1,000 people. The camp was planned as a detention site for "political prisoners and their families," and its construction was placed under the supervision of the 1st Cavalry "Eugene of Savoy" Division, then stationed in Sebenico (Šibenik). The order for the Zlarino camp's establishment coincided with the decision by XVIII Army Corps to evacuate all males over the age of 15 from the Italian-occupied region around Sebenico for precautionary reasons. The camp's official name was the "concentration camp for round-ups of Zlarino" (*campo di concentramento rastrellati di Zlarino*).[1]

Lieutenant Gino di Rosa, commandant of the 173rd carabinieri section, 1st Cavalry Division, was the first head (*capo*) of the camp. Lieutenant Colonel Umberto Ransava from the 15th "Bergamo" Division replaced him on April 14, 1943, and remained in command until Zlarino's closure. Erroneously naming him "Umberto Pansoya," a report submitted to the International Tracing Service based on Italian accounts accused him of sadism.[2]

Some 120 soldiers and 20 carabinieri guarded the camp. It opened on March 25, 1943, when the first 50 inmates arrived from Muć and nearby districts. According to a camp commandant's report, there were already 1,652 prisoners in the camp by April 30, 1943. The total number accommodated in the camp reached approximately 2,500. When it was dissolved, on June 15, 1943,

there were 1,200 prisoners in Zlarino.

Camp life was harsh because of very poor hygienic conditions and the general scarcity of food. Furthermore, the prisoners were not allowed to drink even a liter of water per day, and there was no source of fresh water available in or around the camp. A report by Battista Benedetti, a radio-telegraphist who worked on the island, stated,

> Among the prisoners of an advanced age, there were also boys between the age of twelve and sixteen […]. Watching them was painful as they had to stand on their feet for hours waiting to get their meagre daily ration available only once a day […]. The waiting would be long and enervating and, at the moment when the camp's cooks entered the compound together with their soup containers, people in the line would start agitating and so, in order to maintain order among the starving inmates, several beatings would occur from the side of the guards […]. The meagre diet consisted of half a loaf of bread of about 150 grams [5.3 ounces], a ladleful of broth (if one could call it that) and a quarter of a liter of water. The containers used by the prisoners to collect their meal rations, which did not even guarantee survival, had various forms—pots, pans, bowls, cans or others. The clothes worn by the inmates were the same as at the time of their capture.[3]

Only by receiving regular packages from relatives did the prisoners' conditions improve.

Along with the food shortage, the prisoners faced various epidemics. In charge of medical care were Sottotenente Peppino Chiedere and, from May 25, 1943, Zlarino's communal doctor, Aurelio Guarnieri. Only the dying were sent to the Sebenico hospital.[4] According to data collected by the Commission for the Verification of War Crimes Perpetrated by the Occupiers and their Supporters in the Commune of Sebenico (*Commissione di verifica dei crimini di guerra perpetrati dagli occupanti e dai loro fiancheggiatori nel comune di Sebenico*), there were 26 deaths in Zlarino because of the camp's horrible living conditions.[5]

Before the camp's closure, the Italian authorities initiated the transfer of prisoners to various concentration camps for Slavs on the Italian peninsula. The preparations for one such transport serve as an example of the authorities' attempts to deploy forced laborers on the peninsula. On March 3, 1943, keeping in mind the ultimate objective of removing Partisans, Dalmatian Governor Emilio Grazioli wrote to the Confederation of Agricultural Workers (*Confederazione dei Lavoratori dell'Agricoltura*), the Confederation of Industrial Workers (*Confederazione dei Lavoratori dell'Industria*), and, as recently discovered, the President of the Ministers' Council, from which the following passage is quoted:

> The uprising that has been spreading all across Dalmatia has forced this Government to arrest and concentrate on the island a great number of men for the purpose of, among other things, removing them from forced conscription into the ranks of the rebels. It follows that the arms of many young and strong men remain inactive while the fatherland is in need of laborers. And as we all know, idleness is a poor political adviser (*cattivo consigliere politico*); the more so when food supply difficulties have been increasing in a territory that's isolated from its homeland. A visiting representative of the Industrial Workers assured me that the respective Confederation would equally welcome [a certain solution to this problem]. I am thus forwarding a proposition to the two Confederations, adding that I can dispatch a ship with some hundred laborers on a trial basis, either to Fiume or perhaps even all the way up to Trieste, selecting only the most able-bodied individuals for each branch of the industry.[6]

This request was later formalized in a letter to the commissioner for immigration and internal colonization. For his part the commissioner contacted the Interior Ministry's general director on May 25, 1943, to ensure that the 2,000 requested aliens, at the time still held in the Melada and Zlarino camps, would eventually be placed under police control in Italy. "Based upon a brief survey conducted earlier," wrote the commissioner, "an adequate occupation has been secured for the ["aliens"]; however, it is necessary [for us] to know beforehand whether this Ministry has

the means to provide surveillance for the elements in question in their places of employment."[7]

This response was very important because the military authorities already realized the difficulties involved in placing their surveillance patrols at someone else's disposal. It was feared that, were such difficulties to occur with the police, it would have been impossible for the prisoners to be transported. As later proved to be the case, on May 28, 1943, the head of the police hastened to respond that, for a set of reasons outlined in detail, the desired police force was unavailable.

Some Zlarino prisoners were transferred to concentration camps in metropolitan areas, such as Visco, Renicci, and Chiesanova, while elderly and sick people were returned to their homes. However, at the time of the camp's closure, most prisoners were sent, according to a report submitted to the ITS, to the transit camp at Fiume (Rijeka), where they were officially registered as No. 83 PM (*Polizia Militare*, military police) 320, on June 15, 1943.[8] The prisoners were subsequently transferred to Italy.

SOURCES This essay draws on the following secondary sources: Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia Fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 136, 275–276; *Nuovo Dizionario dei Comuni e Frazioni di Comune del Regno d'Italia*, 15th ed. (Rome: Voghera, 1943), p. 391; and Alessandra Kersevan, *Lager Italiani: Pulizia Etnica e Campi di Concentramento Fascisti per Civili Jugoslavi, 1941–1943* (Rome: Nutrimenti, 2008), pp. 12, 168.

Primary sources on the Zlarino camp are available in ITS, "Le camp de concentration dans l'Ile de Zlarin," copied from ISI and available in digital form at USHMMA in 1.2.7.23, Persecution Action in Serbia; and ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 108, fasc. 16.

Giovanna D'Amico
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. “Le camp de concentration dans l’Ile de Zlarin,” ITS, 1.2.7.23, Doc. No. 82205672.

2. Ibid.

3. Battista Benedetti testimony, May 5, 2005, as quoted in Kersevan, *Lager italiani*, p. 168.

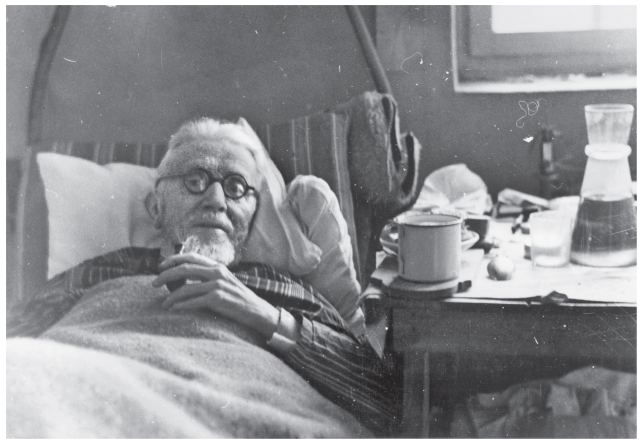
4. “Le camp de concentration dans l’Ile de Zlarin,” ITS, 1.2.7.23, Doc. No. 82205673.

5. Ibid., Doc. No. 82205674.

6. Lettera del governatore della Dalmazia, ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4, B. 108, fasc. 16, s.f. 1, ins. 28/2, “Invio al lavoro di internati sloveni e dalmati.”

7. Richiesta del Commissariato per le migrazioni del 25 maggio 1943 al ministero dell’Interno, ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4, B. 108, fasc. 16, s.f. 1, ins. 28/2, “Invio al lavoro di internati sloveni e dalmati.”

8. “Le camp de concentration dans l’Ile de Zlarin,” ITS, 1.2.7.23, Doc. No. 82205674.



An elderly Jew lies in his bed in the Berg internment camp, 1942–1943. USHMM WS #48648, COURTESY OF THE NORGES HJEMMEFRONTMUSEUM.

NORWAY

Nazi Germany invaded Norway on April 9, 1940, deposing Norway's democracy and imposing Nazi laws and courts. Under the German authorities, Vidkun Quisling's National Unity (*Nasjonal Samling*, NS) was the only legal political party, even though before the war, the NS was unable to garner sufficient votes in either the 1933 or 1936 elections to win a single seat in the Norwegian Parliament (*Storting*). This lack of popularity, combined with Norway's status as a puppet state and occupied country, compromised Nasjonal Samling's ability to attract support from Norwegians. In 1940 and 1941, Quisling spent most of his time trying to secure Norway's independence. This objective required considerable but ultimately unsuccessful diplomacy on his part with the Reichskommissariat and Berlin. He wanted to remove the rule of the "commissars," particularly the

Reichskommissariat Norway under SA-Obergruppenführer Josef Terboven, and to establish himself as the leader of an independent Norwegian government. Yet at the same time, Quisling increasingly recognized German domination, believing that German protection was in Norway's best interest and that the German presence protected Norway against further involvement in war. Erroneously, he thought that the German authorities would eventually restore and protect Norway's neutrality. By January 1941, Quisling was resigned to the fact that the Reich did not have any such intention. Instead, the Norwegian regime began to provide volunteers to fight on Nazi Germany's side, with the eventual aim of introducing conscription.[1] Quisling remained powerless despite Terboven's professed claim that he wanted the NS to rule Norway. Two factors prevented such a development: the course of the war and internal Norwegian developments. By the summer and fall of 1941, the situation on the Eastern Front was of critical importance for the Germans, and Berlin did not allow Terboven to leave Norway. In August 1942, Quisling attempted to negotiate a peace treaty between Norway and Germany, but Adolf Hitler rejected this proposal because he wanted to establish the "New Europe" by decree.[2] The real power rested with the Reichskommissariat.

Vidkun Quisling visits the DNL (Den Norske Legion), which is posted at Fallingbostel. On the right is the chief of SS-Führungshauptamt, Hans Jüttner. USHMM WS #42852, COURTESY OF MARTIN MANSSON.

By mid-1942, Reichskommissar Terboven's goal was to be the only leader in Norway, and he thus chose not to cooperate further with Quisling and his regime. Despite Hitler's clear instructions, Terboven refused to make the slightest change in Quisling's favor.[3] Terboven did not have any confidence in Quisling as a Nazi leader, but because of Hitler's wish to keep him as a leader of the NS, he retained Quisling as a puppet.[4] In September 1942, the head of the Reich Chancellery, Dr. Hans Lammers, demanded that Quisling address all political questions regarding Norway to Terboven, not Hitler. According to Lammers' directive, Terboven was the only representative responsible for the Reich in Norway.[5] With this order, Quisling lost almost all influence over political affairs regarding Norway's role under the German regime. Two additional elements undermined Quisling's position via-à-vis the German authorities and the Norwegian people. First, his regime never managed to recruit many voluntary fighters (*front-kjempere*) for the Reich, thus reducing his political capital with the German authorities. Second, instead of promoting Norwegians' respect for the Nasjonal Samling, the formation of the paramilitary, Hirden ("Quisling's political soldiers"), only strengthened and consolidated popular Norwegian resistance.[6]

Josef Terboven, 1940. USHMM WS #03009, COURTESY OF THE NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR OORLOGSDOCUMENTATIE.

Under Terboven, the propaganda branch of the Reichskommissariat, Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda (*Volksaufklärung und Propaganda*), established a mono poly over Norwegian media and culture and used them to advance Berlin's and Terboven's agendas: justify the necessity of the occupation; undermine loyalty to the Norwegian government-in-exile; prepare Norway for incorporation into the Greater German Reich; and ensure that Quisling's party appeared as a guarantor of a better future on the German side. Furthermore, propaganda had a role in ensuring maintenance of the "New Order" and spurring on Norwegian efforts on behalf of the German war effort.[7]

THE CAMPS OF THE QUISLING REGIME

The Norwegian State Police (*Statspolitiet*, Stapo) closely collaborated with the German authorities in the mass arrests that filled the German- and Norwegian-run camp systems in Norway. Collaboration with the SS and German police included making arrests and conducting interrogations in preparation for transfers to German custody. The Stapo functioned as a Norwegian Gestapo that assisted the German authorities in combating Norwegian resistance and persecuting Jews in Norway. In the Norwegian historical context, it was a new type of organization, but it also represented the continuation of an authoritarian police culture, originating in the 1930s, that emulated the Reich.[8]

The Norwegian authorities took the initiative in the establishment and administration of two detention sites, Bredtveit prison in Oslo and the Berg internment camp near Tønsberg. Bredtveit operated from the autumn of 1941 until the end of the war. It held some Jews, but mostly regime opponents. To a lesser extent than Berg, it served as a transit camp during the deportation of Norway's Jews. Bredtveit operated with the close cooperation of the German authorities, with frequent exchanges of prisoners between the German- and Norwegian-run sites.

In contrast with Bredtveit, the Berg internment camp proved to be controversial in the Quisling regime's relations with the German authorities. Quisling was enthusiastic about the plans for the opening of the Berg internment camp. His justice minister, Sverre Riisnæs, proposed that the camp confine prisoners from all over Norway, but the plan for a larger camp never materialized. In a speech in 1942, Quisling stated that the Berg camp was established to imprison those who opposed "the new era."[9] The emphasis on the targeting of regime opponents ultimately gave rise to the prisoners' nickname for Berg: Quisling's "chicken coop" (*hønsegård*).[10] The German authorities did not want this camp established, however.[11] In a letter from March 1, 1942, the Higher SS and Police Leader (*Höhere SS-und Polizeiführer*, HSSPF) of Norway, SS-Brigadeführer Wilhelm Rediess, made clear his opposition to the plans to create the Berg camp to the chief of the Norwegian Police, Jonas Lie. Rediess considered the Norwegian collaborators to be intruding on his territory. But the Quisling

regime was per sis tent, and the German authorities finally relented after several months: Lie was able to approve the building plans for the camp on June 12, 1942.[12] In a further expression of his fundamental disapproval of the project, Rediess admonished the Quisling regime to avoid applying to Berg the appellation "concentration camp" (*Konzentrationslager*). The camp commandant at Berg, Eivind Wallestad, refused to call the site a prison and claimed that it was "a new system." According to Wallestad, Berg was to be organized "after a military system and in accordance with the new era."[13] After the war, however, the term "concentration camp" was used in Norwegian secondary sources to describe Berg.[14] In connection with the "Final Solution" in Norway, Berg served as a transit camp for Jews before deportation to Nazi Germany.

The negative German attitude toward Norwegian-administered camps and the power exercised by the German authorities over their collaborators helped account for why the Quisling regime did not establish more camps. The real power regarding camps and prisons for civilians remained with the HSSPF Norway, and Rediess opposed the creation of a rival Norwegian camp administration.

Of the original Norwegian Jewish population of 1,900, approximately 1,100 safely escaped to the United Kingdom or Sweden. In the autumn and the winter of 1942, 772 Norwegian Jews were deported to Auschwitz. Only 34 of these prisoners survived. Norwegian perpetrators were involved in every phase of the process prior to deportation, and the NS was responsible for several anti-Jewish ordinances. The Jews were the only group of arrested Norwegians who, before the deportations, were subjected to complete economic liquidation. The arrest of Jews in Norway in the autumn of 1942 was carried out by the Norwegian police, the Hirden, and German authorities in Norway. Although the Holocaust has not been forgotten in Norway, the same cannot be said about Norwegian complicity in the deportation of Jews. Among the few Holocaust survivors who returned to Norway was Kai Feinberg, who was persecuted by the Norwegian authorities at Bredtveit and Berg before being deported with his family to Auschwitz. He was the only survivor from his family.[15]

Although the Quisling regime oversaw only two camps, it

collaborated in the vast array of camps in occupied Norway run by the High Command of the German Armed Forces (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW), and the commander of the Security Police and the Security Service (*Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes*, BdS). Under the German authorities, some of the Hirden members worked as camp guards in northern Norway. Because of their political training and ideology, they tormented the Yugoslav prisoners of war (POWs) in northern Norway under their charge. The next section gives a précis of the German-run camps in Norway, which will be covered in detail in future volumes of this encyclopedia.

GERMAN-RUN CAMPS IN NORWAY

The campaigns in the Balkans and the Soviet Union enabled the German authorities to deploy many new forced laborers for the Wehrmacht's extensive building plans in Norway. Between 1941 and 1945, 100,000 Soviet POWs were sent to Norway. These prisoners were mainly used in the building of railroads, Main Road 50, airport runways, and fortresses along the coastline. The commander in chief in Norway, Generaloberst Nikolaus von Falkenhorst, demanded 145,000 POWs to carry out Hitler's plan of building a railroad to Kirkenes in Finnmark (northern Norway). The project was still unfinished when the war ended.

Although the Wehrmacht and Organisation Todt (OT), a paramilitary organization that carried out war-related building projects, cooperated with each other, they also competed over the allocation of Soviet POWs and building contracts. War and economic considerations were decisive in determining the mission and manpower allocated by the central POW administration in Berlin. Terboven's unsuccessful attempt to obtain forced laborers showed how "polycracy" worked in practice. In questions regarding POWs, it was not formal political power that was essential when decisions were taken, but rather informal contacts and real war-economic considerations.

The Nazi SS divided Norway into six "operational detachments" (*Einsatzkommandos*) based in Oslo, Kristiansand, Stavanger, Bergen, Trondheim, and Tromsø. All prisons and camps that belonged to the BdS in Norway were run by a commander of the

Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo) and SD in their respective districts; the Sipo and SD branches were ultimately answerable to HSSPF Rediess. During most of the war, the BdS Norway and its Oslo office were one and the same. This situation probably made administration easier than was the case for the Falstad SS penal camp (*SSStrafgefangenenlager*), which was administered by the Sipo authorities in Trondheim (Falstad is 44 kilometers or 27 miles northeast of Trondheim). The largest of the BdS-run camps was the Grini prison camp, which housed almost 20,000 prisoners in the years between 1941 and 1945. In 1944, approximately 650 prisoners were sent from Grini to Bardufoss to build an airport under the auspices of the Luftwaffe. Other BdS-run sites were Ulven and Espeland near Bergen, Falstad at Levanger, and Sydspissen and Krøkebærsletta in Tromsø. Mainly Norwegian prisoners were sent to these camps, but foreign POWs were also sent to Grini, Falstad, Sydspissen, and Tromsdalen.[16] To a greater extent than Grini, Falstad was a transit camp. At several times large prisoner transports were sent from Falstad to Grini, but there were no known cases of prisoners being sent in the opposite direction. A significant part of the active resistance in northern Norway was based on the Soviet side in the Murmansk region. As late as 1944, the Germans started the construction of a new concentration camp in Mysen in Østfold, but did not finish it before the war ended.

Conditions in the BdS-run camps in Norway were remarkably similar to those in the Nazi concentration camp system in terms of camp life, isolation, lack of food, and labor. At the same time, there were also differences within the BdS system. One example is that Falstad was probably the only BdS camp in Norway with an established execution site.

The prisoners sent to BdS camps had either opposed the occupation in various ways, participated in the national resistance movement, or were Jews being deported to Nazi Germany. The prisoners included communists, teachers, police officers, partisans, students, foreign POWs, and officers. The majority of prisoners at Falstad and Grini were political prisoners. The proportion of criminals and "asocial" elements was always low in both camps. Most of the Norwegian political prisoners never received any formal trial and were locked up without charge. Most male

Norwegians dispatched to Nazi Germany were sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp and the female Norwegians to the Ravensbrück concentration camp.

POSTWAR JUSTICE

In contrast with the relatively small number of German war criminal convictions in Norway (95), the Norwegian treason trials were much greater in scope, resulting in 48,000 convictions of Norwegian citizens.[17] These trials presented special complications because they were emotionally and morally charged.

The Norwegian High Court sentenced Vidkun Quisling to death on September 10, 1945. He was convicted because of crimes against the military penal code. At trial, he was accused of conspiring with Nazi Germany as early as 1939—providing support for the German occupation, staging a coup d'état against Norway's duly constituted government, and collaborating with the enemy. Regarding the German attack on Norway on June 9, 1940, the court claimed that Quisling tried to encourage Norwegian troops to commit mutiny and treachery.[18] Quisling was executed by firing squad on October 24, 1945.

The Norwegian High Court convicted the camp commandant at Berg, Eivind Wallestad, on November 21, 1947, for illegal detention of inmates, brutal threats against prisoners, and mistreatment. He was sentenced to forced labor for life, but was released from the Bjørkelangen forced labor camp in September 1953.[19]

SOURCES Useful secondary sources relating to the Quisling and German camp systems in occupied Norway are Dirk Riedel, "Norwegen," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*: *Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9:430–445; Kristian Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap 1940–1945* (Oslo: Norges hjemmefrontmuseum, 1995); Johannes Andenæs, *Det vanskelige oppgjøret: rettsoppgjøret etter okkupasjonen,* 3rd ed. (Oslo: Tano Aschehoug, 1998); and Oskar Mendelsohn, *Jødenes historie i Norge: gjennom 300 år,* Vol.

II: *1940–1985* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1986); an older but still useful account that shows the relationship between the Quisling regime and German-run detention sites in Norway is Børre R. Giertsen, ed., *Norsk fangeleksikon*: *Grinifangene* (Oslo: J. W. Cappelens Forlog, 1946). General studies on the German occupation include Robert Bohn, *Reichskommissariat Norwegen: "Nationsozialistische Neuordnung" und Kriegswirtschaft* (Munich: Olden-bourg, 2000); Robert Bohn, "Det tyske Reichskommissariatet i Norge 1940–1945," in Stein Ugelvik Larsen, ed., *I krigens kjølvann: Nye sider ved norsk krigshistorie og etterkrigstid* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1999), pp. 119–133; Fritz Petrick, ed., *Die Okkupationspolitik des deutschen Faschismus in Dänemark und Norwegen (1940–1945)* (Berlin: Hüthig, 1992); and Dirk Riedel, "Die SS-Inspektion z.b.V. in Norwegen: Nationalsozialistische Täter in den Gefangenenlagern für jugoslawische Partisanen," in Timm C. Richter, ed., *Krieg und Verbrechen: Situation und Intention. Fallbeispiele* (Munich: Meidenbauer, 2006), pp. 111–122. Two standard biographies of Vidkun Quisling are Oddvar Høidal, *Quisling: En studie I landssvik* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1988) and Hans Fredrik Dahl, *Vidkun Quisling*, 2 vols. (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1991). A standard account of the history of Jews in Norway is Oskar Mendelsohn, *Jødene i Norge: Historien om en minoritet* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1992). On the deportation of Jews, see Kristian Ottosen, *I slik en natt: Historien om deportasjonen av jøder fra Norge* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1994); Berit Nøkleby, *Gestapo: Tysk politi i Norge 1940–45* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2003); and Eirik Veum, *Nådeløse nordmenn: Statspolitiet 1941–1945* (Oslo: Kagge, 2012). On Norwegian war crimes trials, see Berit Nøkleby, *Krigsforbrytelser: Brudd på krigens lov 1940–45* (Olso: Pax Forlog, 2004). On the Norwegian national memory, see Per Ole Johansen, "Fortrengning av et nasjonalt traume," in Jørn-Kr Jørgensen, ed., *Årsskrift 2012* (Oslo: Norsk Politihistorisk Selskap, 2012), pp. 140–178.

Primary sources relating to camps in Norway can be found in RA. Some of this documentation related to Berg, Bredtveit, and Grini is copied to USHMMA as RG-47.001M. A compilation of

testimonies from one of the two Norwegian-run camps is Carl Haave and Sverre J. Herstad, ed., *Quislings hønsegård: Berg interneringsleir* (Oslo: I kommisjon A. Cammer-meyer, 1948). A published testimony is Kai Feinberg and Arnt Stefanson, *Prisoner No. 79108 returns*, trans. Margrit Rosenberg Stenge (Montreal: M. R. Stenge, 2000). Some of the documentation on Feinberg's persecution is in ITS, available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. Dahl, *Vidkun Quisling*, 2: 197–199.
2. Nøkleby, *Gestapo*, pp. 169–175.
3. Høidal, *Quisling*, p. 334.
4. Nøkleby, *Gestapo*, p. 160.
5. RA, LSA, Oslo politikammer, Landssviksak D29 Vidkun Quisling, stykke 1 (RA/S-3138), 1923–1945.
6. Høidal, *Quisling*, p. 389.
7. Bohn, "Det tyske Reichskommissariatet i Norge 1940–1945," p. 124.
8. Johansen, "Fortrengning av et nasjonalt traume," pp. 140–178.
9. RA, Rikspolitisjefen, Fc, Svenskearkivet, eske 279, Berg interneringsleir, n.d.
10. Haave and Herstad, *Quislings hønsegård*.
11. Veum, *Nådeløse nordmenn*, p. 849.
12. See www.aktive-fredsreiser.no/biblioteket/1940-45/kz-leirene/berg_arbeidsleir.htm.
13. Veum, *Nådeløse nordmenn*, p. 850.
14. Haave and Herstad, *Quislings hønsegård*.
15. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Kai Feinberg (DOB December 23,

1921), Doc. No. 20527196; Feinberg and Stefanson, *Prisoner No. 79108 returns*.

16. Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 38.

17. Nøkleby, *Krigsforbrytelser*.

18. Dahl, *Vidkun Quisling*, 2: 633.

19. Veum, *Nådeløse nordmenn*, p. 911.

BERG

The Norwegian state police (*Statspolitiet*, Stapo) established the Berg internment camp (*Interneringsleir*) in 1942 in the city of Tønsberg some 72 kilometers (45 miles) southwest of Oslo. First used to detain Norwegians who refused to cooperate with the Germans, its administration fell under the *Nasjonal Samling*'s (National Assembly, NS) paramilitary organization, the Hirden, though the camp administration reported to the Stapo. Berg was the only Norwegian prison camp that exclusively had Norwegian guards, mostly Hirden members. Berg's commander was Police Inspector Eivind Wallestad, whom the prisoners described as distant and often brutal when angry. He did not pay much attention to the camp's daily life, so the staff often acted on their own initiative regarding prisoner treatment. Berg's second-in-command, Leif Lindseth, was harsh. The prisoners in the camp called him "the evil spirit of the camp."[1] He was a ruthless Norwegian Nazi who held Jewish prisoners in obvious contempt. Typically, there were 250 to 300 prisoners in the Berg camp at any time, but during 1945, its last year of operation, it housed more than 500 prisoners. A prisoner intake registry that covered the period from October 26, 1942, to May 6, 1945, listed 1,264 names.[2]

Although originally intended for political prisoners, the Berg internment camp also became a transit camp in connection with the deportation of Norwegian Jews. The Stapo rounded up all Jewish men in the country aged 20 to 50 years old on October 24, 1942; most were dispatched to Berg before deportation to concentration camps and killing centers in Germany or Poland. Although most of the Jews were sent to Nazi camps, a small number married to "Aryans" remained at Berg for the rest of the war.

When the Jews arrived at Berg in October 1942, the authorities had not yet completed the three accommodation barracks. The camp lacked an oven, bunks, bedding, tables, chairs, kitchen

equipment, and water. The prisoners had to use groundwater for essential washing. Most importantly the camp did not have toilets, which resulted in terribly unhygienic conditions. Two former prisoners published a compilation of testimonies about Berg in 1948. Regarding the camp commander's responsibility for these conditions, they wrote: "A more criminally indifferent and cynical contempt for other humans' destiny can barely be possible, even in the Norwegian Nazis' uncanny registry of sin this must be the worst case."[3] The duty officer never attempted to hide his contempt for Jewish prisoners and made many threats against them. Anyone who attempted escape would be shot, and in retaliation ten of his fellow prisoners would also be shot along with his family.

The Jewish prisoners dug ditches for water pipes to the camp. The work was hard, and the prisoners were unused to doing manual labor. They labored under the constant threat of being shot if they did not work hard enough. One day one of the prisoners refused to work, and the guard was ready to shoot him; however, one of the older prisoners got in front of him and the guard did not shoot. After this incident the guards imposed punishment drills in the muddy water, and the prisoners lost one day's ration.

Norwegian Jews at roll call in the Berg concentration camp, 1943.
USHMM WS #88994, COURTESY OF THE NORGES HJEMMEFRONTMUSEUM.

Through the Norwegian Red Cross, Dr. Anton Jervell attempted to ameliorate camp conditions. On October 31, 1942, he sent beds and blankets to the camp and tried as hard as he could to establish some temporary authority over the camp's sickroom. He also tried to improve hygiene. Hunger was a great problem for many prisoners, and from the end of October 1942 the Norwegian Red Cross was allowed to send packages with sandwiches to the camp. Later a Jewish charity organization in Oslo received permission to provide food relief.

On the evening on November 25, 1942, the prisoners were called out of the barracks. According to lists from the Stapo, 227 Jewish prisoners were transported from the camp that evening. The prisoners were sent down a hill to the railway line where the Stapo took custody of them. They did not know where they were being sent. The train went to Oslo, through the city and down to the harbor. People in Oslo turned and looked at the train filled with prisoners. At the harbor the male prisoners met other Jews—men, women, and children—arrested on the same day. The following day, family members among the prisoners were allowed to meet together. Harrowing scenes resulted when wives once again saw husbands and sons, skinny and dirty after internment at Berg. Frightened children clung to their parents. No one knew anything about the destiny that awaited them. The prisoners boarded the SS *Donau*, hoping that it would proceed northward, but instead it turned south.

About 80 Jewish prisoners remained at the Berg internment camp in 1942, along with non-Jewish prisoners transferred from the Grini prison camp in 1943 and 1944. The remaining Jewish prisoners received the same harsh treatment as characterized the first period in the camp's history. The prisoners performed useless work such as repeatedly moving peat from place to place. The guards beat and kicked them while they performed this hard and meaningless work. A report from the German occupation authority in Norway (*Reichskommissariat Norwegen*) admitted that mistreatment occurred at Berg. Several non-Jewish prisoners were

questioned, but the camp commander refused to let the Jewish prisoners be questioned for fear that camp discipline would be undermined. Camp conditions did not improve as a result of this report.

Some days before the liberation of Norway, rumors spread that all the Jews at Berg would be shot. The camp commander told the Jewish prisoners that he was obliged to follow Quisling's order, and every body feared for the worst. But some lower level camp officers rescued the Jews, provided bus transport for them, and announced that they were free and would be sent to Sweden. The Jews still feared for their lives, and only after the bus crossed the Swedish border did they feel safe. After a week in quarantine the prisoners were sent to the Norwegian refugee center in Sweden at Kjesäter. At last, 30 months of terror and mistreatment had come to an end.

After the war the commandant and guards at Berg were convicted in the Norwegian war trials in 1945. Several Norwegian guards received long prison sentences for harsh be havior toward Jewish prisoners. Eivind Wallestad at Berg received a life sentence, and a duty officer who had been especially vicious also got life imprisonment. Several other guards received 10-or 20-year sentences. The commander and the guards sentenced to 10 years or longer received judgments from the Norwegian Supreme Court. The remainder of the Berg staff was sentenced to six years or less during war trials in 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Berg internment camp are Johannes Andenaes, *Det vanskelige oppgjøret: rettsoppgjøret etter okkupasjonen*, 3rd ed. (Oslo: Tano Aschehoug, 1998); Oskar Mendelsohn, *Jødenes historie i Norge: gjennom 300 år,* 2:*1940–1985* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1986); and Kristian Ottesen, *I slik en natt: Historien om deportasjonen av jøder fra Norge*, 2nd ed. (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1994). A documentary compilation of newspaper articles, testimonies, and photographs, unfortunately lacking source citations, is Svein Bugge, *Skyggene fra Quislings hønsegård: Den norske konsentrasjonsleiren på Berg i Vestfold* (Tømsberg: Faerder Forlag, 2001). Some information on

Berg can also be found in Børre R. Giertsen, ed., *Norsk fangelekesikon: Grinifangene* (Oslo: J. W. Cappelens, Forlog, 1946).

Primary sources on Berg begin with RA, Rikspolitisjefen, serial Svenskearkivet, file 279. Copied from RA to USHMMA are a 50-page file on the Berg internment camp (file RA-S-1329) under RG-47.001M, reel 68, consisting of a list of internees effective February 23, 1945; transfers of prisoners to Bredtveit and Oslo prisons (including one page signed by the second-in-command Leif Lindseth); and a handwritten prisoner registry. Published testimonies include Ernst Aberle, *Vi ma ikke glemme* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1980) and the anthology by Carl Haave and Sverre J. Herstad, eds., *Quislings hønsegård: Berg interneringsleir* (Oslo: I kommisjon A. Cammermeyer, 1948). Photographs of Berg, including of the camp chief, Wallestad, can be found at VFM.

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NOTES

1. As quoted in Haave and Herstad, *Quislings hønsegård*, p. 17.
2. USHMMA, RG-47.001M, reel 68, file RA-S-1329, Berg Interneringsleir 26.10.42-06.05.45 (2).
3. Haave and Herstad, *Quislings hønsegård*, p. 15.

BREDTVEIT

In 1940, Bredtveit prison (*fengsel*) in Oslo was under reconstruction for use as a special school. However, in the autumn of 1941 the Norwegian Nazi authorities (*Nasjonal Samling*, NS) took over the building and used it as a political prison. Several prison barracks were built in front of the main building, which gave the place the impression of a prison camp. The barracks were mainly common rooms where prisoners could move about relatively freely, but there were also barracks containing isolation cells. Norwegian State police (*Statspolitiet*, Stapo) administered the prison, and the staff was Norwegian. Some guards were NS paramilitary troops, the Hirden.

According to the prison registry there were approximately 3,500 prisoners kept at Bredtveit between 1941 and 1945. In February 1942, many teachers were arrested after they had protested against the German regime in the "teacher protest" (*Læreraksjonen*). The protest continued, and in May several teachers in Oslo were also arrested and imprisoned at Bredtveit. All the teachers were released from prison in August 1942. In May 1942, a group of 100 prisoners to be used as hostages and protective custody prisoners were sent to Bredtveit prison. People were also arrested for taking part in illegal activity. One 19-year-old prisoner was put in an isolation cell for nearly two months, and he was interrogated day and night. After the war, he said the worst part of the imprisonment was that he never knew how long he would be in prison.[1]

The Bredtveit prison, early 1940s. USHMM WS #89049, COURTESY OF OSKAR MENDELSOHN.

The staff registered each prisoner with a prison card that listed personal information, the reason for arrest, the date of arrest or release, the date of transit, special conditions during internment, and the location of the prison cell.[2] Some prisoners came from other prison camps in Norway. Bredtveit received Jewish and political prisoners from the SS penal prisoners camp (*Strafgefangenenlager*) Falstad in Trøndelag. Seven hundred and sixty-nine prisoners came to Bredtveit from the German-run Grini prison camp. The prisoners were mostly transferred after they were interrogated. The Jewish prisoners were sent to Bredtveit to await deportation to occupied Poland or the Reich.

Among the prisoners at Bredtveit was Bishop Eivind Berggrav, who was sent there after his arrest in April 1942. He was the leader of the clerical protest against the German regime in Norway. He encouraged the Norwegian people to undertake active resistance against what he considered to be an unfair state. Later he was detained in his cottage in Asker for the remainder of the occupation.

Norwegians tried to help the prisoners at Bredveit by sending them clothes and medical supplies. Many prisoners were old, and several suffered from health problems. Poor food rations were often a reason for their poor condition. The food situation improved at Bredtveit after a while, as a result of efforts by

individuals and organizations.

Approximately 300 Jewish prisoners were sent to Bredtveit in late 1942. Because of delays in transport the Jews arrested in Kristiansund, Trondheim, Narvik, and other small towns did not reach Oslo until December 2, 1942—after the first group of Jews had been deported from Norway—and were therefore detained at Bredtveit. These Jews were not kept in the main building, but in one of the barracks. The treatment of the Jewish prisoners at Bredtveit was sometimes inhumane, but they were mostly treated better than in the other camps and prisons in Norway.

Among the Jewish prisoners were approximately 20 school-children. Three Jewish prisoners organized a school for them. Only the younger men among the Jewish prisoners had to work in the prison, and for the other prisoners the boredom was especially onerous. The time in prison was also very hard for the wives of men who had already been deported, but they always had hope of reuniting with their family members. Letters from the Jewish prisoners at Bredtveit sent to Sweden also revealed fear for what destiny awaited them. A Jewish woman had apparently gathered information from abroad about what was happening in the camps in occupied Poland, but no one could believe these cruel stories.

Four Jewish prisoners managed to escape from Bredtveit in January 1943. Kurt Levy had earlier escaped from a hospital and contacted some people willing to help him free his father and brother at Bredtveit. Two brothers from the Klein family joined them in escaping after several unsuccessful attempts to flee the barracks. The Stapo received the message about the escape the same night and alerted the border and the German police forces. The search failed to turn up the escapees, and the four prisoners hid in different places in Oslo. After some time each managed to cross the border into Sweden.

For some Jewish prisoners Bredtveit prison served as a transit camp prior to deportation. After a few months' stay the Jews were dispatched to Nazi concentration and extermination camps. The German Secret State Police (*Geheime Staatspolizei*, Gestapo) demanded that the Stapo register all Jews at Berg and Bredtveit for the next transport. After the November 1942 deportation on the *SS Donau*, it was decided to deport the remaining Jews detained at

Bredtveit. Together with Jews from the Grini prison camp, 158 Jews from Bredtveit were deported on February 25, 1943, aboard the *SS Gotenland*. The night before, the watch at Bredtveit was especially diligent. None of the prisoners got any information on what awaited them. Among the Bredtveit deportees were two Jewish children who had been arrested in Lillestrøm when the Norwegian refugee aid organization, *Nansenhjelpen*, had tried to help them escape to Sweden in the autumn of 1939. They stayed at Bredtveit for two weeks before being deported aboard the *Gothenland*.

Immediately after the war, Bredtveit was used as a women's pretrial detention center for defendants awaiting trial for collaboration during the "legal purge" in Norway.

SOURCES Bredtveit prison is discussed in the following secondary accounts: Oskar Mendelsohn, *Jødenes historie i Norge: gjennom 300 år,* 2: *1940–1985* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1986) and Børre R. Giertsen, ed., *Norsk fangeleksikon*: *Grinifangene* (Oslo: J. W. Cappelens Forlog, 1946).

Primary sources on Bredtveit are to be found at RA, S-4F-16201 (Bredtveit fengsel 1940–1945). In addition, some Bredtveit documentation from RA is available in microform at USHMMA as RG-47.001M, reel 68, file RA-S-1329, Varetektsprotokoll Bredtveit Fengsel, 23.09.41-17.03.43 (5).

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NOTES

1. Interview with former prisoner Ole Morten Smith Housken, n.d., www.hvitebusser.no/bakgrunn/tidsvitner/265-ole-morten-smith-housken.

2. Some of the cards can be found in USHMMA, RG-47.001M, reel 68, file RA-S-1329, Varetektsprotokoll Bredtveit Fengsel, 23.09.41-17.03.43 (5).

Romanian Jews await deportation to Transnistria in Iampol, 1941.
USHMM WS #02721, COURTESY OF FONDAZIONE CENTRO DI DOCUMENTAZIONE EBRAICA CONTEMPORANEA.

ROMANIA

At the time of Nazi Germany's invasion of Poland in September 1939, the Jewish population of Romania had reached 750,000, exceeded only by the number of Jews in Poland and the Soviet Union. The incorporation of new and disputed territories after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary and the Russian Empire at the end of World War I contributed more than any other factor to the country's growth in overall population and size. International treaties concluding the war, primarily the Treaties of Trianon and Neuilly, ensured the annexation of new territories to Romania.

The larger country, known as Greater Romania (*România Mare*), included not only the Kingdom of Romania (the Regat) but also Bukovina and Bessarabia in the east and Transylvania in the west; a smaller territory south of the Danube River, known as the

Cadrilater or southern Dobruja, had been annexed earlier, after Bulgaria 's defeat in the Balkan War of 1913.

Romania's borders remained unchanged in the interwar years from 1918 to 1940. However, over the summer of 1940, Romania incurred significant losses of territory. In June 1940, the Soviet Union made unexpected territorial claims on Romania, backed by a secret stipulation of the Nazi-Soviet Non-aggression Pact, also called the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, signed on August 23, 1939. In accordance with this pact, the Soviet Union occupied northern Bukovina, the Hertza region, and Bessarabia on June 28, 1940. These lands were incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Two months later, on August 30, 1940, the Second Vienna Award brokered by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy reassigned northern Transylvania to Hungary. King Carol II of Romania and his royal council signed the accord the next day. Finally, in the Treaty of Craiova, Romania signed away the Cadrilater to Bulgaria on September 7, 1940.

These territorial losses, which came as a blow to Romania's national pride, fueled strong xenophobic and antisemitic sentiments among its political class, intellectuals, and the masses. Antisemitic agitation that had been growing steadily from the early 1930s in Romania and had permeated all layers of society reached unprecedented levels. The army units retreating from the ceded territories in June 1940 mistreated Jewish civilians in their path, under the pretext of the Jews being Soviet sympathizers.

Ethnic minorities, but Jews especially, became the target of intense persecution from, among others, members of the Iron Guard (*Garda de Fier*), led at that time by Horia Sima. Sima had inherited the leadership of the Iron Guard party from his predecessor, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, the founder of a number of ultranationalist movements, such as the Legion of the Archangel Michael (*Legiunea Arhanghelului Mihail*) that later morphed into the Iron Guard. Codreanu, then Sima, proclaimed an extreme form of nationalism that combined Christian Orthodoxy with overt xenophobic and racist elements that incited violence not only against nonethnic Romanians, such as Jews, but even ethnic Romanians who did not share the narrow ideals set by the Legion's captain (*Căpitan*). The legionnaires claimed that those

supporting capitalist or, conversely, communist ideas were "dangerous elements," corrupting the Romanian spirit and sapping its vigor.

One of the most significant governmental measures, foreshadowing more extreme measures aimed at undermining Jewish life in Romania, was the revision of citizenship for Jews implemented by the government of Octavian Goga and Alexandru C. Cuza in January 1938. The revision in the citizenship law stripped 200,000 Jews of their legal status. Subsequent practices of legally robbing the country's Jews followed, chief among them being the state's expropriation of Jewish-owned private enterprises (shops, factories, mills, hotels, and so on), and other assets (such as land, money, boats, estates, and buildings). This process of expropriation came to be known as "romanianization" (*Românizare*). As early as late 1940 and the beginning of 1941, elected and appointed representatives at the local and district level, including mayors, prefects, and police chiefs, aggressively boycotted Jewish businesses, hoping to drive them out of business and then acquiring them for the benefit of the state or simply for personal gain. Physical violence and threats were also commonly used to make the Jewish owners agree to sell their businesses at dramatically reduced prices. The perpetrators were often members of the Iron Guard, which, in coalition with General Ion Antonescu, governed the nation from September 6, 1940, to January 23, 1941, and instituted the National Legionary State.[1]

The rebellion instigated by Iron Guard leaders in January 1941 to gain full control of the government failed, resulting in Sima's defeat and expulsion from the ruling coalition and ushering in Antonescu's dictatorship that lasted until August 1944. However, it did succeed in inflicting significant losses on the Jewish community throughout Romania, but especially in Bucharest. Hundreds of Jews—leaders in various professions as well as representatives of the general population—were dragged out of their homes and robbed. Some were then brutally murdered on the streets of Bucharest; 120 bodies were recovered after the legionary rebellion on January 24, 1941. Synagogues, Jewish institutions, and Jewish stores were robbed and burned or badly damaged. This Kristallnacht-like event in Bucharest was followed by smaller incidents of violence in the months to follow. Such open violence

happened even as Antonescu destroyed the Iron Guard movement and imprisoned many of its members in Romania—although some were actually sent to penal camps in Transnistria, as described in a few of the following entries.

Romania maintained neutrality in the war until late 1940, when Antonescu formally allied the country to the Axis Powers in November 1940 by signing the Tripartite Pact. This alliance was not only military and economic but also ideological, as reflected in the country's turn against "Judeo-Bolshevism" and its so-called allies. The prospect of war against the "enemy from the East" elevated antisemitism in Romania to even higher levels, making the defeat and expulsion of the Jews from Romania a national cause. Romania's territorial aspirations came to be dressed in a moral cloth, the war becoming "holy," the enemy "immoral" and "godless."

Ion Antonescu (1882–1946), ruler of Romania from 1940 to 1944.
USHMM WS #80531, COURTESY OF NARA.

Soon after the joint German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the city of Iaşi witnessed the murder of thousands of Jews between June 29 and 30 at the hands of both Romanian and German policemen and soldiers, motivated by the lies that Jews had signaled Soviet aircraft where to drop bombs and had shot at the soldiers stationed in the city. Some 4,400 survivors of the pogrom were crammed into two freight trains and sent to concentration camps in the southern part of Romania. With car vents and doors shut tight, the trains made their way slowly in the high summer temperatures; two-thirds of the passengers perished from suffocation, exhaustion, and thirst before reaching

their destination.

While the Iaşi pogrom was taking place, Antonescu's Order No. 4147, issued on June 21, 1941, triggered the evacuation of thousands of Jews from villages to cities throughout the entire Regat. Harsher still was the fate of the Jews living between the Siret and Prut Rivers near the Soviet border. An excerpt from Antonescu's order follows:

> All Jews, age 18–60, living in villages between the Siret and Prut Rivers, will be evacuated to the Târgu Jiu camp and to the villages around this town. The first trains are to leave beginning today, June 21, 1941.
>
> The rest of the Jewish families living between the Siret and the Prut Rivers (i.e., those not falling within the age group mentioned above), as well as the Jewish families from other villages in Moldavia (i.e., those not falling within the Siret-Prut corridor), will be evacuated to urban centers in the judeţ where they live. The evacuation of the families from the other villages in Moldova (i.e., those not within the Siret-Prut corridor) will take place within 48 hours from the time this order is received.
>
> All the Jewish families living in villages in the rest of the country will be evacuated to urban centers in the district where they live within 4 days of receiving this order. Name lists will be created for all the evacuated Jews in order to keep track of their movements, and these lists will be given to the police. The evacuated families are forbidden to enter the villages and rural towns from which they left. The homes of the evacuees, along with all other property, will be handed over to the local administrative authorities (i.e., mayors).
>
> Those who during the evacuation will be caught destroying property, or acquiring it, will be brought before military tribunals and handed death sentences.[2]

Antonescu's measure massively disrupted the life of approximately 39,000 of the Regat's Jews. Overnight these Jews became impoverished evacuees in their own country. The fate of the Jewish deportees from the Siret-Prut corridor, which included

judeţe (districts) such as Baia, Botoşani, Covurlui, Dorohoi, Fălciu, Iaşi, Rădăuţi, Tecuci, and Vaslui, was also catastrophic. These evacuees-turned-deportees were transported in freight trains to detention camps in the southern Regat, in places such as Calafat, Călăraşi, Caracal, Craiova, Lugoj, Târgu Jiu, and Turnu-Severin. To these unfortunate Jews were added others from judeţes that were not located within the Siret-Prut corridor, but were considered strategic from a military point of view. In this category were included the Jews of Constanţa, who were imprisoned in the Cobadin camp and then moved to the Mereni, Osmancea, and Ciobăniţa camps; the Jews from the Prahova district (Ploieşti, Câmpina, and Sinaia), who were imprisoned in the Teiş camp; and the Jews of the Râmanicu-Sărat judeţ, who were placed in a camp in the judeţ's capital.[3] Although the majority of those detained in camps were Jewish men of various ages (most were 18 to 60, although some were as young as 14), some Jewish women were also interned. The total number of Jews detained in concentration camps by August 8, 1941, reached 12,744.[4] Detention lasted almost four months, until late November or December 1941, in harsh and primitive conditions. The following entries on these camps in the Regat provide an overview of what the detainees endured. Their release from captivity only meant their being drafted, along with other Jews of the Regat, into forced labor camps.

FORCED LABOR CAMPS AND BRIGADES FOR JEWS IN THE REGAT, 1941–1944

One of the Antonescu regime's first measures against the Jews in Romania was the removal of all Jewish men from the military in December 1940.[5] It was motivated by the perception that the Jews were disloyal and so unreliable. To compensate for their exclusion from military service, Jews between ages 18 and 50 were required to pay a military tax and undertake compulsory "community work" (*muncă de folos obştesc*), later renamed "forced labor" (*muncă obligatorie*). The obligation to work lasted for as long as non-Jewish citizens were mobilized in the army for war or roughly from the summer of 1941 to the summer of 1944. The amount of tax required varied according to age, as did the length of time

required to work each year. For example, young adults (ages 18 to 21) paid the highest amount of tax, 7,000 lei per year. Those between ages 21 and 24 paid 6,000 lei annually, whereas those between ages 24 and 41 paid 4,000 lei. For adults between ages 41 and 50, the tax was 1,000 lei. Similarly, younger groups were required to work the longest: for those between ages 18 and 21, the mandatory term was set at 60 days annually; ages 21 and 24, 180 days per year; ages 24 and 26, 120 days per year; ages 26 and 41, 90 days per year; and finally, ages 41 and 50, 60 days per year. The legislation also stipulated that, in time of war, the periods of mandatory labor could be extended or even become permanent, and indeed many Jews were held well beyond their initial mandatory terms.

Those who could not afford to pay the military tax were required to work an additional 60 days annually. The very ill or disabled who could not physically work were not exempted from paying the tax. Although generally only Jewish men were required to undertake forced labor, Jewish women between ages 18 and 40 were sometimes drafted as well (usually for lighter physical duties). The Romanian administration intended for Jewish professionals with academic titles, such as doctors, to be requisitioned as forced laborers according to their profession and paid a higher allowance than nonspecialist workers. Able-bodied Jews who did not pay the tax or fulfill their mandatory work term were sent before a military court and could expect detention in prison/penal camps or deportation to Transnistria. Several groups of Jews were exempted from mandatory labor—foreign citizens, specialists requisitioned for factories connected to the arms industry or other state authorities, skilled workers in enterprises undergoing romanianization who could not be replaced with non-Jewish citizens because of their unique expertise, and those Jews indispensable to financial institutions.

Compulsory work was performed primarily for the benefit of the National Defense Ministry (*Ministerul Apărării Naţionale*) and its related industries, but also for other ministries, such as Transportation, Agriculture, and Forestry. Governmental bodies—city halls, prefectures, and various technical services and chambers within those institutions—and state-owned factories took advantage of the opportunity to obtain cheap laborers to undertake

various building or restoration projects. Private businesses and large estate owners also requested and were provided with Jews for work. Not only did the Romanian state benefit from the Jews' compulsory labor, but so did a series of enterprises (airports) and cultural agencies run by the German Army in Romania.

The institutions assigned to monitor and legislate Jewish labor were the Interior Ministry (*Ministerul Afacerilor Interne*, MAI) and the Army General Staff, 2nd Echelon (*Marele Stat Major, Eşalonul 2*, MSM). An additional body existed temporarily in the Labor Ministry to coordinate the implementation of Jewish forced labor, namely the General Inspectorate of Labor Camps and Brigades (*Inspectoratul General al Taberelor şi Coloanelor de Muncă*). It was the responsibility of this inspectorate, in line with decrees issued by MSM and MAI, to set up labor camps, organize their leadership, and control them, as well as to assign Jews to labor sites and establish the camps' working schedule. The General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, through its district-(judeţ-) level legions, in conjunction with army recruitment centers (*Cercuri de Recrutare*), was the enforcing arm of the project. From 1942 onward, MSM assumed full responsibility for monitoring and enforcing Jewish forced labor.

Jewish forced laborers worked in their own civilian clothes, though they usually wore a 10-centimeter (nearly 4-inch) wide yellow band on their left arm to distinguish them from other types of workers. The name of the army center that recruited them for work was inscribed on the yellow band. Jewish professionals requisitioned to work in the army (as doctors, veterinarians, and engineers, for example) were not required to wear the armband. Instead, they wore military uniforms, with corresponding insignia for medical and engineer personnel. The Star of David (from one to three stars, of various colors, to distinguish between ranks) was pinned to the epaulets of all Jewish officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs).[6]

Some Jews were ordered to work in or near the cities or towns of their residence. Forming "internal brigades" (*detaşamente interioare*), these Jews returned home after a day's work and were cared for by their families. Because of the provisional nature and location of their work, the sites where the internal brigades worked

are not considered "camps." Other Jews, however, were sent to work far away from their homes, sometimes for 6 to 12 months at a time; they were assembled in "external brigades" (*detaşamente exterioare*). External brigades required housing for the duration of their stay, and because work sites were frequently established in rural, mountainous, or swampy regions, housing the workers proved challenging for the Romanian administration. Rudimentary shelters, such as barracks, shacks, barns, ware houses, or even rail-cars, were used to accommodate workers. Some workers were placed in mountain cabins or were allowed to rent a room in the village nearest to the work site; others were put up in auxiliary buildings belonging to the institution for which they worked.

Hundreds of work camps for Jews existed throughout Romania between 1941 and 1944; examples are described in this volume to give the reader some sense of what they were like. A "work camp" (*tabără de muncă* or *lagăr de muncă*) could be made out of a few barracks or ware houses in close proximity to each other, or could be a number of dispersed village houses or villas that the Jews rented, or could be a combination of both. As a general practice, work camps were set up in isolated places, in the outskirts of towns and villages, but many times the lack of housing forced the authorities to establish camps inside villages by repurposing old and abandoned buildings or sheds. Not every work camp was surrounded by barbed wire, nor was a military guard always present on site. Civilian supervisors, such chief engineers, team leaders, or foremen, as well as mayors or other local authorities, took on commanding roles over the detained workers when military supervision was insufficient, lacking completely, or, indeed, not needed due to the small number of workers making up a brigade. Forced labor camps were occasionally referred to simply as "detachments" (*detaşamente*), with or without a number or affiliation. Yet the camps were often dehumanizing sites, where mandatory labor met rudimentary quarters and created a situation in which workers had few rights and were cheap to hire and maintain.

On September 12, 1941, the General Inspector of the Gendarmes in Romania, General de divizie Constantin Z. Vasiliu, outraged by rumors of widespread corruption among camp authorities and seeking an accurate census of the camps, requested

a complete list of all work camps from all district-level legions. The terms "work brigades" and "internment camps" were freely interchanged in his order.[7] In response, in October 1941, MSM claimed to have 84,042 Jews aged 18 to 50 available for forced labor. Of them 47,345 were being used as forced laborers at that time, and an additional 11,933 (mostly intellectuals) were available for deployment as needed. The balance of almost 25,000 Jews were on reserve.

A survey of approximately 100 such labor camps for Jews in the fall of 1941 indicates many commonalities in living and working conditions, but also differences.[8] Most camps were repressive. Workers endured restricted areas of movement, limited social contact with the general population, overcrowding in precarious and unhygienic living quarters, exposure to the elements, poor nutrition, and insufficient (or no) medical attention. Bribing lower ranking officials on site sometimes secured small favors not allowed under law, such as permission to travel home for a short period of time. Work lasted six days a week, and on average, the work schedule was for 8–10 hours a day. For those in forced labor camps, work was not regularly suspended during religious celebrations.[9] Some camps were guarded by gendarmes, whereas others were only lightly supervised by someone with authority over the labor project. Members of the local gendarmes post nearest to the camp routinely watched the roads for potential fugitives.

The authorities hiring Jewish workers were required by law to feed and pay them. The allocation that was to be spent on food was 35 lei per day, supplemented by 5 lei for cigarettes and 5 lei for soap. A Jewish worker's pay was comparable to an army soldier's pay. Jewish specialists in the army were paid according to the ranks held, prorated to the number of days worked.[10] Camp meals were basic. A light breakfast (a slice of bread and a cup of tea) was followed by a light lunch (bean or potato soup, usually meatless, and a slice of bread); dinner was a repeat of lunch or breakfast. Workers ate in the camp or at the work site, depending on the distance from the site to the camp, as well as at military canteens separated from non-Jewish laborers. When employers were unable to feed their workers, money for food was theoretically, at least, paid to the camp or brigade leader to procure food for the entire

group. Alternatively, the hiring institution reimbursed the workers for their food expenses within the limit of the food allocation. Rarely, the authorities permitted the wives of the men taken to work in exterior brigades to accompany their husbands; these women procured food for the camp and/or cooked for the men. Instances when the Jewish communities nearest to the work camp rescued the workers from extreme malnutrition by providing supplementary meals were, however, not rare.

The treatment of Jewish forced laborers varied from camp to camp. Where a humane spirit on the authorities' part prevailed, they ensured that the Jews were not overworked, starved, or beaten and that they had adequate clothing and tools. When circumstances permitted, wealthier workers tried to avoid undertaking their labor duties by paying others to do their share or ensuring they were assigned easier tasks. Obtaining a false medical certificate attesting to ill health was occasionally possible, typically procured by a substantial bribe, but was always risky. Since medical certificates could exempt one from mandatory work, these documents as well as their possessors were regularly checked by army doctors. Those documents found to be false landed the culprit before a court-martial and from there to a prison or penal camp in Romania or Transnistria; runaways who were apprehended met a similar fate.[11]

A series of changes were introduced in the general mandatory work regime for Jews beginning in the spring of 1942. These "improvements" enabled the Romanian state to use Jewish labor more profitably. As a new feature, MSM assigned forced labor detachments of Jews to the Army Corps of Engineers and the Rear Echelon Command, which were undertaking infrastructure projects of national importance, such as the maintenance or expansion of roads, highways, bridges, and river embankments. The roads (*Drumuri*) and works (*Lucru*) battalions were large military units consisting of regular army soldiers and civilian groups. To improve the level of organization, efficiency and control, the battalions were usually divided into smaller groups—companies (*companii*) and platoons (*plutoane*) commanded by lower ranking officers or NCOs—that were dispersed along a construction area that could stretch over a few kilometers. These commandants were periodically ordered to enforce existing or new regulations to maintain order and discipline. When assigned to

such battalions, the Jews were quartered separately, apart from the regular soldiers and recruited civilians. Jewish workers were routinely given the hardest, most physically demanding tasks. In the case of road or bridge building or erecting fortifications, their work involved breaking and carrying large stones, and loading and unloading other heavy materials. To illustrate the treatment of Jews in these battalions, a description of two work and two road battalions follows.

The 1016 Works Battalion was commanded by Locotenent-colonel Oaie C. Cojocaru, who was succeeded by Locotenent-colonel Ştefan Lupu. Under the control of the II Territorial Army Corps, the battalion command was stationed at Baldovineşti, 7 kilometers (4 miles) northwest of the city of Brăila (Brăila judeţ). In addition to non-Jewish civilian workers, some 567 Jews were working in the battalion and were divided into two groups, the 1st Company and 2nd Company. The Jews were mobilized for forced labor in the 1016 Works Battalion by Instruction Center No. 5, after being recruited by the Constanţa Recruitment Center (*Cercul Teritorial Constanţa*). Housed in barracks in a cantonment in Baldovineşti, the forced laborers were guarded at night by armed soldiers. The work sites were a few kilometers away from the camp. The main work consisted of digging trenches and building cement fortifications. Working conditions were tough, particularly in the cold winter months of 1943, and became even harsher in the spring of 1944 as the Red Army edged toward Bucharest.

The work schedule was 9–10 hours a day, six days a week. When insufficient progress was made in a day or a week, work continued on Sundays as well as during holidays. Regulations mandating leave periods—15 days for every 6 months of continual work—were ignored. Meals were served outdoors, in the working area. Food consisted of a few slices of bread and a vegetable (usually bean) soup. The supervision of Jews intensified in May 1944, for fear of sabotage. All mail was censored. Sluggish work met with corporal punishment. Anyone fleeing (or attempting to flee) the work site was sentenced by military tribunals to deportation to Transnistria, along with their immediate family members; from December 1943 onward, as repatriations from Transnistria were taking place, the sentence was replaced by jail time, as was the case for Carol Abramovici of the 2nd Company,

who received five years' imprisonment in Ploieşti civil penitentiary for repeated absences from the work site. Far stricter measures were issued by Antonescu in May 1944 for anyone not undertaking forced labor (apart from a few exempted categories). According to Order No. 33, issued on May 7, 1944, such people were to be shot.[12]

To aid in the building of a strategic defense corridor in the eastern part of Romania (known as the Focşani-NămoloasaBrăila Zone) against the approaching Red Army, a second battalion was brought to the Brăila judeţ in early 1944. The 1017 Works Battalion was quartered in Oancea, a small town 20 kilometers (12 miles) northwest of Brăila and 14 kilometers (9 miles) west of Baldovineşti. Some 731 Jewish men were conscripted for this battalion by the Covurlui Territorial Circle (*Cercul Teritorial Covurlui*) and were set to work building fortifications in the same conditions as faced by those in the 1016 Works Battalion.

In 1942, the 7th and 8th Roads Battalions were assigned to the northeastern part of Romania and Bessarabia. The commandant of the 7th Roads Battalion was Locotenent-colonel A. Laurian. This battalion was stationed in Ştefăneşti in the Botoşani judeţ, whereas the 8th Roads Battalion was quartered in Floreşti, a Bessarabian town in the Soroca judeţ (today: Republic of Moldova). The Iaşi Recruitment Center enlisted hundreds of Jews from Moldavia in forced labor detachments attached to the two battalions. The Jews in both battalions were housed separately, in huts and barracks, preventing them from coming easily into contact with the local population. The battalions worked to build new roads and repave existing ones. The Jewish contingents broke stones and carried them in wheelbarrows to the construction sites. High-ranking officers in the MSM and in the IV Territorial Command inspected both battalions in August 1942. They noted the poor conditions in which the Jews labored (in insufficient or ragged clothes), the disciplinary measures taken against "infractors" (from corporal punishment to deportations to Transnistria), and the suspension of maintenance allocations. Although expressing concern about the Jewish laborers' prospects in the coming winter months, the inspectors proposed that family packages for Jews containing food or money not be permitted, "for it displeases the troops."[13] Some of the Jews who were deported to Transnistria in September or

October 1942 for their misconduct (repeated absences) during forced labor returned to Romania in December 1943, only to be enlisted again in exterior detachments on their arrival—as was the case for five Jews assigned to the 8th Roads Battalion in February 1944.

With the Red Army's recapture of Bessarabia in April 1944, both battalions were moved deeper inside Romania. Detachment of Jews No. 147, from the 7th Roads Battalion, went to Târguşor in the Constanţa judeţ, whereas Detachment of Jews No. 148, from the 8th Roads Battalion, moved to Tibana in the Vaslui judeţ. They worked there, in similar primitive conditions, until August 23, 1944, when Romania switched sides in the war. At that time there were 169 Jews in Detachment No. 147 and 812 Jews in Detachment No. 146.

On August 30, 1944, MSM proposed that all forced labor detachments brigades (local and exterior units) for Jews be dissolved. The measure was formally announced, effective September 11, 1944 (Order No. 523.345).[14]

PRISONER OF WAR CAMPS IN ROMANIA

The detention of prisoners of war (POWs) in Romania constitutes a little-known chapter of the war. Within the first two years of the war (1941 to 1943), the Romanian Army captured and held an estimated 80,000 Soviet prisoners and, in 1943 and 1944, an additional 1,200 Western Allied prisoners (mostly American and British). A number of the Soviet prisoners were interned in camps in Transnistria, but the majority were gradually moved to camps in Romania (mostly but not exclusively in the Regat). The number of camps for Soviet prisoners fluctuated, depending on the country's labor needs that sometimes required the consolidation or division of camps into subcamps. Fourteen entries on camps and subcamps where Soviet prisoners were held in Romania and Transnistria are included here. The tragic conditions of their internment, as well as their treatment until they were freed in September and October 1944, are well depicted. The Western Allied prisoners were held in two camps, at Timişul de Jos and Bucharest; their overall living conditions and treatment were significantly better than what the Soviet POWs experienced in their camps. Many factors

contributed to the better treatment of the Western Allied prisoners, not least of which being the time of their capture—the tide of war had already changed against Romania—and their countries' adherence to the 1929 Geneva Convention. Approximately 500 Italian troops (called Italian Military Internees, IMIs) were disarmed and interned in a camp at Oieşti after Italy's Armistice in September 1943. They, too, enjoyed decent treatment, as former allies in war.[15]

CAMPS FOR RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN ROMANIA

The Antonescu regime's persecution of religious minorities, in the name of religious homogenization and political loyalty, has only recently emerged in historical scholarship.[16] The outlawing of religious minorities in Bessarabia and Bukovina came shortly after the (re)annexation of these territories by Romania in July 1941. By December 1941, the religious minorities in these two provinces, as well as in Romanian-controlled Transnistria, ceased to exist *de jure*. A year later, the prohibition against religious minorities in the Regat also went into effect, putting formerly recognized religious minorities, such as Jehovah's Witnesses, Baptists, and Seventh-Day Adventists, outside the law. Among the religious groups directly affected by Antonescu's restrictive religious policy were the so-called neo-Protestant religious minorities (Baptists, Seventh-Day Adventists, Reformed Adventists, Brethren, and Pentecostals); however, the policy also affected Orthodox Christian minorities, such as the Inochentists, Molokans, and the Old Calendar Believers.

Only a small number of the members of the persecuted denominations abandoned their personal faith and joined the religions that the Antonescu regime recognized. Instead, most believers in these denominations went underground, meeting in secret and persevering under great repression. The gendarmerie and police, in conjunction with local Orthodox clergy and the people who supported the authorities, pursued the "heretical" members to the full extent of the law. Members of the minority churches were routinely beaten and threatened with deportation to Transnistria. Church buildings were shut, services discontinued,

and church archives and religious materials confiscated. A close monitoring of members, but especially of church leaders, followed. Many of those "insubordinates"—who held services without a permit, possessed and distributed religious literature, refused to pledge allegiance, and/or took up arms—were brought up before military courts and given lengthy prison terms; some were also held in detention camps, such as the Târgu Vertujeni and Oneştii Noi camps in Bessarabia. In a special case, about 2,000 Inochentists, as well as a handful of Baptists and some members of other denominations, were ordered by Antonescu to be deported to camps in Transnistria in August 1942.[17]

CAMPS AND GHETTOS IN TRANSNISTRIA

Approximately 150 identified ghettos and camps were erected in the territory known as Transnistria, a part of Ukraine of approximately 42,000 square kilometers (more than 16,200 square miles) located between the Dniester River in the west and the Bug River in the east, and between the Black Sea to the south and the town of Şmerinca in the north. It can be divided into northern, central, and southern regions. Before the war, the population was overwhelmingly Jewish in some Transnistrian towns, such as Crasnoie, Şargorod, Crivoi Ozero, Olgopol, and Berşad; other towns (Copaigorod and Oceacov) had smaller Jewish communities. According to the 1939 Soviet census, the Jewish population in the area approached 331,000.

Between August 19, 1941, and May 1944 under Romanian administration, Transnistria was divided into 13 judeţe. The districts, from north to south, were Moghilev, Tulcin, Jugastru (also known as Iampol, after its capital), Balta, Râbniţa, Golta, Ananiev, Dubăsari, Berezovca, Oceacov, Tiraspol, Odessa, and Ovidopol. Each district was governed by a prefect—an army or gendarmerie officer. Each subdistrict (*raion*) was headed by a praetor (*pretor*), who enjoyed much broader powers than the prefect. Under the governor (*guvernator*) of Transnistria, Professor Gheorghe Alexianu, the praetor's office, the city hall, and the prefecture formed the basis of the Transnistrian government.

The first wave of mass killings against Jewish civilians in

Transnistria occurred in August and September 1941. It was spearheaded by units of the Einsatzgruppe D, a German police force attached to the advancing Eleventh Army of the Wehr macht, which often attracted locals (Ukrainians, *Volksdeutsche*) into committing the killing. The Jewish survivors hidden among the Ukrainians returned to their wrecked and ransacked homes. Approximately 205,000 Jews survived the initial assault: 35,000 in the northern and central regions of Transnistria (Moghilev, Tulcin, Jugastru, Balta, and Rîbniţa), and more than 70,000 in other districts of southern Transnistria. Another 100,000 Jews found shelter in Odessa, which withstood the attackers until the middle of October 1941.

Immediately on their entry into the capitals of the districts, the first units of the Romanian Army, followed by the units of the gendarmerie and then the prefects, initiated vigorous efforts to identify the local Ukrainian Jews for the purpose of incarcerating them in ghettos and camps. The incarceration of the local Jews in the northern and central districts of Transnistria was completed in October 1941, with deployment of the Romanian authorities up to the banks of the Bug. Yet the pursuit of Jews continued until the Romanian occupation ended.

The fate of the Ukrainian Jews differed in each of the three regions (their fate in the northern and central regions is described in the section on ghettos). Between October and December 1941, the more than 70,000 Jewish survivors from southern Transnistria were concentrated in Romanian camps situated near the Bug River and then liquidated. After Odessa's capture by the Romanian Army in October 1941, some of the city's Jews were killed in large-scale reprisals, such as the one following the explosion of the Romanian Army headquarters in Odessa. The rest of the Jewish population was deported from Odessa to the same camps near the Bug River, some on foot during November 1941, others by trains from January to March 1942.

According to the Tighina Agreement, signed on August 30, 1941, by representatives of the Romanian Army and the Wehrmacht for the purpose of delineating both countries' areas of influence, the evacuation of Romanian and local Jews beyond the Bug River was to be postponed until the end of the war. Instead the Jews were to be concentrated in labor camps and put to work

until the cessation of hostilities when it would be possible to move them eastward to German-occupied Ukraine. Transnistria was chosen to serve as a temporary dumping ground for the Romanian Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina who survived the murder campaign and who were later to be deported across the Bug River into Reich Commissariat Ukraine (*Reichskommissariat Ukraine*, RKU)—the area of Ukraine under German civil administration.

From late July until December 1941, approximately 180,000 Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina and from the Dorohoi district in the Regat were deported from place to place in convoys throughout Transnistria, in accordance with the general plan to evacuate them across the Bug. Deportations resumed at the beginning of the summer of 1942 for some 6,000 Jews mainly from Cernăuţi (Czernowitz) and a handful from Chişinău (Kishinev). The ultimate objective was to transfer all the deportees and the local Jews who were still alive after the first wave of massacres to improvised, as yet nonexistent, camps in the vicinity of the Bug River. At the appropriate time, according to the plan, all the Jews found in Transnistria were to be expelled across the Bug, to cleanse this territory of Jews as well. The deportees from Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Dorohoi were sent mainly to the northern part of Transnistria—the Moghilev, Balta, and Tulcin judeţe—but smaller numbers reached the central (Golta and Ananiev) and southern (Berezovca) judeţe.

The movement of convoys of Jews toward the Bug took place in total disarray during October and November 1941. Thousands of Jews were left along the deportation routes in towns and villages that had never been intended to serve as ghettos or camps. The ghettos and camps sprang up after the Romanian Army and administration proved unable to transport tens of thousands of Jews to the Bug and house them there. The system of ghettos and camps set up by the Romanian occupation regime was a temporary measure and was never intended to last as long as it did, until March and April 1944 when the Soviets recaptured Transnistria.

Ghettos emerged around the repossession by the deportees of abandoned houses along streets that once constituted a village's or town's Jewish district. The houses, often destroyed by war and pillage, became vacant after the local Ukrainian Jews had fled the area or been deported or killed. However, many ghettos did not

originate ex nihilo, but contained a mixed population of Ukrainian Jews from that locality who agreed to take Jews deported from Romania into their homes. In Transnistria, the demarcation of a ghetto area from the rest of the village or town was not rigid. Some ghettos were fenced, and others were not; the ghetto of Moghilev, for example, was fenced in the summer of 1942, a year after its creation. Most ghettos were guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries (local men recruited into the police force), but few were heavily guarded. Strict ordinances forbidding Jews to leave the ghetto on penalty of death, as well as the fear of encountering patrols outside the ghetto, kept most Jews in place.

After the murder of many of their family members, the Jews incarcerated in the improvised ghettos and camps were in poor mental and physical condition. During the deportation marches, the gendarmes shot any laggards; many Jews, especially older people, were simply too weak to keep the pace and were shot by the gendarmes bringing up the rear. Those children orphaned along the way were adopted by other families, or they clung to their dying parents and were gunned down together with them. Before setting out, every convoy was robbed first by the gendarmes. They raped girls and young women, with officers selecting overnight accommodations suitable for orgies. Ukrainian volunteers and local Romanians (Moldovans) who later formed the Ukrainian police accompanied the convoys and displayed even greater cruelty. Throughout Transnistria, but chiefly in the Moghilev judeţ, Ukrainian gangs attacked the convoys, either killing deportees outright or taking their clothing—and other belongings—and leaving the naked to freeze to death.

Ordinance No. 23, issued in November 1941 by Antonescu through the governor of Transnistria, Alexianu, determined the status of the Jews, their obligations, and living conditions in the ghettos. It remained valid until the Romanian retreat from Transnistria in the spring of 1944.[18] Through the implementation of this ordinance, the Transnistrian government absolved itself of all responsibility for the Jews—including their subsistence and the provision of lodging, medical care, and food. Any Jew outside the ghetto was considered a spy and was to be executed. The gendarmes were authorized to "settle" both local Jews and deportees in preselected, abandoned houses. The decree forbade

Jews to leave the villages, defined the ghettos as colonies, and empowered praetors to appoint Jewish "colony chiefs" and informers responsible for ensuring compliance with orders. The Romanian Army throughout Transnistria was instructed, based on Ordinance No. 23, to prevent Jews from leaving the ghettos and camps. The Romanian gendarmerie was made responsible for the guarding of the ghettos and camps with the help of local Ukrainians employed as police assistants or auxiliaries, who wore no uniforms, only colored armbands.

Ukrainian police guarded ghettos, killing centers, and labor camps throughout Transnistria. In the ghettos, they also assisted in various actions undertaken by the Romanian authorities, including the seizure of workers, surprise inspections, and arrests. Forced labor was imposed on all the Jews and consisted of working on farms, repairing bridges and roads, cutting down trees, hauling stones, and restoring and operating factories. Jewish artisans and other professionals were placed at the disposal of the municipalities or any other Romanian authority. The payment for Jewish labor was a meager "food coupon" in the value of 1 RKKS (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, German-issued scrip that passed for Transnistria's currency) for those engaged in unskilled labor, and 2 RKKS for skilled laborers. In reality, however, both groups were rarely paid. Enslaved to the Romanian state, the Jews had many masters, including the gendarmerie and the various arms of the government. Prefects, praetors, and anyone else who exploited Jewish labor—Romanian managers and agronomists employed by the regime, as well as garrison commanders—had control over the Jews. This plethora of authorities permitted the enactment of arbitrary anti-Jewish measures and benefited the notoriously corrupt parties involved.

GHETTOS

Most of the ghettos in Romania were established in the Moghilev, Balta, Tulcin, and Jugastru judeţes in the northern region of Transnistria, where large numbers of deportees from Romania were sent. In some cases entire communities from southern Bukovina, together with their leaders, were deported as a group. Moghilev housed some 15,000 to 20,000 deported and local Jews and served as a transit point for another 50,000. In this district's

towns and villages, more than 50 ghettos and camps were established in Jewish neighborhoods and in collective and state farms (*kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes*), in houses either totally or partially destroyed, with no windows or doors. The number of deportees far exceeded the supply of available houses; even ruined apartments were quickly occupied. The winter of 1941 was extremely harsh with temperatures dropping to 35° C below zero (-31° F). Many died of cold or starved to death.

Berşad in the Balta judeţ became the largest ghetto between the Dniester and the Bug, with roughly 20,000 Jewish deportees in addition to a local Jewish population of 4,000 to 5,000. Most ghettos in the Balta judeţ, however, were a cluster of stables and pigsties on a former collective farm packed with several thousand Jews. Most of these exiles died unknown, without any grave or marker. Not all the ghettos in this district have been identified.

The second-largest ghetto in Romania was in Şargorod. During October and November 1941, some 7,000 deportees joined the 1,800 local Jews already living there; by December, 9,000 were packed into the ghetto, most from Bukovina.

In places where the local Jews survived, they received the deportees with care and provided them shelter in homes or in synagogues. Jewish Councils were set up in some ghettos as a result of local initiatives with the consent of the Romanian authorities. In some of the towns that housed ghettos, such as Şargorod, Djurin, and Balta, the Jewish Councils set up by the deportees included community leaders from Romania and representatives of the local Ukrainian Jews. In other places, the Romanian prefects, praetors, or gendarmerie commanders appointed local Jewish Councils and forced them to collaborate with the authorities. In many ghettos, the Councils established communal kitchens, hospitals, orphanages, and bakeries. A Jewish police force was formed in some ghettos, but it served mainly to support the Romanian authorities in their efforts to draft men and women for forced labor. The ghettos were completely at the mercy of the Romanians and local Ukrainians. The situation was especially grave in the area adjoining the Bug River, as from time to time the Romanian gendarmerie handed Jews not meant for labor over to the Germans on the other side of the river in the RKU. There, the Germans murdered them on the spot or during a

large-scale killing sweep in late 1943.

The conditions imposed by the Romanian authorities in the camps in Bessarabia and Bukovina—the withholding of food and water (for washing and drinking), the terrible overcrowding and consequent lack of hygiene, the lodging in stables exposed to the elements, the physical and psychological abuse, and the endless marches from place to place—sapped the inmates' strength, making them easy prey for illnesses of all kinds. Yet the living conditions worsened for those Jews who were deported to Transnistria. Hunger, lack of sanitary measures and medicine, filth, and lice created the perfect breeding ground for epidemics. The cold of November and December 1941, the lack of heating, the absence of public bath houses, the overall scarcity of soap and kerosene, and the fact that every one lived in such squalor caused a great many deportees to become infested with lice. The victims had to combat the epidemic themselves, without vaccinations, medicine, or means of disinfection.

Typhus broke out in October 1941. The Romanian authorities did not take steps to contain or treat the first typhus cases, and by early December, the typhus epidemic could no longer be viewed solely as a Jewish problem. In all the towns and villages where Jews were lodged, dysentery, typhus, and typhoid fever raged. In late January 1942, typhus ravaged the ghettos and camps of northern Transnistria, excepting Djurin, Murafa, and Şmerinca, where conditions were somewhat less abysmal.

Between October 1941, when the disease was first diagnosed, and March 1942, the authorities regarded typhus (and various related diseases), coupled with starvation and isolation, as the best means to eliminate the Jews—if the maladies could be contained within the ghettos. Indeed, tens of thousands of Jews succumbed to typhus, cold, and starvation during the winter of 1941 and the following spring. Many simply dropped dead in the streets. Jewish physicians deported with their communities tried to combat the epidemic without medicine; unfortunately, many of them contracted the disease and succumbed. Jewish Councils set up hospitals, but could only quarantine the sick.

When the Romanians could not confine the epidemic to the Jews in Transnistria, they finally permitted them to receive medical

assistance from their brethren in Romania. On March 22, 1942, the first delivery of medicine sent by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) from Bucharest reached Moghilev. On April 17, after several weeks' delay, the Romanian authorities finally approved the distribution of the first shipment of medicine from fellow Jews in Bucharest. This aid dramatically reduced the number of subsequent victims.

In the ghettos and camps along the Bug in the Moghilev, Tulcin, and Balta judeţe, the epidemic was especially vicious. The horrific squalor in which the Jews languished precluded the emergence of any internal organization to battle the plague. The epidemic ran its natural course until it subsided. In the three large ghettos alone, 34,500 Jews died of typhus: some 27,000 throughout the Balta judeţ and in Berşad, 4,000 in Şargorod, and 3,500 in Moghilev. In all, some 60,000 to 65,000 Jews in Romania succumbed to typhus, starvation, and cold. When typhus broke out again in the winter of 1942, the health care apparatus set up by the deportees quickly eradicated it; only a small number of deportees died (see the next section, "Self-Help Efforts in the Ghettos"). However, the bodies of the dead accumulated in the cemeteries until the spring, when graves could be dug for them.

SELF-HELP EFFORTS IN THE GHETTOS

The deportees to northern Transnistria slowly began to realize during the horrible winter of 1941 that the typhus epidemic and its causes were the Romanian regime's way of liquidating the Jews (in contrast to the more direct methods adopted in southern Transnistria). That winter, the Romanian authorities displayed little interest in the Jews, as long as they died quietly and the epidemic did not threaten Romanian troops, gendarmes, or officials. The only way to forestall, if not prevent, the extermination of the deportees was to create a self-help apparatus and seek assistance from the Jews in Romania.

As the situation worsened, the heads of the ghettos used the scant means at their disposal—the small sums delivered by couriers from Romania and local donations—and partially succeeded, under indescribable conditions, in combating the spread of the epidemic. However, these measures were

implemented only where a recognized leadership had coalesced, usually in the ghettos closest to Moghilev. In those ghettos adjacent to the Bug and in the villages where tens of thousands of Jews were packed into cowsheds and pigsties, the epidemic raged. The strong and the fortunate survived, while the majority perished.

Initially, the Jewish leadership in Transnistria concentrated on establishing hospitals that were, in the absence of proper medication, not so much treatment facilities as quarantine facilities for the dying. Later, these leaders tried to obtain a few essentials of personal hygiene, such as clean drinking water, soap, and kerosene; to set up public baths; to repair and operate delousing ovens; and, finally, to launch disinfection drives throughout the ghettos. The Jewish Councils battled typhus virtually with their bare hands, even before relief came from Romania. The Romanian regime initially blocked or delayed assistance; it was only due to the eventual arrival of large shipments of money, medicine, and other items—and the onset of summer—that the epidemic was ultimately contained. This aid strengthened the self-help effort to continue the struggle against typhus and other diseases.

After the epidemic abated, the first concern of the Jewish Councils in the ghettos was to establish orphanages for the abandoned children. Life in those improvised institutions was very harsh, but at least the children had a roof over their heads and one meal a day. Mortality among the orphans was high in 1941 and 1942 and decreased later with the arrival of the aid from Romania. Two thousand survived and were repatriated to Romania in February and March 1944.[19]

After the Jewish leadership in Romania became aware of the true situation in the ghettos and camps in Transnistria, it tried to obtain permission from the Romanian authorities to send help to the deportees. On December 17, 1941, Antonescu approved the request made by the Federation of the Jewish Communities (*Federatia Comunităţilor Evreieşti din România*) to provide assistance to the deportees, but the federation was dissolved and replaced by CER appointed by the Antonescu regime. An Autonomous Assistance Committee (*Comisia de Ajutorare*) was established for the purpose of collecting funds from undeported Jews in the Regat as well as from abroad. It dispatched financial aid, clothing, and medicine to the ghettos in each district and to the

main camps. Other aid was provided by the Zionist Organization (*Organizaţia Sionistă*) to the Zionists in the ghettos and by communities of remaining members of the deported communities in Romania.

In early January 1943, the Autonomous Assistance Committee received permission from the governor of Transnistria, Alexianu, to send a delegation to visit three ghettos in Transnistria—Moghilev, Şmerinca, and Balta—and to meet representatives from the surrounding ghettos and camps. The prefects and the commanders of the gendarmerie warned the ghetto heads not to complain about their situation or to reveal the true amount of casualties, threatening to prevent their further receipt of aid if they did so. However, the ghetto leadership succeeded in submitting written or oral reports concerning the real situation to the Autonomous Assistance Committee delegation. The committee's report after its two-week tour in Transnistria was sent not only to the Romanian authorities but also to Jewish organizations abroad. In response the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC), the Rescue Committee of the Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency, the World Jewish Congress (WJC), and the French Children's Aid Society (*Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants*, OSE) sent financial aid in 1943 and 1944, which enabled the Autonomous Assistance Committee to continue its activities. Life in the ghettos improved considerably during 1943 and the beginning of 1944, due to the assistance sent from Romania and a change in the regime's policy toward the Jews, although the latter only partly affected the local authorities in Transnistria. In December 1943 representatives of the Autonomous Assistance Committee again visited Transnistria with the authorities' approval, but this time its goal was to organize the return of the natives of the Regat. Another 6,430 survivors from the Dorohoi judeţ who were among more than 10,000 deported in 1941 were gathered from various ghettos, most of them from the Moghilev judeţ, and repatriated at the end of December 1943.

CAMPS

A network of various kinds of camps was erected in Transnistria to implement the plan to purge the area of Jews. Within this network

can be distinguished transit, extermination, forced labor, punishment, and political camps. Most transit camps (*lagăre de tranzit*) were established at the beginning of Romanian rule, with the aim of directing the convoys toward the Bug River. Such camps existed in Mostovoi, Moghilev, Molocnia, and Slobodca. A temporary camp was established in October 1941 in Mostovoi for the convoys from the Odessa district that left by foot; in February 1942, a camp in the Domanevca subdistrict of Golta received convoys that had left Odessa by train, whose members marched there after having been yanked off the trains at Berezovca. The Mostovoi transit camp existed as long as Jews from southern Transnistria passed through the area. Approximately 4,000 were taken northward to Domanevca and Bogdanovca, but most were scattered among the German and Ukrainian villages in Berezovca. The mass murder of these Jews continued from late January to July 1942. In August 1942, the camp in Mostovoi held part of the group of Jews deported from Romania for allegedly evading forced labor; these Jews were murdered in this camp.

Forced labor camps (*lagăre de muncă*) were established mainly in southern Transnistria. Temporary working camps were established in the Berezovca judeţ in towns, such as Rastadt, Podoleanca, Dvoreanca, Kriniski, Cudznea, Maitova, Cotonea, Ripeaki, Gradovca, and Novaya Uman, before the Jews were liquidated by local German death squads.

Liquidation camps (*lagăre de exterminare*) were established in the Golta judeţ, close to the Bug River, in Acmecetca, Bogdanovca, and Domanevca, as well as in Pecioara in the Moghilev judeţ. Tens of thousands of Jews perished in these camps; they were either shot or died from hunger, disease, and cold. In Pecioara the inmates starved to death; cases of cannibalism were reported there.

The status of many camps in Transnistria changed during the war. In the districts of Moghilev and Tulcin in the north, many ghettos—Capusterna, Chianovca, and Stanislavcic, among others—became labor camps after the children and most of the women perished. A punishment camp was erected in the autumn of 1941 at Slivina in the Oceacov judeţ for Jewish law breakers from Romania and for Ukrainian Jews. The camp in Vapniarca, in

which approximately 2,000 Ukrainian and Romanian Jews had been incarcerated in the local military barracks since October 1941, became in September 1942 a camp for Jewish political prisoners (communists and communist sympathizers), as well as outlawed religious minorities, after the former inmates were shot or had died of typhus.

As a consequence of their haste to liquidate Ukrainian Jewry, in the spring of 1942 the German civil administration in the RKU found that there were no slave laborers in the camps east of the Bug to deploy to construct Highway IV (*Durchgangsstrasse-IV*, DG-IV), a strategic highway that stretched from Lvov in Poland to Stalino, north of the Azov Sea and east of Rostov (gateway to the Caucasus Mountains and Stalingrad). This highway also passed through Bratslav (in Transnistria) and Nemirov, Gaysin, Ivangorod, and Kirovo-grad (east of the Bug). At the request of the Germans, the Romanian administration in Transnistria provided deportees from Romania and Ukrainian Jews as laborers. The labor camps in these towns became death camps for the thousands who were sent there. Another project was the building of a new bridge over the Bug, linking southern Transnistria with the RKU. The Romanian segment of the bridge connected Trihati to the town of Oceacov, and construction was entrusted to German firms from the Reich. Work began in the spring of 1943 and concluded that December. Four thousand Jews, mostly deportees from Romania, were turned over to Nazi SS squads of local Germans and held in three camps on the Romanian side of the Bug (Trihati, Varvarovca, and Colosovca) and two on the German side (Kurievka and Matievka). In total, the Romanians supplied more than 15,000 Jews for German construction projects. Some perished from illness, cold, accidents, exhaustion, or in escape attempts; survivors were eventually returned to the ghettos or camps that sent them or to repatriation centers.

REPATRIATION

General discussions between Dr. W. Filderman, the de facto leader of the Jewish communities in Romania, and various high officials in the Antonescu regime about the repatriation of select groups of Jews deported from Romania started as early as the spring of 1942. The negotiations intensified a year later, in the spring of 1943.[20] At

that time government officials were only minimally concerned about the fate of the deportees in Transnistria. It was the Red Army's quick advance toward Transnistria, which made even more apparent that Nazi Germany and Romania were losing the war, that forced the Antonescu regime to reconsider its stance against the Jews. At least in theory, the regime accepted that some measures should be taken to protect the life of the most vulnerable (orphaned children) and redress the deportation of those Jews deported erroneously by bringing them home. Taking advantage of the unfavorable military situation, the Jewish leaders in Bucharest pressed the regime to act and presented various plans for the return of the deportees.[21]

Beginning in October and continuing through November 1943, a plan was finally conceived and approved to implement a gradual and selective repatriation of the Jews from Transnistria according to various categories. The following groups of deportees were included in the first wave of repatriations, which took place from October to December 1943: Jews originally from the Regat and southern Transylvania; state retirees, veterans of the Romanian War of Independence (i.e., the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878) and World War I, war widows, and war orphans; Jews originally from the Dorohoi judeţ; Jewish orphans up to the age of 12 who had lost both parents; Jews deported for alleged involvement in outlawed political parties; Jews deported for changing their religion; and Jews who had requested repatriation to the Soviet Union.[22] The rest of the Jews were to return in a subsequent phase as a second wave.

However, Antonescu temporarily reversed his intentions to repatriate the rest of the Jews in the second wave from Transnistria. In February 1944, the best solution in the marshal's view was not their repatriation, but the immigration of the remaining deportees to Palestine. Suggesting that these deportees be gathered in the southern part of Transnistria, where they could be sheltered from the war, he charged the Jewish community in Romania and its international supporters to organize and fund the shipment of Jews elsewhere. The plan was never implemented.[23] Instead, on March 14, 1944, when the Red Army crossed the Bug River, the general repatriation of all deported Jews was restarted. The second wave of repatriations, then, was not an initiative of the

Romanian government, but was brought about by the Red Army's capture of Transnistria and the subsequent release of the Jews from captivity.

In the second part of December 1943, the first groups of deportees re entered the country. For example, a large group of 5,944 Jewish deportees originally from Dorohoi (including 650 orphans and lost children) were transported back to that city, amid vocal opposition from its mayor, from December 20 to 25; some Jewish political detainees from Vapniarca prison camp also came at that time, whereas others arrived in subsequent transports. At the beginning of March 1944, orphaned children up to the age of 15, some 2,000 in all, arrived in the country; subsequent groups of children (those up to age 18 and/or with one parent), amounting to an additional 2,950 children, were permitted to return and presumably arrived later.[24] Delegates from the Autonomous Assistance Committee entered Transnistria with the Romanian authorities' approval and worked tirelessly to prepare for the return of the deportees. They focused their efforts on providing transportation to the repatriation centers and clothing, cleaning, and feeding the deportees in advance of their boarding the trains for Romania.[25]

The first wave of repatriation, which ended in early March 1944, brought back to the Regat no more than 10,000 Jews of the nearly 51,000 Jews from Romania who were counted in September 1943 as being held in Transnistria (this figure did not include the Ukrainian Jews from Transnistria).[26] The 51,000 Jews were the survivors from the 190,000 to 200,000 Jews deported to Transnistria from Bessarabia, Bukovina, and the Dorohoi judeţ and (in much smaller numbers) from the Regat in the fall of 1941 and 1942. This means that nearly 150,000 Jews from Romania perished on their way to or in Transnistria within two years. Based on documentary sources, scholars estimate that an additional 180,000 Ukrainian Jews from a total of 200,000 who remained under German and then Romanian occupation in Transnistria also died from August 1941 to September 1943. This puts the total number of victims of the Romanian Holocaust at almost 330,000 Jewish victims. If we add to this number the Roma victims (about 12,000), the result is the frightening figure of 342,000 civilian deaths. The Antonescu regime was primarily responsible for the

majority of these crimes.[27]

THE DEPORTATION OF THE ROMA TO TRANSNISTRIA

The deportation of the Roma (*ţigani*) from Romania to Transnistria constituted a chapter in the narrowly defined nationalist program implemented by Antonescu's fascist regime between 1941 and 1944. The rationale for the deportation of specific groups of Roma from Romania followed Antonescu's decision to segregate "antisocial" elements from the general population, and according to the regime the Roma embodied that stereotype. The itinerant Roma were perceived to be "un-assimilated" and "unassimilable" into the Romanian nation, and consequently, their foreignness brought them under the purview of ethnic homogenization policies carried out by the Antonescu regime.[28]

Of a population of 208,700 Roma, only a small group was considered a "problem." Those selected for deportation were mi grant Roma, as well as the settled Roma who ran into difficulties with the law—labeled by the authorities as "delinquent" or "dangerous" Roma—or those who had been unemployed for a long time. Plans that proposed the building of colonies for the "anti-social" Roma in the Regat were abandoned in favor of a new plan that saw the recently acquired territory of Transnistria as the site for their deportation.

On May 25, 1942, Antonescu ordered a census of the Roma and charged the Interior Ministry with the preparation of lists of Roma falling within the categories marked for deportation; he had decided just three days earlier, on May 22, to order their deportation. In a short period of time, some 40,909 Roma were listed: 9,471 traveler Roma and 31,438 settled Roma. The deportation was announced as "relocation" to Transnistria, and it was rumored that the Roma were to be given houses, land, and agricultural equipment to start a new life there. Lured by this prospect, some Roma welcomed the measure and were enthusiastic about leaving the country.

The traveler Roma were the first group to be deported. The

police and gendarmerie began rounding them up at the beginning of June 1942, sending them from post to post to the district capitals. Escorted by gendarmes, they went in their carts or walked alongside them all the way to Transnistria. The operation lasted until August 15, 1942. Some 11,441 Roma (2,352 men, 2,375 women, and 6,714 children) were deported in this way. The second deported group was that of the "dangerous" and "undesirable" Roma. A se lection was made within this larger group of settled Roma: only 12,497 were put forward for deportation at first, and a subsequent mass transport was planned for the remaining 18,941 Roma on the police lists (that later deportation was eventually canceled, and those slated for it remained in the country). Nine trains transported the selected group of settled Roma from all around the country to Transnistria. Small numbers were added to this group within a few months, putting the total number of Roma deported from Romania to Transnistria at a little over 25,000.

The deportation itself occasioned great suffering and involved many unjust acts. Police chiefs, gendarmes sent to pick up the Roma, and even police escorts abused their power, using it to extort or acquire valuables from the deported. Many Roma were taken from the streets and were given no chance to go home and pack. There were also cases of mistaken identities, when ethnic Romanians or Hungarians were taken instead of Roma or when Roma deemed "respectable" by the regime, such as World War I veterans and businessmen, were picked up instead of "delinquent" Roma who could not be found. Especially tragic was the fate of the Roma soldiers whose families were being deported while they were fighting at the front; other soldiers were discharged from the army and sent along with the others being deported. All of this was in flagrant disregard of the prescriptions regarding deportation. In response to numerous petitions addressed by the soldiers themselves or by their families to various state institutions, including the presidency of the Council of Ministers, the country's highest forum, a few deportees were permitted to return to Romania.

Once in Transnistria, the Roma soon discovered that they were essentially being "dumped" there. They were placed in four districts in the eastern part of Transnistria near the Bug River:

Balta, Golta, Berezovca, and Oceacov. Within these judeţe, the Roma were scattered among various raions. The Romanian civil administration in Transnistria was totally un-prepared to handle the new deportees and likely did not want them there. The Roma received nothing that was promised them. In fact, the opposite was true. The authorities in charge of receiving them—for example, Colonel Modest Isopescu, Golta's prefect—confiscated the carts and horses from the traveler Roma and left many others empty-handed.

In terms of housing, some Roma were forced to live in primitive huts in open fields or forests, typically near Ukrainian villages. The huts were built partly or totally underground. Others ended up in dilapidated barracks (former military barracks or kolkhozes), whereas still others were placed in the houses from which Ukrainian inhabitants had been removed and relocated, perhaps forcefully. Although the authors of the entries in this encyclopedia —following the Romanian authorities' terminology—refer to these settlements as camps (*lagăre*), the areas where the Roma lived were not, strictly speaking, camps. They were spaces reserved for Roma inside or at the outskirts of villages. While watched by the nearby gendarme posts, the Roma in general had permission to move about within the village or area where they stayed in order to find work and earn a living.

Decision No. 3149, issued by Alexianu on December 18, 1942, regulated the situation of the Roma in Transnistria. According to this decree, the Roma were to be placed in villages in groups of 150 to 350, under the leadership of one of them, and were to work for pay as ordered by the village authorities. Skilled laborers were to be placed in existing and planned workshops (*ateliere*), whereas the unskilled were to be used in agriculture; forestry; manufacturing; the collection of animal skins, hair, and feathers from farms; and the gathering of recyclable paper, iron, and cotton rags. All men and women between the ages of 16 to 60 were obliged to work in workshops or work teams, and those who exceeded the work quota were to be rewarded with premiums of 30 percent of the value of their produce. Group leaders were responsible for every one's attendance at work or in the village; Roma who left the area without authorization or those who refused to work were to be interned in a disciplinary camp.[29]

Because these directives were implemented chaotically and selectively, if at all, the Roma had little chance of survival. Forced to barter their last personal items, including their clothes, for food, they succumbed at alarming rates in the bitterly cold winter of 1942. No doctor ventured to visit the disease-infested colonies, except on a rare occasion and only to assess the public health risk posed by the colonies and not to cure the sick. The raion authorities, on their part, provided extremely little food (a few slices of bread, a handful of potatoes or cornmeal per person) on a random schedule. Plagued by disease (especially typhus) and hunger, some Roma communities lost 50 percent of their members by the spring of 1943. Hunger drove some to eating the flesh of their dead relatives or any dead animals they could find. Some turned to stealing and robbery to survive, terrorizing the locals and the authorities alike. Others desperately tried to flee to more prosperous areas or return to Romania, but without much success, as border patrols caught them and sent them back after a beating; the less fortunate were shot by German soldiers and their auxiliaries.

Living conditions improved slightly from the summer of 1943 onward. The Romanian authorities, too, began to show more compassion to the Roma out of fear for their own skin. Some Roma found a niche in the local economy and took steps to make themselves useful by making combs, carving utensils in wood, or telling fortunes.

When the general repatriation of all people deported from Romania occurred in the middle of March 1944 on the eve of the Red Army's recapture of Transnistria, the Roma, again, were left on their own to find means and methods of return. Rushed from behind by the retreating German and Romanian armies, the Roma walked briskly for tens of kilometers to reach safe shelter before marching again. The repatriation itself produced many victims, as Roma succumbed to exhaustion, frostbite, or hunger or were simply shot by soldiers and died as casualties of war.

The exact number of Roma survivors is not known, but calculations based on the Romanian gendarmerie reports in Transnistria estimate that, of the 25,000 deported, fewer than 14,000 returned. This means that at least 11,000 (but more likely 12,000) perished.[30] A number of entries in this volume describe

the fate of the Roma in Transnistria, offering a window into the hellish experience that life there was for the deported Roma.

POSTWAR TRIALS

On August 23, 1944, a coup d'état against Antonescu took place with the direct involvement of King Michael of Romania and leaders of the pro-Allied opposition, especially the Romanian Communist Party (*Partidul Comunist Român*, PCR). The immediate consequence of the coup was Romania's realignment with the Allies against Nazi Germany and its allied regimes, followed by the abrogation of antisemitic legislation that was still in effect at that time. The apprehension and trials of the Romanian war criminals began soon thereafter, in 1945, and ended in 1952.

The legal basis for the trials was Law 50 "for pursuing and punishing criminals and profiteers of war," published in the *Official Gazette* of January 21, 1945. The law was drafted by Lucretiu Pătrăşcanu, the communist minister of justice, and signed by King Michael. The Bucharest People's Court handed down death sentences for Marshal Antonescu, Mihai Antonescu (vice president of the Council of Ministers), General de divizie Constantin Z. Vasiliu (Romania's former Interior Minister), and Alexianu that resulted in their execution on June 1, 1946. Twenty-nine others also received the same sentence of capital punishment, but their sentences were commuted to life in prison by the king (who was petitioned to do so by Pătrăşcanu).[31]

One cannot overemphasize the importance of the depositions of the accused, their witnesses, and prosecutors for understanding the scope and depth of the Jewish and Roma Holocaust, as well as the persecution of religious minorities, during the war years. As hundreds of officers, high-ranking officials, and NCOs, as well as ordinary people, made their case before the court—not to mention other hundreds of witnesses—the unimaginable carnage and human suffering caused by the Antonescu regime surfaced.[32] The sentences passed down by the court ranged from life to lengthy prison sentences at hard labor, the confiscation of personal property, and demotion. Among those receiving such sentences were many of Transnistria's prefects and praetors, gendarmerie commandants, camp and ghetto overseers, escorts, as well as many

others who had a hand in the robbing, exploitation, and murder of Jews and Roma. A handful of the accused committed suicide in prison while awaiting trial, another handful were able to hide from the authorities and were condemned in absentia, and some others were acquitted. In the dock stood also a few Jewish deportees who, for what ever reasons, were accused of helping the perpetrators achieve their goals. By 1962, however, those who were still alive were released from prison, throwing into question the communist regime's commitment to justice.[33]

The accused disclosed criminal facts and atrocities that would not have been other wise known and pointed to their collaborators in the heinous crimes who could have escaped prosecution. Even so, many ordinary citizens who committed "smaller" crimes such as beating, stealing, or raping Jews evaded punishment because there remained no one to accuse them. The acts of kindness on the part of ordinary citizens or officials were also recognized during the trials. Such acts showed that not all bought into the government's rhetoric and succumbed to peer pressure. Their courageous deeds brought them the honor of receiving the noble title of Righteous Among the Nations, bestowed on them later by Yad Vashem.

SOURCES The following books provide information regarding the persecution of the Jews in Romania and Romanian-controlled Transnistria: Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas hakehilot: Romanyah; Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam hasheniyah,* 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,* vols. 5–7 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2005–2011); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, 3 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 2001); I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the*

Ghettos during the Holocaust, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009); for census information regarding the number of Jews in Transnistria in 1939, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, 12 vols. (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania*, trans. Yaffah Murciano (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bucovina şi Dorohoi* (Bucharest: Glob, 1945); Moses Rosen, ed., *Martiriul evreilor din România, 1940–1941: Documente şi mărturii* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 1991); Vladimir Solonari, *Purifying the Nation: Population Exchange and Ethnic Cleansing in Nazi-Allied Romania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Ottmar Traşcă, ed., *"Chestiunea Evreiască" în documente militare române, 1941–1944*, preface by Dennis Deletant (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2010); Lya Benjamin, ed., *The Jews in Romania Between 1940–1944*, vol. 1: *Anti-Jewish Legislation* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 1993); and Dennis Deletant, *Hitler's Forgotten Ally: Ion Antonescu and His Regime, Romania 1940–1944* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). For a collection of documents

regarding the forced labor of Jews and Roma in Romania and Transnistria, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iassy: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013) and Viorel Achim, *Munca Forţată în Transnistria: "Organizarea Muncii" Evreilor şi Romilor, Decembrie 1942–Martie 1944* (Târgovişte: Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2015). For a description of the treatment of Jews and Soviet and Western Allied POWs in Romania and Transnistria, see Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internaţională şi Romania, 1939–1944: Prizonierii de război anglo-americani şi sovietici, deportaţii evrei din Transnistria şi emigrarea evreilor* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997); and Alesandru Duţu, Florica Dobre, and Leonida Loghin, *Armata Română în al Doilea Război Mondial (1941–1945)*: *Dicţionar Enciclopedic* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999); for a collection of documents relating to the deportation of Romanian Roma to Transnistria and their fate therein, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004). Information about the persecution of Christian religious minorities under the Antonescu regime can be found in Viorel Achim, ed., *Political Regimului Antonescu Faţă de Cultele Neoprotestante: Documente* (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Documentation regarding the persecution of the Jews in Romania and Transnistria can be found at USHMMA in the following collections: RG-25.002M (ANR); RG-25.003M (AMAN); RG-25.004M (SRI); RG-25.006M (AME); RG-25.010M (IGJ); RG-25.011M (AMAN); PCMCM (RG-25.013M); RG-22.002M (GARF); RG-31.004M (DAOO); RG-31.006M (DACkO); RG-31.011M (DAVINO); RG-54.001M (ANRM); RG-68.130M (OOYV); and RG-25.051M and RG-68.028M (both WJC-R). For the indictment against Antonescu and other defendants, see *Actul de Acuzare, Rechizitoriile şi replica acuzării la procesul primului lot de criminali de război* (Bucharest: Editura Apărării Patriotice, 1945).

NOTES

1. For a comprehensive discussion of the legionary theft of Jewish wealth, see Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 1: 77–180

2. The full text of Antonescu's Order 4147 is available in Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României*, vol. 2, part 2: 276–277.

3. For a summary of these camps, see the entry on Osmancea.

4. Confidential report on the situation of the camps provided by the Interior Ministry to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Central Information Service, August 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, pp. 18–19.

5. Decree No. 3.984, December 4, 1940, concerning the Jews' military status, published in *MonOf*, part I, No. 287, December 5, 1940, pp. 6703–6704; subsequently augmented by Decree No. 2.030 regarding the decree law concerning the Jews' military status, also published in *MonOf*, part I, No. 164, July 14, 1941, pp. 4039–4047. For this and other relevant documents, see Bărbulescu and Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România*.

6. Ministerial Decision No. 23.325, January 27, 1941, Arts. 2 and 3, concerning the requisition and use of Jewish doctors, pharmacists, and engineers, *MonOf*, part I, No. 37, February 13, 1941, p. 733.

7. Secret communication, "Ordin de Informaţiuni Nr. 124," September 12, 1941, co signed by Colonel C. Tobescu, chief of the Gendarmes Service within the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 64, file 18884, p. 532.

8. This is a partial summary of USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 64, file 18844.

9. Decision of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (Order No. 41974, September 13, 1941), transmitted by the General

Staff to the Gendarmerie, USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 64, file 18844, p. 445.

10. Ministerial Decision No. 23.325, January 27, 1941, art. 1, *MonOf*, part I, No. 37, February 13, 1941, p. 733; and Decree No. 2.030, chapter 4, art. 23, *MonOf*, part I, No. 164, July 14, 1941, p. 1041.

11. Law No. 59, February 2, 1943, stipulated the consequences for insubordination to the call to mandatory labor as prison (from two months to one year, in times of peace) or death sentence and confiscation of property (in times of war), republished in Benjamin, *The Jews in Romania between 1940–1944*, p. 97.

12. Copy of Antonescu's order, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 54, file 7270, p. 280.

13. Report of General de Divizie Hugo Schwab, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 330, file 1516, pp. 71–75.

14. For the entire content, see USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 88, file 464, p. 537.

15. A voluminous file at AMR, Ministerul de Razboi Cabinet, Dosar 262 (declassified in 2005) contains important reports, statistical data, guidelines, and other information generated by the Ministry of Defence and other Romanian authorities on Romanian POW camps for the period 1941–1942, including reports on the terrible conditions in many camps and on the exploitation of Soviet POWs for forced labor by state and private agencies. For Oieşti, see the entry on Corbeni.

16. Achim, *Politica Regimului Antonescu faţă de Cultele Neoprotestante.*

17. USHMMA, RG-25.084M (CNSAS), file P13250, vol. 89, p. 418.

18. The full text of Ordinance No. 23 can be found reprinted in Ancel, *Documents concerning the Fate of the Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, 5: 176–177.

19. Ibid., 5: 575–586.

20. For a detailed discussion of these negotiations, see Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, pp. 249–254.

21. See, for example, Filderman's memorandum to the government, October 12, 1943, reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 460–463 (Doc. 247). Other such memoranda followed.

22. Decision of the Order Council of the Interior Ministry, November 16, 1943, reprinted in ibid., 3b: 467–468 (Doc. 249).

23. Ibid., 3: 475 (Doc. 255) and 476 (Doc. 256).

24. For name lists put forward by ghettos that had orphanages, see Ancel, ed., *Documents*, 5: 544–574; see also Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 476 (Doc. 257).

25. Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 523–536.

26. For this count, see Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 455–458.

27. Variation regarding the number of victims exists: see Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, p. 289; Ancel, *Contribuţii*, vol. 2, part 2, p. 384; see also Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 3 vols. (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985), 2: 759, 3: 1220.

28. Achim, *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor*, 1: xiii.

29. For a copy of this order, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 18, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 62, p. 6; the order can also be found transcribed in Achim, *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor*, 2: 54–56.

30. Ibid., 1: xx.

31. Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, p. 287.

32. See, for instance, *Actul de Acuzare.*

33. Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, pp. 287–288.

Camps in Old Romania, Bessarabia, and Bukovina
General Government
Reichskommissariat Ukraine
Hungary
Transnistria
Romania
Serbia
Bulgaria
Black Sea
Vijnita
Sădăgura
CERNĂUȚI
Storojinet
Dorneşti
Dorohoi
Săcureni
Edineți
Soroca
Cosăuți
Târgul Vertujeni
Mărculeşti
Bălți
Rezina
BOTOSANI
Bălți-Răutel
Orhei
Podul Iloaiei
IAŞI
Cornești Târg
Dubăsari
PIATRA
Oneştii-Noi
Budești
CHIŞINĂU
VASLUI
Tarutino
Siria
ARAD
Crăciunești
TIMIŞOARA
DEVA
Lugoj
SIBIU
Vlădeni-Homorod
BRAŞOV
Timişul de Jos
Tecuci
Doaga
FOCŞANI
Bolgrad
Independența
GALAȚI
Tătărești
TÂRGU JIU
RIMNICU VILCEA
Corbeni
Teiş-Târgovişte
BUZAU
BRAILA
TULCEA
TURNU SEVERIN
PITESTI
Maia
SLOBOZIA
CRAIOVA
SLATINA
BUCUREŞTI
CĂLĂRAŞI
Osmancea
CONSTANTA
CALAFAT
Caracal
Videle
GIURGIU
CITY CITY & CAMP/GHETTO Camp/Ghetto
0 40 80 120 160 miles
0 40 80 120 160 kilometers
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

Camps and Ghettos in Northern Transnistria
Reichskommissariat Ukraine
Reichskommissariat Ukraine
Transnistria
Romania
Vorošilovka
Tiviriv
Mitki
Halcinți
Stanislavcic
Popivți
Grabivți
Cățmazov
Capusterna
Crasna
Carișcov
Copaigorod
Hrinovca
Stepanchi
Șargorod
Milhailovca
Spicov
Pecioara
Gorai
Conotcăuți
Murafa
Nemerci
Lucinet
Lozova
Derebcin
Nestervarca
Ladijin
Tulcin
Oleanita
Cucavca
Tropova
Vindiceni
Ozarinți
Cernoviți
Scazinet
Tomaspol
Vapniarca
Capustiani
Cetvertinovca
Trostinet
Sumovca
Crușinovca
Manicovca
Sumilovca
Verhovca
Coșarinți
Voitovca
Serebria
Moghilev-Podolsk
Braniță-Moghilev
Iaruga
Jigovca
Crijopol
Miascovca
Zabocrici
Molocnea
Obodovca
Tătarovca
Balanovca
Țibulovca
Berșad
Ustia
Osievca
IAMPOL
Bondurovca
OLGOPOL
Cicelnic
Budi
BALTA
Răbnița
Birzula
CITY CITY & CAMP/GHETTO Camp/Ghetto
0 8 16 24 32 miles
0 8 16 24 32 kilometers
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

Camps and Ghettos in Southern Transnistria
OLGOPOL
Crasneanca
Savrani
Budi
Tridubi
Golta
Crivoi Ozero
Iasinova
Bobric
BALTA
Vradievca
Grozdovca
Vazdovca
Liubașevca
Bogdanovca
Reichskommissariat Ukraine
Zahariovca
Răbnița
Birzula
ANANIEV
Alexandrodar
Acmecetca
Domanovca
Moldavca
Transnistria
Suha Verba
Suha Balca
Mostovoi
Vaselinovo
Covaliovca
Bernandovca
Berezovca
Alexandrovca
Balaiciuc
Hulievca
Grosulovo
Slivina
TIRASPOL
Romania
Vigoda
ODESSA
Black Sea
Ovidiopol
CITY CITY & CAMP/GHETTO Camp/Ghetto
0 10 20 30 40
miles
0 10 20 30 40
kilometers
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

ACMECETCA

Acmecetca, a village in the Domanovca raion, Golta judeţ (today: Akmechets'ki Stavky, Ukraine), in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located in close proximity to the Bug River. Acmecetca is 52 kilometers (32 miles) southeast of Golta (today: Pervomais'k) and 136 kilometers (84 miles) north-northeast of Odessa.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Acmecetca in August 1941. After a brief period of German control, responsibility for administering the village and its surroundings was turned over to the Romanian authorities in September 1941. Under this administration, the village's name was romanianized from Akmechetka to Acmecetca (also spelled Ahmecetca, Acmicetca, or Akmecetca). The Golta prefect was Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu; his deputy was Aristide Pădure. Maior Romulus Ambrus commanded the Golta gendarmerie. The Domanovca praetor was Vasile Mănescu, who was succeeded by Teodor Iliescu and Gheorghe Bobei. The commandant of the Acmecetca gendarme post (and camp) was Sergent-major Vasile Iorgulescu.

A camp for Jews was established in an Acmecetca pig farm (*sovkhoz*) in late 1941 or early 1942, which was on a hill near the left bank of the Bug. The camp, which occupied only a part of the pig farm, was encircled by three rows of barbed wire, and deep trenches that were dug around the perimeter. Armed Ukrainian auxiliary policemen, also using dogs, guarded the camp under the supervision of a handful of Romanian gendarmes. Inside the camp there were four large pigsties and one long ware house, all in poor condition. Wooden boards divided the sties into smaller compartments. The sties had a few small windows, which in the winter were boarded up to prevent cold air coming in, and no electricity. Inside them it was dark and filthy.

The camp regime was extremely harsh. The camp had no other apparent purpose than the extermination of the internees who had

become “useless” in the eyes of the Romanian and German administrations. It was usually referred to by the Jewish deportees as a “death camp” and was greatly feared.[1] The 4,000 Jews sent to the Acmecetca camp before June 1942 were from both Romania (mostly Bessarabia) and Transnistria. Some of these Jews were survivors of the massacres in the Bogdanovca and Domanovca camps perpetrated in December 1941 and from January to February 1942. A group was from the ghettos in Golta and Berezovca that were being de-populated in the spring of 1942 to make room for new convoys.[2] Another small group was from the Chişinău (Kishinev) ghetto. After being deported to the Vradievca camp (Golta judeţ) at the end of May 1942, these Jews from Chişinău arrived in the Dumanovca camp in June (after a short stay in pigsties in the Bogdanovca camp). Even before entering the Domanovca camp, those considered “unfit” to work were separated from the group and sent to Acmecetca. Jews who allegedly violated ghetto or camp restrictions (for example, leaving without permission), those who refused to hand over valuables, or Jewish women who resisted rape were punished by being sent to Acmecetca. Such transfers occurred as late as October 1943.[3]

The provision of food and medical assistance was not permitted in the camp for a while after each transfer. Barter was mediated by the guards, who bought produce from the peasants and exchanged it to the Jews for articles of clothing or what ever valuables the deportees still had on them. Driven by hunger, most of the Jews were naked in a matter of weeks, covering their hips with rags or paper. When the Jews had nothing left to exchange, the guards no longer brought food to trade. At that point a spoonful of cornmeal or flour or a potato was distributed per person. Only contaminated water was available, either from swamps within the camp or from abandoned wells outside the camp. Every day a small group of children or young adults walked under guard a few kilometers to an abandoned well to bring water in bottles or cans. The usual food in the camp was a type of pancake produced from mixing flour with water and grass and cooked on a pan over fire.[4]

Starvation and disease resulting from a lack of hygiene claimed the lives of most deportees. People died every day in the camp. Before dying, many spent weeks lying on the pigsty floor (there

were no beds) without the ability to move or defecate. Many developed mental problems. Typhus was rampant in the camp, as were dysentery, malaria, furunculosis, and skin infections (scabies). The few Jewish doctors who were among the internees could do nothing to save themselves or others; most of them died along with their patients.[5] Given these conditions, it was not unusual to witness the completely naked prisoners eating grass from the fields. Prefect Isopescu, who preferred this camp over all other camps in the Golta judeţ, inspected it a few times, each time amusing himself with the fate of the prisoners; he took pictures of the deportees "grazing" in the grass on their hands and knees.

Occasionally, Jews from the nearby Domanovca camp (17 kilometers or 11 miles west of Acmecetca) donated some of their little food and transported it to the Acmecetca camp. Bribes were given to the Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries to allow the wagon to travel the distance and enter the camp. When such deliveries occurred, the Jews in Acmecetca fought with each other desperately over a piece of bread. On a rare occasion, local Jews escaped from Acmecetca and sought refuge in nearby camps (Domanovca and Bogdanovca), but were usually refused permission to stay and were returned.

It is unclear what, if any, sort of self-government existed inside the camp. What is known is that a little help began trickling in from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) in the second part of 1943.[6] However, corruption among the Jewish leaders in the Golta ghetto (in particular, Avram Creştinu and Alfred Follender), not to mention the casual theft of aid by civil and military authorities, thwarted aid distribution.[7] The total number of Jews alive in the camp in the summer of 1943 did not exceed 100 or 150; of them, 46 had been deported from Romania (44 from Bessarabia and 2 from Bukovina).[8] In late September 1943, the total number of Jews in the camp decreased to 25 and then increased to 40 shortly thereafter.[9]

Ukrainian (and possibly even Romanian) Jews remained in the camp after the repatriation of Romanian Jews from Transnistria in late February and early March 1944. Their fate is unclear. According to one Jewish survivor, a band of Kalmyk soldiers of Andrey Vlasov's army passed through Acmecetca and murdered

the men in the camp and raped the women.[10] This likely happened after the Romanian administrative staff was evacuated from Golta, handing control over the still captive Jews to the retreating German armies.

The Red Army liberated Acmecetca in late March or early April 1944. In May 1945, the People's Tribunal in Bucharest tried Isopescu and Pădure, along with the praetors of the Domanovca raion, for robbing and murdering the Jews in the Acmecetca camp and the Roma in the Domanovca raion.[11]

SOURCES More information regarding the fate of Jews imprisoned in the Acmecetca camp can be found in the following publications: "Acmecetca," in *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); "Acmecetca," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, with a foreword by Elie Wiesel and a preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Sonia Palty, *Evrei, treceti Nistrul! Însemnări din deportare* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească). For a collection of documents regarding the deportation of Romanian Roma to Transnistria and the treatment of Roma in the Golta judeţ, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews in the

Acmecetca camp are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). VHA holds 95 testimonies from Jewish survivors who were held in the Acmecetca camp for various periods of time. A testimony is also available at www.yadvashem.org.

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NOTES

1. VHA #33358, Galina Bereoza testimony, August 19, 1997.
2. See name lists of Jews transferred to Acmecetca from other camps in Golta: USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 374, pp. 56–57, 61–64, and 65.
3. See name lists from October 7, 1943: USHMMA, RG-31.008M, microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 374, p. 65; for name lists from April 1943, see in the same collection, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 77, pp. 33–34.
4. VHA #03420, Nora Weisman testimony, June 30, 1995.
5. See the table of doctors in the Golta judeţ, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 72 (and verso); the table shows that of the 12 doctors in the camp, only 2 were still "available," an euphemism for being alive.
6. The table of remittances for Transnistria for the period from February to December 1942 showed no distribution to Acmecetca; reproduced in Ancel, ed., *Documents*, 5: 306–313 (esp. p. 313).
7. See reports about corrupt Jewish leaders in Golta obstructing the distribution of aid, in ibid., 5: 534.
8. Census table is reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.
9. Census figure in USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1561, pp. 198–199.
10. Iosif Vergilis testimony, YVA, www.yadvashem.org/

untoldstories/database/murderSite.asp?site_id=339; this interview appears in the Russian original at VHA #27688, April 6, 1997.

11. USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 5; indictments appear in the same collection and reel, vol. 1, pp. 4–40, and vol. 2, pp. 115–120.

ALEXANDRODAR

Alexandrodar (pre-1941: Aleksandrodar; today: Oleksandrodar, Ukraine) is a village in the vicinity of the small village of Beicuşul Mare, Oceacov raion, in the southern part of Oceacov judeţ, in southeast Transnistria. This Transnistrian district bordered the Black Sea shores to the south and neighbored Odessa County to the west. Alexandrodar is located 210 kilometers (130 miles) southeast of Chişinău and some 12 kilometers (7.4 miles) from the Bug River.

The invading German and Romanian armies occupied the area surrounding Alexandrodar in August 1941. After a brief period of German control, responsibility for administering the village and its surroundings was turned over to the Romanian authorities in September 1941. Under Romanian administration, the village was renamed Alexandrodar (or Alexandrudar, in some documents) and the judeţ was renamed Oceacov. Locotenent-colonel Vasile Gorsky became prefect of Oceacov in 1942, following the short tenure of Dr. Ion Ionescu-Obârşia who was appointed in late 1941. Florian Ioan was căpitan of the Gendarmes Legion (*Legiunea de Jandarmi*) in Oceacov.

Just outside the village there existed a large complex of unused naval barracks, left over from the Soviet period. In late December 1941, Professor Gheorghe Alexianu, governor of Transnistria, proposed to Marshal Ion Antonescu that Odes-sa's Jews be deported to the Oceacov judeţ and, in particular, to Alexandrodar to be housed in the empty barracks there. Despite the barracks' limited housing capacity (around 3,000 people), Alexianu proposed that 40,000 Jewish prisoners be sent there, causing Prefect Ionescu-Obârşia to panic at the thought of accommodating and feeding such a large group.[1] According to this proposal, the Jews would work in the fields and use their own money to maintain themselves. Their stay in Alexandrodar was to be temporary before they were to be deported across the Bug.

Work to transform these barracks into a labor camp was underway in January 1942 when Alexianu reported to the prime minister's office in Romania that those intended for this camp were only "communists" from Odessa and Romania (i.e., Jews) and not other dissidents.[2] Work at the camp continued into February 1942, but it remains unclear if Jews were ever sent there.

By May 1942, the Romanian government decided to deport Roma (Gypsies) from Romania to Transnistria, primarily the Oceacov judeţ. At the end of August 1942, some 15,000 Roma arrived by train in Trihati. From there, they were taken under guard by the Gendarmes Legion and resettled in their appointed sites, including Alexandrodar's barracks. Although Antonescu's orders specified that the deportees were to be nomadic or delinquent Roma, who would be used as farmers and skilled laborers in the judeţ's collective farms, most of those deported were not nomadic Roma: in fact, the vast majority were law-abiding citizens of Romania. Moreover, some of the deportees' sons and fathers were serving in the Romanian Army at that time; others of the deportees were veterans themselves, even wounded veterans, or the widows of veterans from World War I. These facts contradicted Antonescu's orders about Roma deportees, as well as earlier orders regarding the right of Roma veterans and decorated soldiers to remain in the country. In response to numerous petitions addressed by the soldiers themselves or by their families to various state institutions and attesting documentation, Prefect Gorsky ordered that military commissions be formed to adjudicate each case.

The situation of the Roma in Transnistria was deplorable. According to the prefect's own admission, they were in an "unimaginable state of misery," and their situation was likely to deteriorate.[3]

A few thousand Roma were placed in the Alexandrodar barracks at the end of September 1942. In the absence of promised supplies of wood and given the harsh, cold weather by late October, Roma burned the wood in the barracks (roofs, floors, fences) and cut down bushes, trees, and even power poles surrounding the place to use for fires for cooking and heating. They lacked medical attention and supplies, so typhus broke out, killing not only Roma but also Romanian military staff who came into contact with them.

Some rudimentary delousing stations were eventually set up, including one at Trihati's train station, to stem the spread of typhus. Still, between 3,000 and 4,000 Roma died of typhus-related illnesses in the Oceacov judeţ in the winter of 1942.

Food was scarce as well. The daily ration of 300–400 grams (10.6–14.1 ounces) of bread (200 grams for children and the elderly) or flour to make bread, which the government prescribed, was their main food. It was occasionally supplemented by some potatoes and very rarely by a few salted sardines. The poor diet quickly turned the Roma into "skeletons" and "walking shadows," as an intelligence report described them on December 5, 1942.[4] Having been picked up directly from the streets of their hometowns and quickly loaded onto trains, many Roma had no time to prepare for their relocation to Transnistria. Those nomadic Roma arriving by horse-drawn carts had their carts and animals confiscated on arrival. After two months in Transnistria, many Roma had to barter their remaining belongings for food and remained in rags, half-naked, and covered with lice.

At Prefect Gorsky's request, Alexandrodar's Roma were moved from the barracks in late November and early December 1942 to five nearby villages, which had been partially emptied of their Ukrainian inhabitants: the villages were Bogdanovca, Vladimirovca, Kozirca, Katelina, and Certovca, all near the Bug River. The move was intended to prevent further humanitarian and economic disasters that might jeopardize Romanian and German soldiers stationed in the vicinity, and it ultimately brought some relief to the Roma. Each group of Roma leaving the barracks was deloused before being transported to quarters in the assigned village. They also experienced less exposure to the elements while living in homes. Nevertheless, the mortality rate remained high throughout the winter months due to the persistence of earlier problems: a lack of wood to heat their houses, the absence of food (other than small bread allocations), and no medical attention.[5] The Red Army recaptured the area in April 1944.

SOURCES For studies treating the fate of Jews and Gypsies deported to Oceacov during the Holocaust, see Viorel Achim, *The Roma in Romanian History* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1998), and Viorel Achim ed., *Documente*

Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Eciclopedică, 2004); for a recounting of the plight of the Roma of Alexandrodar, see International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania. *Final Report* (Iaşi: Polirom, 2005); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, with a foreword by Elie Wiesel and a preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources regarding the persecution of Jews and Gypsies of Alexandrodar can be found at USHMMA. For correspondence between Professor Alexianu, governor of Transnistria, and Oceacov's prefects, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1486, p. 46; in the same collection see fond 2241, opis 1, delo 1486, p. 135. For testimonies of Roma survivors from Oceacov, see Radu Ioanid, Michelle Kelso, and Luminiţa Mihai Cioaba, eds., *Tragedia Romilor Deportaţi în Transnistria, 1942–1945* (Iaşi: Polirom, 2009).

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NOTES

1. See Dr. Ion Ionescu-Obârşia's reply, January 26, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2241/1/1486, p. 135.

2. Notes Head (DENH): See Governor Alexianu's letter, January 17, 1942, addressed to the Prime Minister's Office in Bucharest, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1486, p. 46 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1486).

3. "Memoriu," USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 34, SRI, file 400010, vol. 59, p. 113; reprinted in Achim, *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2: 496.

4. See SSI report, "Dare de Seamă din 5 Decembrie 1942. Asupra serviciului executat în judeţul Oceacov de la data de 19 Noembrie la 4 Decembrie 1942," reproduced in ibid., 2: 24–29.

5. Ibid., and “Memoriu,” USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 34, SRI, file 400010, vol. 59, p. 120; reprinted in Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2: 499.

ALEXANDROVCA

Alexandrovca (today: Oleksandrivka, Ukraine), a village in the Ovidiopol judeţ, is in the southern part of Transnistria. The Ovidiopol judeţ was sandwiched between the Dniester River estuary to the west and the Odessa judeţ to the east; the Black Sea was its southern border, and the Tiraspol judeţ constituted its northern border. It is about 18 kilometers (approximately 11 miles) northwest of Odessa.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the town and its surrounding area during the summer of 1941. After a short period of occupation by German troops, the Romanian civil administration of Transnistria took over the area and romanianized the spelling of the town's name from Alexandrovka to Alexandrovca. Căpitan Dedulescu commanded the gendarmes for the Ovidiopol judeţ; Ştefan Stegaru, Petre Bartoş, and Eugen A. Sirca were successive praetors for the Ovidiopol raion.

In the autumn of 1942, General de brigadă Constantin Cepleanu, the chief inspector of Jewish labor battalions in Bucharest, deported 312 "delinquent" Jews to Alexandrovca. They were deported together with their families for tardiness or absence from morning roll calls while doing forced labor in Bucharest.

The group of Jews from Bucharest arrived first at Sevcenco farm on October 8, 1942, where they spent six weeks before being sent to Alexandrovca.[1] According to marginalia in the handwritten note on this deportation, only those who worked at the farm were to receive food. The small Sevcenco farm was located between the small towns of Vigoda and Petrovschi in the northeastern part of the Ovidiopol judeţ. It was designated as a "model ghetto": an experiment in epidemic prevention and control that the chief military doctor for Ovidiopol, Dr. Teofil Bucşă, set up according to his own widely distributed instructions.[2] Accompanied by Căpitan Dedulescu, Bucşă visited the farm and reported that, under his guidance, the ghetto had 44 recently plastered rooms, boarded-up windows that left open a little space to admit light, and outside

toilets and that he had ordered the deportees to drink only boiled water. He set up a Jewish police force to enforce discipline in the ghetto. In addition, all deportees were deloused, and two empty rooms, one for men and one for women, were set aside to isolate the sick.[3]

The experience of those deported there was not as promised. Although epidemics were controlled, the Jews were placed in a large, dilapidated house, surrounded by barbed wire. They rebuilt part of it and lived in crowded conditions with up to 40 individuals per room. The food they received each day consisted of 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread and a bowl of beet soup. This diet caused many cases of dysentery and stomach ulcers. People worked 12 to 16 hours a day on the farm, crushing sunflower seeds. Approximately 50 people died of starvation and cold during their six-week ordeal at Sevcenco.

On November 26, 1942, the deportees were finally transferred to Alexandrovca. There they worked as forced laborers in Governor Alexianu's winery. At this farm, named "Tudor Vladimirescu" after the Wallachian hero who led the 1821 uprising against Phanariote rule of Romania, they tended the vines and prepared the grape plants for the coming winter.

After spending a little over two months working on Alexianu's farm, the deportees were dispatched in late January 1943 to Bogdanovca, in the Golta judeţ, where they lived in pigsties in miserable conditions, suffering from lice, typhus, and a starvation diet. Local workers took their place at Alexianu's farm.

Despite payment regulations, as reiterated by the governor himself, it is not clear whether this group of deportees received anything more than a little food each day in exchange for their labor. However, a few of those detained did receive financial assistance from private funds sent by their family and friends.[4] The Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Everilor din România*) facilitated the transfer of these funds to those for whom they were intended. The town was liberated by the Red Army in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information about the persecution of Alexandrovca's Jews can be found in the following sources: Jean Ancel,

Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944, vol. 2, part 1 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947). The exact location of Alexandrovca is difficult to determine because several locales share the same name. For the most probable locations, see "Alexandrovka II" and "Alexandrovka III," in Gary Mokotoff et al., eds., *Where Once We Walked—Revised Edition: A Guide to the Jewish Communities Destroyed in the Holocaust* (Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu, 2002), p. 5.

Relevant archival sources are located at USHMMA, in records microcopied from DOAA and DAMO. For name lists of Jews from Bucharest deported to Sevcenco farm, who were subsequently deported to Alexandrovca, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 15, fond 2357, opis 1, delo 352, pp. 132–133, 149; for an internal communiqué confirming the arrival of 267 Jews deported from Bucharest to Sevcenco farm, see in the same collection, delo 352, p. 124; for Bucşă's instructions on contagious disease prevention, see in the same collection reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 599, pp. 61–62; for money transfers to Alexandrovca's Jews, see RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 519, pp. 59–60; and RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 11, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1366, pp. 93, 175, 278.

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NOTES

1. See confirmation of arrival of 267 Jews deported from Bucharest to Sevcenco-Berezin farm, Transnistria, in "Legiunea Judeţului Ovidiopol către Prefectura Judeţului Ovidiopol," October 9, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), fond 2357, opis 1, delo 352, p. 124 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/2357 /1/352, p. 124). A table listing the names of skilled workers according to profession was subsequently produced, listing only 43 workers: USHMMA, RG-31.004M/2357/1/352, p. 131. For conflicting lists of the

number of Jews at Sevcenco farm, compare “Tabel nominal de evreii aduşi în conacul Fermei Sevcenco-Berezin în ziua de 6 Oct. 1942,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/15/2357/1/352, pp. 132–133, which lists 212 Jews, and “Tabel nominal de evreii internaţi în lagărul Ferma Sevcenco-Berezin (seria a II-a),” USHMMA, RG-31.004M /15 /2357/1/352, p. 149, which lists 72.

2. See “Guvernământul Transnistriei Direcţia Sănătăţii. Instrucţiunii pentru prevenirea şi combaterea bolilor infectocontagioase, în special al tifusului exantematic,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/599, pp. 61–62. This report was circulated throughout Transnistria’s counties, beginning on October 21, 1941; see USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/599, p. 63.

3. Dr. Teofil Bucşă’s report was issued from the government’s Direction of Health Service, October 21, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/599, p. 63.

4. See “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Alexandrovca (Jud. Ovid-iopol),” RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 519, p. 59 (USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/519, p. 59); and “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară evacuaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Comuna Alexandrovca lângă Odesa Jud. Ovidiopol,” RG-31.008M/2178/1/519, p. 60. See also “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Alexandrovca (Jud. Ovidiopol),” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/11/2255/1/1366, p. 93; and USHMMA, RG-31.004 M/11/2255/1/1366, p. 278. See also “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Comuna Alexandrovca, lângă Odessa, Jud. Ovidiopol,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/11/2255/1/1366, p. 175.

ANANIEV

Ananiev, the seat of the Ananiev raion and judeţ, in the central part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Anan'iv, Ukraine), is located on the Tylihul River, a tributary of the Bug. Ananiev is 149 kilometers (93 miles) northwest of Odessa and 112 kilometers (70 miles) northeast of Chişinău. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,779 Jews in the Ananiev judeţ, representing more than 30 percent of the town's population, and another 144 Jews in the Ananiev raion, representing 0.5 percent of its total population. By the time German and Romanian forces occupied Ananiev in July 1941, a large number of Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men eligible for military service had been drafted into the Red Army, although more than half had stayed in place.

In July 1941 the Einsatzgruppe D's commandant, SS-Gruppenführer Otto Ohlendorf, set up his headquarters in Ananiev. The town's Jewish residents were immediately required to wear a distinctive mark (a yellow star pinned to their clothing) and were prohibited from shopping or selling goods in the town's market. Sonderkommando 10b, assisted by troops from the Romanian and German armies, murdered 300 Jews in Ananiev on August 28, 1941. The town was transferred to Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941, and its name romanianized from Ananyev to Ananiev. Colonel C. Bolintineanu became the prefect of the Ananiev judeţ. The commandant of the Ananiev Gendarmes Legion was Locotenent-colonel Laurenţiu Stino.

When the Romanian civil administration assumed power in early September 1941, it established a ghetto in the town's Jewish quarter; the ghetto encompassed a few streets within which the remaining Ukrainian Jewish residents and other Jews deported from Romania (Bessarabia) were relocated. Among the approximately 450 ghetto residents were many women and children. In October 1941, more than half of the residents were deported farther east toward the Bug River, to Mostovoi in the

Berezovca judeţ. A month later, in November 1941, the remaining Jews (some 145 people) were taken to Gvozdiovca in the Golta judeţ (today: probably Hvozdavka Persha, on the Kodyma River, west of Crivoi-Ozero, Ukraine).[1] Both of these groups of Jews were shot soon after their arrival in these locations. Word of their shooting emerged from a letter dated December 12, 1941, from Ananiev's prefect to Golta's prefect, requesting that the latter bury the remaining bodies of 50 to 60 Jewish deportees if the village of Gvozdiovca fell within his territorial jurisdiction.[2] Shortly after these deportations, the Ananiev ghetto appears to have been closed; certainly by April 1942, there was no longer a ghetto in Ananiev or, for that matter, in the entire judeţ.[3] In-deed, in accounting for the movement of local Ukrainian Jews from the Ananiev judeţ, the Transnistrian Inspectorate of the Gendarmes noted in September 1942 that these Jews had "dis appeared." The euphemism "dis appear" indicated their liquidation.[4]

Ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) populated the Ananiev judeţ.[5] Their economic and cultural interests in Transnistria were represented by the SS Office for Ethnic German Affairs (*Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*, VoMi) based in Landau, in the Berezovca judeţ. Using local manpower, VoMi set up a *Volksdeutsche* militia, Sonderkommando Russland (SkR), and one of its commando units was stationed in Ananiev. The unit was known as Bereichkommando 26 (BK 26) and was led by SS-Untersturmführer Palm.[6] BK 26 was regularly deployed to conviscate the area's resources such as livestock and tools for the economic interests of all *Volksdeutsche* in the Ananiev judeţ.

Jews from the ghettos in Moghilev-Podolsk (Moghilev judeţ) and Balta (Balta judeţ) were relocated to the state-owned collective farms (*kolkhozes*) in the Ananiev judeţ in the spring of 1943 to do forced labor. In June 1943, 521 Jews were working on those farms.[7] They lived in poor and unsanitary conditions in camps that were usually made up of dilapidated stables or barracks on the farms' premises. Although the camps were only lightly guarded by gendarmes from the post closest to the respective farms, the Jewish laborers lived in constant fear of Romanian, Ukrainian, and *Volksdeutsche* policemen. Separated from their families and/or former ghetto networks, the workers remained

without any material support. Some of them were elderly or children, others were sick, and most lacked agricultural training. In August 1943, Prefect Bolintineanu noted the existence of typhus among them and complained repeatedly to government officials in Odessa about their physical appearance—they were dressed in rags and lacked shoes—and their weakness in the face of the demanding fieldwork required of them. He requested that the Jewish workers be replaced by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs).[8] Soviet POWs were not sent to replace them, so the Jewish laborers continued to farm the land. However, the sick, elderly, and the young Jews were returned to the ghettos from which they came; 14 of the Jewish workers became accountants for general stores in the Ananiev judeţ. Thus, in September 1943, there were only 31 Jews in the entire Ananiev judeţ, as follows: 2 Jews in the town of Ananiev, 3 in Petroverovca village, 1 in Saraevo village, 2 in Cernova village, 2 in Hoţului village, 1 in Troiţca village, 17 on the Arva farm, 1 on the Filip farm, and 2 on the Regina Maria farm.[9] Two months later, on November 15, 1943, their number had decreased to 13 Jews for the entire judeţ (one from Bukovina, five from Bessarabia, and seven from Dorohoi).[10]

Repatriation of Jews originally from the Regat and the Dorohoi judeţ took place between December 1943 and January 1944. A few Jews returned to Romania at that time from Ananiev; the remaining Jews (from Bessarabia and Bukovina) were not repatriated until March 1944, along with the Romanian administration. The Red Army recaptured Ananiev in April 1944.

SOURCES Further information about the fate of Jews imprisoned in Ananiev can be found in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 1 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,* vol. 4 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007); Mordechai Altshuler,

ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), pp. 26, 59; "Ananiev," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel hayishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 398; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2 (parts I and II) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Ananiev's ghetto and camps can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), AME (RG-25.006), AMAN (RG-25.003M), and SRI (25.004M). Monthly information reports of the Ananiev Gendarmes Legion can also be found at USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reels 15 and 31. A transcript of Ukrainian Jewish survivor Rakhil' Lemberg's testimony is available at USHMMA, RG-31.027*44M (2003). A copy of an oral history interview with Ukrainian Jewish survivor Lazar A., as well as a transcript, is available at USHMMA, RG-50.405*0003 (August 15, 1990). VHA holds 47 survivor testimonies in three languages (Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish) from Jews imprisoned in Ananiev's ghetto and camps.

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NOTES

1. Romanian statistical reports regarding the deportation of Ukrainian Jews from Transnistria claim that only 227 Jews were deported from the Ananiev judeţ; see "Situaţie numerică de evreii evacuaţi din Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 135.

2. USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 66, p. 504.

3. See the statistical report concerning the Jews in Transnistria, April 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 141 (see also pp. 139–140).

4. Report from the Transnistria Gendarmes Inspectorate for the Government of Transnistria, September 9, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.006 (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 161.

5. For a list of the *Volksdeutsche* villages in the Ananiev judeţ, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 2, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1087, p. 153.

6. See the list of leaders of VoMi's SkR garrisons in Transnistria, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 311, file 801, p. 321.

7. For their names, ages, skills, and places of work (name of state farm), see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 5, pp. 303–317.

8. Letter from Prefect Bolintineanu to the Odessa Labor Service, July 27, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 14, fond 2264s, opis 1, delo 10, p. 418 (see also prior correspondence, pp. 424, 426, 428, 430, 431, 437).

9. According to statistical figures collected by the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes on September 1, 1943, reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 455.

10. Cf. statistical figures of Jews deported to Transnistria from the Bessarabia, Bukovina, Dorohoi judeţe, and the Regat, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 589.

BALAICIUC

Balaiciuc, a village in the Berezovca raion in the Berezovca judeţ, is located some 212 kilometers (132 miles) west of Chişinău and 124 kilometers (77 miles) north of Odessa. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 800 Jews lived in the Berezovca raion (a breakdown by village and township was not available).

German and Romanian forces occupied Balaiciuc in August 1941, and after a month of German rule, responsibility for administering the village and its surroundings was turned over to the Romanian authorities. The new leaders romanianized the village's name from Balaichiuk to Balaiciuc. The prefect of the Berezovca judeţ was Colonel Leonida Popp; the commander of the Gendarmes Legion (*Legiunea de Jandarmi*) was Maior Ion Popescu, and the judeţ's chief physician was Dr. Aurel Juga. These leaders dictated the village's affairs in respect to civilian concerns, including Jewish matters.

Starting in October 1941, large convoys of deported Jews from Odessa began streaming north in the Berezovca judeţ. Many localities in the vicinity of Balaiciuc, especially the raions of Berezovca and Mostovoi, received thousands of Odessan Jews, where they were concentrated before their extermination. These convoys arrived in a region of ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) villages, which were allowed to organize their own SS police units that operated in concert with or independently of Einsatzgruppe D, which had been active in the area since July and August 1941. Unhindered by Romanian gendarmes, the *Volksdeutsche* units liquidated thousands of Odes-san and Romanian Jews held in Berezovca's villages and townships. Their modus operandi was to collect a given number of Jews from a specific location, take them to the outskirts of that location, rob them of everything, and then shoot them, after which their corpses were doused with gasoline, burned, and occasionally buried. The plunder (or some of it) was then distributed to ethnic German villagers.

In this same manner, on March 10, 1942, a group of 15 German policemen from the villages of Mostovoi and Zavadovca shot 875 Jews at Balaiciuc. Additional killings of Jews at Balaiciuc occurred in the same year—for example, another 1,300 Jews on March 14 and 30 Jews on March 24 were shot—so that by the end of the year the total number of deaths exceeded 2,000. (Court depositions against Romanian officers who held various top positions in Berezovca also attest to their murder of Jews as well as of 12 to 14 local Ukrainians at Balaiciuc. The latter were shot to avenge the killing of a Romanian officer stationed in Balaiciuc.[1]) At the end of 1942, only two Jews were reported as working in Balaiciuc, one as a miller and the other as a nurse.[2]

Hardly any information exists on life in the Balaiciuc ghetto, except for the names and professions of those still interned there in late November 1942.[3] Jews from Odessa as well as from Romania lived in the ghetto. Work assignments for Jews were usually coordinated by the ghetto's Jewish labor committee in conjunction with the judeţ's Jewish labor committee. Berezovca's Jewish labor committee, which oversaw the situation in Balaiciuc, was led by Dr. Bruno Gross (president), Dr. Iancu Lazarovici (secretary), and Marcu Gireman (Jewish Council member).[4] Gross gained a bad reputation as president of both the Jewish labor committee and the Berezovca ghetto for alleged corruption and complicity in acts of extermination. The amassing of Jewish doctors for forced labor in the Berezovca judeţ in the summer of 1942 also facilitated the treatment of Romanian army personnel, diseased prisoners of war, local residents, and Roma (Gypsy) deportees. For example, Dr. Karol Barad, chief physician for the entire Bronska-Balca subdistrict, examined and vaccinated 48 gendarmes stationed in Balaiciuc in January 1943.

The March 1943 count of deported Jews in Transnistrian ghettos, requested by the delegation of the Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România,* CER) that visited Transnistria in January 1943, listed seven people in Balaiciuc. It is not clear whether this figure included local Ukrainian Jews.[5] A subsequent count, on September 1, 1943, found no remaining Jews in the ghetto.[6] The Red Army liberated the town in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information about the fate of Jews held at Balaiciuc during the Holocaust can be found in the following sources: "Balaichiuck," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), p. 74; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); for Soviet census data, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53; for additional information about the massacre of Jews at Balaiciuc, see www.romanianjewish.org/en/cap5.html.

Archival sources regarding the fate of Jews held at Balaiciuc are in DAOO and SRI, which are available in microform at USHMMA as RG-31.004M and RG-25.004M, respectively. For name lists of Jewish captives, indicating profession and place of origin, see in this collection reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 590, p. 22, and delo 591, p. 81; and reel 18, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 24, p. 81. For a statement reporting the massacre of 2,000 Jews at Balaiciuc, see in the same collection reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1514, pp. 3–4.

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NOTES

1. See Berezovca Gendarmerie report of the murder of Odessa's Jews, deported to villages in Berezovca, at the hands of German Selbstschutz units, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1514, pp. 3–4; another copy of the report is available at USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), roll 20, file 40011, vol. 8, p. 230, and the document is reprinted in Ancel, *Transnistria*, p. 690. On the court depositions, see "Dosar nr. 1929/1949, Curtea Bucureşti Secţia II Penală, Decizia penală nr. 2951," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/27/38891 /1, pp. 197 (and verso), 281 (and verso).

2. See "Tabel nominal de evreii răspândiţi pe raza acestui judeţ în afară de colonia din comuna Mostovoi, întocmit conf. Ord. Nr. 10627/942 al Prefect. Jud. Berezovca," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1/24, p. 81.

3. See "Tabel nominal de evreii aflaţi la Balaiciuc," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/590, p. 22, and USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/591, p. 81.

4. See "Tabel de membrii Comitetului de muncă evreesc judeţean," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/590, p. 141; on allegations against Grosu, see "Dosar nr. 1929/1949, Curtea Bucureşti Secţia II Penală, Decizia penală nr. 2951," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 27, file 38891, vol. 1, pp. 198, 287.

5. See "Tablou numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347.

6. See "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439.

BALANOVCA

Balanovca (pre-1941: Balanovka judeţ, today: Balanivka, Ukraine), in the Berşad raion, the Balta judeţ of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 54 kilometers (34 miles) north of Balta. According to the January 1939 Soviet census, Balanovca had a Jewish population of 35. German forces occupied the village on July 29, 1941. From September 1941 to March 1944, after the Romanian authorities assumed control, they romanianized the name of the town from Balanovka to Balanovca. The village was one of the designated transitional sites in the Balta judeţ for the concentration of Jews from the convoys that entered Transnistria through the Iampol crossing point, pending their eventual deportation over the Bug River to the German-controlled area of Ukraine.

In October 1941, a ghetto was established in the village for Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina who had been deported by the Romanian authorities to Transnistria. Approximately 3,500 Jews were placed in the ghetto, crowded into roofless cowsheds and left to the elements. Some 3,200 died—primarily of cold, malnutrition, poor hygiene, and typhus in the winter of 1941, and in the winter of 1942—as corpses gathered in piles on the frozen ground.[1] The Balanovca ghetto did not have the means to disinfect the thousands of deportees passing through the camp. The one existing disinfection oven, which was installed late in 1942, was incapable of coping with the great need, thereby endangering the lives of the 2,674 inhabitants of the village and the camp personnel.[2] The deplorable conditions attracted the attention of Romanian Red Cross members who, in 1942, pleaded with Marshal Ion Antonescu to ameliorate the inhumane conditions of this and other camps in the Balta judeţ, but to no avail. According to the official statistics (Letter No. 453, dated March 22, 1943) produced at the request of the Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER), the Balanovca ghetto housed an

estimated total of 410 Jews, including the local Jewish population (other sources indicate a total number of 499 Jews: 188 men, 230 women, and 81 children).[3] A census conducted a few months later, on September 1, 1943, which did not include local Jews, recorded 316 Jews in the ghetto (270 from Bessarabia and 46 from Bukovina).[4]

The internees likely undertook hard labor during their captivity in the ghetto, and there is no evidence that they were ever paid for their work by the Romanian authorities. What-ever money reached the Balanovca ghetto was sent by the relatives of those detained via CER. As was customary throughout the Balta judeţ, the Jews in the Balanocva ghetto were under the supervision of a Jewish Council that oversaw, among other things, work duties. In the autumn of 1943, Balanovca survivors were under the supervision of Abraham Schmidt, the Jewish "colony chief" (*şef de colonie*).[5] The Red Army liberated the town in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources providing geographic and historical information on the fate of the Jewish community of Balanovca during the Holocaust include "Balanovka," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 400–401; for the 1939 census on the Jewish population, see "Balanovka," in *Rossiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 75. For information about the convoys' chaotic movements from Bessarabia into Transnistria and across the Bug that resulted in extreme overcrowding of prisoners in underprepared and under-equipped camps and ghettos, causing large number of deaths in Balanovca, see Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003), pp. 56–86. A chronological description of deportations of Jews and Roma in the vicinity of Balanovca, based on documents from the German archives, is found in Ottmar

Trasca and Dennis Deletant, eds., *Al III-lea Reich şi Holocaustul din România: 1940–1944; Documente din Arhivele Germane* (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2007). Statistical information about the Balanovca camp can be found in Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră*: *Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din Romania, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947).

Primary sources on this ghetto can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1242); DAVINO; YVA; and USHMMA, RG-31.004M, copied from DAOO. In the last collection, there are lists of typhus-infected villagers in reel 17, fond 2358. The disinfection installations across the Berşad raion may be found on reel 17, fond 2358, frame 7; work organization in the Berşad raion, according to heads of committees and colonies, may be found on reel 6, fond 2242, frame 415.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-54-1242, p. 100.
2. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, 716, n.p.
3. "Către Comisiunea de Ajutorare, Bucureşti, 22 Martie, 1943" and "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," both reproduced in Ancel, *Documents,* 5: 342–344, 346; for a larger figure, see USHMMA RG-31.004M, reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, n.p.
4. "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost

evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

5. See USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1561, n.p.

BALCHI

Balchi (today: Balky, Ukraine), in the Moghilev judeţ in Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 67 kilometers (42 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. German forces occupied the Ukrainian village of Balki on July 19, 1941. When the Romanians assumed authority over the village in September 1941, they romanianized the name to Balchi.

Romanian authorities created the ghetto in February 1942, when "Romanian" Jews were moved there from the town of Bar, located along the northwestern border of Transnistria. These Jews were originally from Bessarabia and Bukovina and had been deported by the Romanian authorities to Transnistria in the fall of 1941 and relocated in Bar. Former military barracks, in which about 1,000 Jews were crowded, served as the Bar ghetto.[1] Many of those Jews died of hunger and cold in the frigid winter of 1941, when temperatures reached −40° C (−40° F).[2] Lack of medication and the abysmal sanitary conditions led to a widespread typhus epidemic among the deportees, resulting in many deaths. The frozen ground prevented the burial of bodies, many of which were left lying in the open fields until the spring.

The Germans murdered some of the deportees in Balchi, because the village was close to the Bug, the river separating Romanian territory from the German-controlled territory of Ukraine.[3] The deportees in Balchi included Romanian Jews decorated for serving in the Romanian Army during World War I; others were wounded in the Great War, and some were widows and children of fallen Jewish soldiers.[4] Among the decorated Jews were Haim Weisman (recognized for providing commercial assistance to the regime), Marcu Botnaru (recipient of the Jubilee Medal "Carol I" and the Commemorative Cross), and Leib Roisman (recipient of the Commemorative Cross Silver Medal). Among the wounded Jewish veterans were Toivi Klein and Idel Suster. The widows of World War I veterans included Pesa Menaşes, Melka Drucman, and Baba Trathman.

Robbed repeatedly of their money and possessions on the way to Balchi, and having to pay for any act of kindness, most internees relied exclusively on financial help sent from family or friends in Bessarabia and Bukovina via the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER).[5] Many did not receive the money soon enough to prevent them from starving to death. Forced labor was performed mainly outside the ghetto, with some Jews being temporarily deployed to nearby locations for various tasks. One such work site was the train station in Bar in German-controlled Ukraine, where detachments of 20 to 50 or more Jews from Balchi were frequently deployed to load wood onto freight trains. Some heavy labor was minimally remunerated, as was required by law (either through food coupons or money), but payment was sporadic or delayed, so most workers were probably never paid in full.[6] "Light" work (house cleaning, street sweeping, road improvement, and the like) was not compensated at all. Jews in Balchi cultivated the land attached to the village with their own seeds and were permitted to keep some of what they harvested for themselves. Religious life in the ghetto continued, in spite of the harsh conditions. On September 17, 1942, the Jewish chief of the Balchi colony wrote to the Balchi raion military judge (*praetor*) regarding the approaching Yom Kippur holiday, requesting that the Jews in Balchi be allowed to observe the occasion and not be forced to work on September 21. The petition was approved with the condition that no freight trains needed to be loaded that day.[7]

The Moghilev prefecture, under whose jurisdiction the Balchi raion fell, listed 618 Jews in the Balchi ghetto in August 1942. The Relief Commission (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare*) of CER, whose representatives were permitted to visit various ghettos in Transnistria in January 1943, listed 849 Jews in Balchi in March 1943.[8] (According to these documents, the delegation from the Relief Commission did not visit Balchi, but it provided aid for all the camps or ghettos in the Moghilev district, based on an estimate of deportees.) On September 1, 1943, there were still 680 Jews in the ghetto (388 from Bessarabia and 292 from Bukovina).[9] The Red Army liberated Balchi in late March of 1944.

SOURCES General descriptions of the Jewish community of

Balchi during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Balki (Balchi)," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas hakehilot. Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam hasheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 402; and "Balki," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 77. The *Final Report of the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania* (Iaşi: Polirom, 2005), 2: 404, provides statistical evidence. For evidence of living conditions, see Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască*, vol. 2, parts 1 and 2, *1933–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente. Suferinţele Evreilor din Romania, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources regarding the extermination of the Jews of Balchi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1273) and DAVINO. At USHMMA, the following holdings may be consulted: RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, p. 1564 and reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, p. 15; and RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 34. Published testimonies may be found in *Vestnik* 3 (Chernivtsi, 1994).

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NOTES

1. Testimonies of Nusen Kuzminskiy and Semion Khalfin, in *Vestnik* 3 (Chernivtsi, 1994), pp. 10–11.

2. GARF, 7021-54-1273, p. 138, lists 800 Jews, but the figure may be too high.

3. See Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 375; and vol. 2, part 2, p. 377.

4. See "Tabel Nominal de evreii decoraţi pentru merite special sau fapte de arme in războaiele Romaniei"; "Tabel nominal de evreii, invalizi de război aflaţi in ghetourile din raza acestei Legiuni"; and "Tabel nominal de evreicele, care sunt văduve de război, aflate in ghetourile din raza acestei Legiuni," USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, 15, n.p.

5. See "Tabel de remiterile facute evreilor din ţară deportaţi in Transnistria şi aflaţi la Balki (jud. Moghilev)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1564, n.p.

6. USHMMA, RG-31.011M, reel 34.

7. Ibid.

8. "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346.

9. "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

BALTA

Balta, the administrative center of the Balta judeţ, in central Transnistria, is located some 51 kilometers (32 miles) northeast of Râbniţa. According to Soviet census data for 1939, 4,711 Jews were living in Balta, or 26 percent of the town's total. By the time German forces occupied Balta on August 5, 1941, a large number of Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men eligible for military service had been drafted into the Red Army, so that only about 2,000 Jews remained in Balta. Only three days after the town's occupation, on August 8, 1941, a Jewish pogrom took place in which about 140 Jewish refugees from Bessarabia and 60 local Jews were murdered.[1]

After a month of German rule, responsibility for administering the village and its surroundings was turned over to the Romanian civil authorities in September 1941. The prefect, or governor, of the Balta judeţ was Colonel Vasile Nica, and the commander of the Gendarmes Legion was Locotenent-colonel Ştefan Gaveţ.

On September 3, 1941, Nica ordered all local Jews—"kikes" (*jidani*), as he termed them in the ordinance—to move into the ghetto (an area restricted to four streets on the town's outskirts) within three days. He appointed Jewish elder Pribluda Shloimu Abramovici as head (the Romanian term is mayor or *primar*) of the ghetto. Pinkas Rubinştein subsequently replaced Abramovici. Elected Jewish Council members administered the ghetto. They included Leon Cudisch (steering member), Abram Marcovski (finance director), Paul Cornştein (work chief), and Moise Stolear (workshops coordinator).[2] An independent bakery, pharmacy, and hospital staffed solely by Jews were established between 1942 and 1943 with the help of the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER), which had the effect of reducing the number of deaths from typhus and starvation that began in the winter of 1941.[3] A market was also set up where inhabitants could buy and sell produce between 9:00 A.M. and noon. The head of the ghetto

was permitted to organize a Jewish police force to protect the lives and belongings of the residents. Although the ghetto was not strictly guarded, entry and exit between 11:00 A.M. and 4:00 P.M. were allowed only with a permit issued by the ghetto commandant (a gendarmerie officer).

All Jews between the ages of 14 and 60 were required to present themselves daily at 7:00 A.M. at the ghetto center to receive work assignments either in workshops (for workers skilled in tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, and tinsmithing) or for road maintenance and loading materials (for the unskilled). Skilled laborers were paid two German scrip marks (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS, German-issued scrip that passed for Transnistria's currency) per day, whereas unskilled workers received only 1 RKKS.[4] All Jews were issued identity cards signed by the ghetto head and countersigned by the commandant, as well as a number sewn on their clothing next to the Star of David, to facilitate monitoring of their movements and activities. Jews could not leave the ghetto and go into town without wearing this number. All Jews were entered into a register for census purposes; those failing to register were denied bread, even if they paid for it. Any act of insubordination, revolt, or "terrorism," as the Romanian authorities construed it, by a Jew led to his or her punishment by death, as well as death for 20 other Jews.[5]

In October 1941, 2,824 Jews were registered in the ghetto (both local Jews and approximately 1,000 refugees from Bessarabia, including some descendants of decorated soldiers of World War I).[6] In December 1941, about half of the Jews (some 1,500 people) were moved from the ghetto to a rural locality. Of that number, about 500 later returned to Balta, whereas some 1,000 were transported to camps in the Obodovca and Trostineţ raions. At the same time, several hundred Jews were sent to the village of Perelety (8 kilometers [almost 5 miles] east of town) to build an airbase. The work continued until August 1942, during which time 70 people died there.

In January 1943, the Balta ghetto, as well as ghettos in other localities throughout Transnistria, was visited—with the permission of the Romanian government—by a delegation from the Relief Committee of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews. Witnessing firsthand the deportees' dire needs, the delegation sent

financial and material help in the following months. It counted 2,723 Jews in the ghetto, including 1,906 Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina, and 817 Ukrainian Jews.[7] There were some 220 orphaned Jewish children in the Balta ghetto's two orphanages, under the direction of Eugen Sidar.[8] Children received shoes and clothing, thanks to the efforts of CER. In February 1944, with the help of this organization and of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Jewish orphans up to 15 years of age were returned to Romania.

After half of the "Romanian" Jews were sent in the spring of 1943 to work in the Nicolaev raion as forced laborers at the disposal of the Nazi construction authority, Organisation Todt, there remained 866 "Romanian" Jews in the ghetto (418 from Bessarabia and 448 from Bukovina) on September 1, 1943.[9] In late 1943, after the work in the Nicolaev raion was finished, the surviving Jews returned to the ghetto.

The reign of terror against the Jews in Balta intensified toward the end of 1943. On November 18, 1943, 83 Jews were shot, and in March 1944, during the withdrawal of German and Romanian troops, 270 more Jews were shot and about 60 were burned to death.[10] The town was liberated on March 29, 1944.

SOURCES For information on the fate of the Jewish community of Balta during 1941 to 1944, the following secondary sources are available: "Balta," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 77–78; "Balta," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 1 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); and I. Ko-shin and P. Kozlenko, *Pomnit' i rasskazat': V dvuhk chastiakh* (Odessa: Print, 2009). Census information collected during the Soviet administration in January 1939 is found in Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 26. Other information about the Balta ghetto, with nuanced analysis, may be found in Radu Ioanid, *The*

Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră. Fapte şi Document; Suferinţele Evreilor din Romania, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources for this camp begin with GARF (7021-69-84), DAOO 2358-1-2, and YVA. For records of financial and material assistance, see USHMMA, RG-25.016M (ANR—Centrala Evreilor, 1941–1944), 1941–1944, reel 10, file 139. For selected information on life in the Balta ghetto, see USHMMA, RG-25.002M, ANR, reel 16, file 205/43, pp. 433–473. For names of members of the ghetto administration, descendants of decorated Jewish veterans in the Balta ghetto, and population statistics for the Balta judeţ see, respectively, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, p. 1561; reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, 8, pp. 54–55; and reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, p. 711.

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NOTES

1. GARF, fond 69, delo 84, pp. 239, 240 (verso).
2. See "Tabel de membrii Biroului de Organizare a Muncii Evreilor din Jud. Balta şi a comitetelor evreieşti din Jud. Balta pe data de 1 Septembrie 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, p. 1561, n.p. (RG-31.004M/6/2242/1, 1561/n.p.).
3. USHMMA, RG-25.016M (ANR—Centrala Evreilor, 1941–

1944), reel 10, file 139, pp. 13–15 (USHMMA, RG-25.016M/10/139).

4. See "Notă," dated May 20, 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.002M, ANR, reel 16, file 205/43, pp. 433–444 (USHMMA, RG-25.002M/16/205/43).

5. DAOO, 2358-1-2, p. 4. The order is republished in: Ancel, *Transnistria*, 1: 53, but see also p. 52.

6. GARF, fond 69, delo 84, p. 250; for deportees who were descendants of decorated Jewish solders, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1, 8/54–55.

7. A slightly larger number, 3,200 Jews, is found in "Tabloul numeric al everilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346, which probably takes into account local Jews as well. A lower number of 2,584 appears in a handwritten note from 1942; see USHMMA, RG-31.004M/17/2358/1, 711/n.p. By May 1943, the number of internees was 2,752, according to "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi în lagărele din Judeţul Balta, la 5 Mai 1943," USHMMA, RG-25.002M/16/205/43, p. 446.

8. USHMMA, RG-25.016M/10/139, pp. 344–352; however, Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, p. 221, finds 75 orphaned children in the Balta ghetto. Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 557–560, lists 64 orphan children who lost both parents and gives their names.

9. See "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439.

10. GARF, fond 69, delo 84, pp. 251, 258 (verso), 271, 272.

BALTA/120 LABOR BATTALION

Assigned by the Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM) to work for the Rear Area East Command (*Comandamentul Etapelor de Est*), the Balta 120 Labor Battalion (*Batalion de Lucru 120—Balta*, BL 120) was created in April 1943 and dispatched a month later to Balta in Romanian-controlled Transnistria.[1] The unit was also known as the Balta 120 Detachment. The main supply center for the operational divisions of the Romanian Army on the Eastern Front, the Rear Area East Command was led by Colonel Nicolae Pătrăşcoiu.

Balta was the seat of the Balta judeţ, which bordered the Bug River in the eastern part of Transnistria. Balta is 51 kilometers (32 miles) north of Râbniţa.

Army territorial centers from various cities in Romania, such as Bacău, Craiova, Făgăraş, Alba Iulia, and Bucharest, drafted about 1,000 Jewish forced laborers, from 20 to 40 years old, to serve in BL 120. Some of these conscripted Jewish men were already doing forced labor in exterior brigades at the time of their new deployment. Skilled and unskilled Jews, as well as Jewish university students who had not yet finished their degrees, were drafted. A small number of Jewish tailors, shoemakers, hairdressers, carpenters, and smiths were asked to bring along with them necessary tools for performing such services. A few Jewish accountants and doctors were requisitioned and dispatched as bookkeepers and medical staff for the battalion. Doctors were compelled to serve for 90-day work cycles, whereas the other laborers were kept for an unspecified period.[2]

Organizationally, the BL 120 was a two-company unit, with each having 480 Jews (thus 960 in total). Each company was subdivided into four platoons of 120. Twelve Romanian army officers and 40 noncommissioned officers (NCOs) drawn from various army territorial centers were assigned to the battalion. The commandant was Căpitan Constantin Clinceanu.[3]

The Jews in BL 120 were treated with a mix of generosity and cruelty by their persecutors. Transported by train in freight cars in crowded, unhygienic conditions, the Jews dis-embarked near Balta in Transnistria after five days of travel. From the train station, their luggage was loaded onto carts, and the forced laborers marched in formation to their quarters a few kilometers away. They were housed in a few dilapidated buildings, segregated from the German, Italian, and Romanian military bases that existed in the area. One of the two companies went to Britavca (42 kilometers [26 miles] northwest of Balta) to fell trees; part of the other company was deployed just outside the city of Balta to plant a large vegetable garden. The latter laborers gardened until September 1943, when they became treecutters in Bondurovca (51 kilometers [31 miles] northwest of Balta). Another group in the second company dug trenches.

Life in the headquarters camp or in subcamps farther afield was challenging, but generally better than in the Balta ghetto, with which the forced laborers did not have contact. The labor was demanding: cutting and loading 2 cubic meters (70 cubic feet) of wood per day or digging trenches 16 meters long, 1.60 meters deep, and 80 centimeters wide (52 feet long, over 5 feet deep, and almost 32 inches wide). The forced laborers received a daily portion of bread and soup, and meat a few times a week, in addition to tobacco. Tools were distributed to the laborers as well. Some received a meager salary amounting to 2 lei per workday, a regular soldier's pay. A number of Jews were given unloaded guns to "protect" themselves and deter partisan attacks, which were common in wooded areas. The accommodations were rudimentary throughout the subcamps. The forced laborers slept in makeshift barracks, abandoned houses, or barns.[4]

The Romanian commanders received strict instructions regarding battalion discipline, but enforced the rules selectively and occasionally. The laborers only wore the yellow armband, a distinctive sign for Jewish laborers in forced labor units, from time to time. Leaving the camp without a permit or talking with the local population was strictly forbidden, but some Jews socialized on occasion with Italian soldiers, who seemed friendly. All correspondence and parcels were censored (packages could contain only clothing), but unofficially some Jews received mail or

money from those returning to Romania for what ever reason. A few lower level commanders (for example, Sergent-major Solomon Ştefan, or an unnamed Ukrainian forester, or even a Jewish leader supervising the gardening team) were strict and abusive, especially under the influence of alcohol. Others like Sublocotenents Arghir and Constantin Dulgheru displayed unexpected acts of kindness that workers did not forget. Because BL 120 was formed and deployed in a short period of time, some of the Jews already working as forced laborers (especially those from Bacău) did not have a chance to get additional clothes and shoes from their families. As a result, they were in rags by the fall of 1943. They could not work in the cold months until the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) sent clothes.[5] Some also received recycled military coats.

A level of organized religious life existed for some time. Due to the resourcefulness of the Jews from Făgăraş (near Sibiu in Romania), they were able to set up and operate a kosher kitchen, which functioned in parallel with the regular canteen. Locotenent Străchinescu permitted the observance of the Jewish High Holidays in the fall of 1943, but ordered non-observant Jews to go out to work.

The beginning of 1944 found BL 120 members scattered in various locations throughout Transnistria, usually accompanying the retreating German and Romanian armies. One such group, for example, temporarily re entered Bessarabia, crossing the Dniester River at the Râbniţa-Rezina crossing point to unload wheat brought from Transnistria. They reentered Transnistria shortly thereafter and baled straw and tended large cattle herds at Ghidirim (near Râbniţa) until February 1944. They slept in cattle barns, supplementing their food with meat from slaughtered cattle.

BL 120 returned to Romania in March 1944, making its way on foot and on carts through northern Bessarabia. In the chaos surrounding the general retreat, some laborers became lost and others deserted. Twenty Jews lost touch with the main column and were later apprehended by Romanian soldiers on suspicion of spying. They survived because a kind corporal, although ordered to shoot them, led them instead to the killing site near the Prut River and freed them.[6] Unable to reconnect with their peers, they

were captured by Soviet soldiers near Cernăuţi and forced to load goods for the Red Army.[7]

From April to August 1944, the remaining members of BL 120 lived in the Gherăşeni commune (Buzău judeţ). The battalion later moved to a few other locations (including Botoşani) where some of its contingents were absorbed by other military labor units. After a year of continuous forced labor, some Jews were replaced in the spring of 1944 and allowed to return to their home cities.[8] Others left the battalion under false pretenses, but were usually redrafted into local brigades in "mobile detachments" (*detaşamente volante*) dedicated to emergency preparedness activities. In such units, they dug trenches and tunnels, built underground shelters, and fortified strategic positions to defend against attacks.[9] Forced labor for Jews did not end until August 23, 1944, when Romania switched sides in the war. The town was liberated on March 29, 1944.

In May 1945, the Bucharest People's Tribunal sentenced Pătrăşcoiu to death for crimes committed against the Ukrainian population in Transnistria (under the pretext of their being partisans) and for mistreating the Jews of BL 120. The court also tried, but acquitted Clinceanu.[10]

SOURCES For a collection of documents regarding the legislation surrounding the forced labor regime for Jews and regarding individual labor groups, including BL 120, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iassy: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the experience of Jews in the BL 120 are available at USHMM, in collections RG-25.003M (AMAN), RG-25.016 (CER), RG-25.004M (SRI), and RG-54.001 (ANM). A list of Jewish men enrolled in this battalion, compiled from various separate lists, is available as "Jewish Men in Battalion 120—Balta" at www.jewishgen.org/databases/Holocaust/0124_Balta-battalion.html and www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/source_view.php?SourceId=20768.

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NOTES

1. MSM order No. 419.700, April 29, 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 42, file 7254, pp. 126–127.

2. Name lists of Jews according to education status and skills are available at USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 351, file 3492, pp. 119–122, 270, and 350; other name lists referencing various territorial centers can be found in the same collection, reel 339, file 114, pp. 6–8, 10.

3. See Annex No. 1 and Annex No. 2 accompanying this order of the Army General Staff, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 42, file 7254, pp. 128–129.

4. VHA #01162, Eugen Leonida testimony, February 28, 1995; also VHA #45637, Eugen Krausz testimony, August 17, 1998.

5. See a list of clothing items sent to the Jews in BL 120: "Tablou de efecte de îmbrăcăminte date evreilor care prestează munca obligatorie la detaşamentul Batalionul 120 BaltaTransnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.016M (CER), reel 17, file 276, p. 5 (and verso).

6. A 1944 newspaper article published in a communist-sympathizing magazine, *România Liberă*, "Masacrul de la Ştefăneşti: Batalionul de muncă 120 exterminaţi," erroneously claimed the death of the respective group when in fact the entire group survived. A clipped copy of the article also appears in VHA #01162.

7. VHA #45637.

8. See the list of Jews sent to replace those who had one year of continuous work: USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 350, file 3490, p. 429 (but see also pp. 162–166, 272–273).

9. See, for example, a table with former BL 120 Jews working in a "calamities brigade": USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 339, file 114, p. 22.

10. Indictment record, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file, 40011, vol. 1, pp. 5, 39; and, in the same collection, reel

19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 97, 124–125.

BĂLȚI/LPRS NO. 7

Bălți, a midsized town and seat of the Bălţi judeţ in northeastern Romania, in the Bessarabia province (today: Republic of Moldova), was annexed to Romania from the Soviet Union in June 1941. Situated along the banks of the Răuţ River (a tributary of the Dniester River), Bălți is located 112 kilometers (70 miles) northwest of Chişinău.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the town on July 9, 1941. One month later, on August 20, 1941, the Romanian Army established a Soviet POW camp (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici*, LPRS), LPRS No. 7, in Bălți. The number of POWs held in the camp reached 5,790 (6,000 according to other accounts), of whom 1,896 were stationed in Bălţi while the rest were placed in subcamps. The commanders from August 1941 to January 1942 were Colonel Gheorghe Chihaia, seconded by Maior Alexandru Trandafirescu, the camp administrator, and Căpitan Ilie Deca, the commander of the Bălţi labor detachment. After Chihaia's removal from command because of health reasons in January 1942, the camp was commanded by Colonel Mircea Petrescu and later Maior Pătraşcu. The chief medical doctor was Colonel Dr. Gheorghe Braha, and the chief camp inspector from the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes was Colonel Sandu Moldoveanu.

The camp was under the administration of the IV Territorial Command Office, Iassy (*Comandamentul IV Teritorial Iaşi*).[1] It had at its disposal 23 officers. There were also four Jewish medical officers, including Sub-locotenent Ilie Dumitrescu, the chief doctor of the Bălți detachment. A contingent of 498 gendarmes guarded the prisoners in the main camp and its subcamps. The Soviet prisoners included women and civilians of many nationalities: Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians, Bulgarians, Turks, Italians, and Greeks. The Soviet Jews among the POWs were singled out for being Jewish and, on one occasion, threatened with murder, which was averted at the last moment by Petrescu, the first camp

commander.

The main camp was in Bălţi. Due to the scarcity of usable buildings, it was spread out among eight locations, including empty houses left by deported Jews, a school building, and a Baptist church. The camp's command office was in Eva Grumberg's house; the commanding guard officers lived in Iţic Ioffe's house; the infirmary was in a house owned by the city hall. The main camp functioned as a rehabilitation center, as most of its POWs were sent there after they became unable to work. Because the subcamps lacked adequate living accommodations, the POWs stationed there were placed in any covered buildings that were uninhabited near their work sites, such as abandoned houses, barns, huts, ware houses, factories, and schools. These structures were rarely in good shape and provided only rudimentary living conditions.[2] The more permanent encampments were eventually enclosed with barbed wire after frequent escapes had occurred. Work detachments assisted in road building and erecting communication posts under the supervision of Romanian Army engineers (*batalioane de pionieri, batalioane de drumuri*).

The able-bodied prisoners were divided into five work detachments, which were further split into smaller subcamps and deployed for various lengths of time in locations in northern Bessarabia. Camp inspector Moldoveanu's report of December 24, 1941, listed the detachments and their subcamps.[3] The Bălţi detachment consisted of a subcamp of 574 POWs in Ghindeşti-Soroca (Soroca judeţ), crammed into two houses, and another subcamp in Tighina, with 87 POWs held in the Tighina Fortress. They were assigned to the 32nd and 35th Engineer Battalions, respectively. The Edineţi detachment had a total of 802 prisoners accommodated in four smaller subcamps in Chetroşica Veche (Bălţi judeţ), Paladia (Hotin judeţ), Edineţi (Hotin judeţ), and Corbul (Soroca judeţ). The Jewish seminary building in Edineţi was used to house the POWs and their guards. The Otaci (Atachi) detachment had a total of 1,000 POWs in subcamps at Atachi and Volcineţ, and its members worked in a stone quarry for the Otaci communications subdetachment. Their temporary accommodations were in six ware houses and a synagogue in Atachi. The Corneşti detachment had a total of 599 prisoners placed in subcamps in Făleşti, Pârlita-Bălţi, and Călăraşi-Lăpuşna,

working alongside the 3rd Road Engineer Battalion. The Orhei detachment was divided into two subcamps, in Orhei and Vatici, with a total of 582 prisoners working for the 1st Fortification Battalion.

The Soviet POWs' lives were particularly hard during their first year of captivity. In Bălţi, the city's buildings were severely damaged by war, and those in better shape were occupied by the German and Italian armies, leaving only those that were barely standing to house the prisoners. In simple shelters, the POWs slept on the ground; those who were more fortunate slept on a layer of straw. Heating and sanitary facilities were nonexistent. Cooking and eating utensils were insufficient, with three to four POWs sharing a bowl or a spoon. Moreover, all prisoners lacked adequate clothing or shoes for the type of work and the cold conditions. Because the POWs had to do the hardest work, such as breaking and carrying stone from quarries, their clothes and shoes were easily ruined, leaving the forced laborers poorly outfitted. A camp inspection in December 1941 found prisoners working seven days a week from sunrise to sunset, with 30 percent of them being barefoot.[4] The combination of hard labor and poor nutrition (starch-based meals, such as corn grits or boiled wheat, were served regularly) caused many to become ill. Malaria, scabies, and rheumatism were the most common illnesses and were caused by drinking untreated river water, the cold temperature, and extremely poor hygiene. Hundreds were periodically escorted back to the main camp residence in Bălţi in rags—barefooted and sick, no longer able to work, and in need of medical treatment. Healthier prisoners were usually sent to replace them.[5]

A typhus epidemic erupted on November 20, 1941. The admission of 100 already infected POWs into the camp may have caused the outbreak, which, in conjunction with the prisoners' general state (they were louse infested and unwashed), spread quickly. Efforts to delouse the prisoners in November 1941 were partial and fragmentary. In most subcamps, soap supplies had not been received since September. The exact number of deaths resulting from typhus is not available (some records suggest hundreds, others as few as two victims), but more than 100 prisoners died from other illnesses (88 according to one account, but it includes only the winter of 1941–1942).[6] Some of the Jewish

doctors recruited to treat POWs also contracted typhus.

The situation changed beginning in April and May 1942, when more thorough camp inspections and sanctions against camp commanders and chief service administrators brought improvements in accommodations, nutrition, and work schedule, including remuneration for the POWs' labor (in food, tobacco, and small sums of money). Still, physical abuses against POWs remained all too common, especially when supervisors were not on site.

In 1943, Chihaia was court-martialed for the typhus outbreak in the Bălți camp (and subcamps), receiving a 10-day prison sentence.[7] After the war, on March 14, 1946, the Bucharest People's Tribunal sentenced Chihaia to four years in prison for the inhumane treatment of Soviet POWs. The sentence was subsequently overturned on August 31, 1946, when he was acquitted. The same court also sentenced Trandafirescu to three years in prison.[8] Finally, in 1951 and 1952, Chihaia's earlier sentences were revisited, and the court also tried Căpitan Gheorghe Mandea and Locotenent Petre Donca Manea, former heads of the Ghindeşti subcamp, where typhus first erupted. On February 19, 1954, the court, however, acquitted Mandea and Manea.[9]

SOURCES No published study on the Bălți LPRS camp is presently available. General information about the fate of Soviet POWs in Romania can be found in Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internaţională şi Romania, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997); and Andrei Şiperco, *Comitetul Internaţional al Crucii Roşii şi România, 1944–1947: Prizonierii de Război şi Internaţi Civili Germani, Unguri şi Austrieci, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee şi Ajutorarea Evreilor* (Bucharest: Editura Oscar Print, 2009).

Primary sources regarding the fate of Soviet POWs held in the Bălți LPRS camp and its subcamps can be found at USHMMA, SRI collection (RG-25.004M, reel 126, file 24361, vols. 1, 6, 7) and TsAMO (fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, pp. 1–94).

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NOTES

1. See Cihaia's lawyer's concluding letter to the prosecutor, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 126, file 24361, vol. 6, pp. 70–79 (esp. pp. 70–71) (USHMMA, RG-25.004M /126 /24361/6).

2. Official copy of "Dare de seamă," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/6, p. 29, and also official copy of "Dare de seama," October 1941, in the same collection and volume, p. 38.

3. Sandu Moldoveanu's inspection report, "Dare de Seamă—Nr. 19," Dec. 24, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/6, pp. 85–98; for an earlier account that provides a slightly different organizational outline, see "Dare de Seama," in the same collection and volume, p. 29.

4. Moldoveanu, "Dare de Seamă—Nr. 19," December 24, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/6, pp. 85–98 (esp. 94–95); see also Constantin Nuţescu's report, commandant of the 7th Road Engineer Battalion, October 4, 1941, in the same collection and volume, p. 36.

5. Moldoveanu, "Dare de Seamă—Nr. 19," December 24, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/6, pp. 85–98; see also the prosecution statement against Chihaia and Trandafirescu, in the same collection, vol. 7, pp. 444–450.

6. "Lagarul de prizonieri 7 Budesti, Judetul Ilfov," which also includes the camp's victims after relocating to Budeşti, lists well over 200 deaths that occurred while the camp was in Bălţi, TsAMO. fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, pp. 1–94 (document pages); see also Chihaia's lawyer's letter to court judge, case file no. 2222, dated 1951, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126 /24361/1, pp. 309 (and verso), 318 (and verso); see also a refutation statement from Chihaia's lawyer, "Concluziuni sumare," in the same collection and volume, pp. 310–317; for the lack of soap, see correspondence No. 2674, November 27, 1941, between Chihaia and subcamp commandant, in the same collection, vol. 6, p. 48.

7. “Act de Acuzare,” USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126 /24361/7, pp. 123–140 (esp. p. 127).

8. See the court’s verdict on March 14, 1946, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/7, p. 482; see the transcript of the court’s decision to retry the case, vol. 6, pp. 102–104 (and verso); see Chihaia’s letter to the chief prosecutor, August 15, 1946, where supplementary evidence for overturning the initial sentence is introduced, pp. 6–7 (and verso); see also the court’s decision to admit the evidence and rehear the case, pp. 20–21 (and verso); the defense requests that the court’s decision to acquit Chihaia be publicized, p. 82. For Trandafirescu’s condemnation, see his appeal letter, dated July 1946, pp. 169, 173 (and verso).

9. See the Supreme Court’s decision to reexamine the sentences, Decision No. 223, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126 /24361/1, pp. 319–321 (and verso); see court Decision No. 201, in the same collection and volume, p. 244 (but also pp. 236–240 [and verso] and 245–249).

BĂLŢI/RAUŢEL

Situated in the northern part of Bessarabia (today: Moldova), the city of Bălţi is located along the banks of the Răuţ River (a tributary of the Dniester River), 112 kilometers (70 miles) northwest of Chişinău. It was a judeţ (district) center for many years and had a significant Jewish population.

On July 8, 1941, Romanian and German armies entered Bălţi and, in less than two days, established a military and police presence. The German Eleventh Army's commander, General Erich Ritter von Schobert, set up headquarters in Bălţi and became the city's military commandant. Hauptmann von Prast headed the German military police, the Romanian police was led by Dumitru Agapie, and the Gendarmes Legion (*Legiunea de Jandarmi*) was commanded by Boulescu Mihail. The camp later established outside of Bălţi was known as Rauţel.

Because the German troops and the Gestapo did not stay for long in Bălţi, Romanian authorities were almost exclusively responsible for running the city. Nevertheless, during the days of shared Romanian and German administration, both sides closely collaborated, especially in persecuting and murdering Jews.

The harassment of Jews started in the first few days after the occupation. The Romanian police and Nazi SS rounded up the entire Jewish population of Bălţi, regardless of sex or age, and interned them in two temporary ghettos: one was located on the property of the former sugar factory, Ismanschi; the other was in the courtyard of the local penitentiary. Following von Prast's order, a ghetto committee was created, composed of 12 members under the leadership of Bernard Walter. The committee was responsible for organizing the distribution of supplies and taking care of ghetto sanitation.

On July 12, 1941, German police ordered the Romanian gendarmes, who were in charge of guarding the ghetto, to hand over 10 intellectuals among the Jewish detainees to the Germans to

be murdered, on the pretext that the Jewish population had committed acts of sabotage against their army in Bălţi. On the same day, after the Romanian chief of police agreed to this demand, 10 Jewish intellectuals from the Ismanschi ghetto were handed over to the Germans and were killed in the central park of Bălţi.[1]

Three days later the operation was repeated. This time, von Prast asked ghetto committee members to make a list of "20 communist Jews" to be killed, warning them that in the case of an inadequate response the committee members would be the first ones to be murdered. The committee refused to furnish the list, and the majority of its members were included among the group of 20 Jews transported to a place near Flaminda, where the Nazi SS murdered them. Shortly before the killings, Walter, the president of the Jewish committee, was saved by the personal intervention of the chief of the Romanian police.[2] At the killing site, signs were posted both in German and Romanian, and signed by von Prast and Agapie, announcing that the Jews had been executed because the Jewish population had committed acts of sabotage and fired on the German Army.

Leaders of the Jewish community of Bălți, one hour before their execution, 1941. USHMM WS #77628, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM PHOTO ARCHIVES.

The exact number of killings perpetrated by German authorities is not known, but the records from the Bălţi police archives contain a list of detainees murdered in Bălţi by the Germans

during the period of July 10–12, 1941. These records include the names of 76 people between the ages of 18 and 74, the majority of whom were men.[3]

The Romanian police soon initiated its own killing operations against the Jews. The gendarmes escorted approximately 80 Jews from the Ismanschi ghetto to a location in the suburbs, Movila Aviatiei, where they forced the prisoners to dig their own graves. In groups of 10, Jews were forced to their knees in front of the graves and shot.[4]

The arrests of Jews from throughout the Bălţi district continued on July 16 and 17, 1941, and groups of prisoners were sent to three detention sites: Făleşti (1,546 Jews), Bălţi (1,235 Jews), and Limbenii Noi (700 Jews).[5] Given the lack of space, food, and personnel necessary for guarding the Jews, the Romanian administration in Bălţi sought a solution to its self-imposed "Jewish problem." Concerned about the size of the next group—5,000 Jews—coming to Bălţi, the Romanian Army praetor (an individual with administrative and judicial power in a district or military unit), General Ion Topor, sent a message to his superiors, complaining that he did not have sufficient people to guard the Jews and lacked the rations to feed them.

Documents show that, from the very first days of the Romanian occupation, the city's administration had decided to remove its Jews and to relocate them to a nearby forest. The chosen site was Rauţel, located 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) from the city, to which Jews were sent as early as July 15, 1941. That same day a Romanian sergeant announced to his superiors that he found four women and two children hidden in a garden of one of the residents of Bălţi, and all of them were interned in the Rauţel camp.[6]

On July 19, 1941, the Bălţi police chief requested that 10 Romanian soldiers be sent, under the command of an officer, to guard the camp situated in the court of the penitentiary, where all the Jews had been provisionally kept "before being sent and interned in the camp in the Rauţel forest."[7] The transfer of a majority of these Jews to the Rauţel camp occurred during the last few days of July, when the Bălţi police chief reported that 2,164 Jews—men, women, and children—were evacuated from the city; only 233 men and women were left in Bălţi, at the disposal of the

mayor, for the purpose of cleaning the city.[8] On August 16, the same person reported to a regional inspector that not a single Jew was present in the city: all had been sent to camps.[9]

Detainees from other places were also sent to Rauţel. The police of the Soroca judeţ prepared the lists of Jews who were to be interned in the Rauţel camp between July 22 and 30, 1941. The first list totaled 1,093 people and included approximately 380 children; more than one-third of the prisoners were women. Other lists included 578, 342, and 151 names and had a similar makeup.[10]

The Rauţel camp proved to be among the most horrific camps in Bessarabia. It had almost no shelter for its thousands of internees, with the sole exception of six run-down cabins that could shelter a maximum of 100 people. The camp was surrounded with barbed wire. The majority of the Jews slept in antitank ditches covered by dry branches. On rainy days and nights they had to drain the ditches of water by using old cans or just their bare hands. With insufficient food, shelter, and medical assistance, the prisoners were practically condemned to death. The mortality rate was 50 to 60 per day: the first to succumb were children and the elderly.

Starved and covered in rags, the prisoners were regularly transported to the city for work projects. They searched the streets for any leftover food in attempts to survive. The encounter with Rauţel camp detainees shocked the residents of Bălţi and the surrounding communities, who came to speak with horror about Rauţel.

For more than one month, Jews lived in the horrible conditions of famine and misery found in the Rauţel camp. After that, they were deported to the no less dreadful camp at Mărculeşti (still in Bessarabia), and from there to Transnistria. In October, Dumitru Agapie reported to the Bălţi garrison commander that on August 30, 1941, "the Jewish camps from Bălţi Judeţ were disbanded, and all the Jews were transferred to the camp in Mărculeşti (Soroca Judeţ)."[11]

SOURCES There is no specialized study on the history of the Bălţi/Răuţel detention site. Published documentation on these sites may be found in Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the*

Fate of Romanian Jews during the Holocaust, 12 vols. (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986), vol. 6; and J. Alexandru and S. Stanciu, eds., *Martiriul Evreilor din Romania 1940–1944: Documente si marturii Federatia Comunitatilor Evreiesti din România* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 1991).

Primary sources regarding the murder of Jews, prisoner composition, and deportations from the camp are available at USHMMA, RG-54.001M, copied from ANRM. There are also some survivor testimonies available at YVA 0-3.

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NOTES

1. Ancel, *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jews during the Holocaust*, 6: 269.
2. Alexandru and Stanciu, *Martirul Evreilor din Romania, 1940–1944,* p. 236.
3. USHMMA, ANRM, RG-54.001M, roll 5, fond 694, opis 3, file 132.
4. Ancel, *Documents*, 6: 272.
5. Ibid., 6: 17.
6. Ibid.
7. USHMMA, RG-54.001, roll 5, fond 694, opis 3, file 132.
8. Ibid., files 58 and 59.
9. Ibid., file 105.
10. Ibid., file 105, pp. 158–192.
11. Ibid., file 294.

BEREZOVCA

Berezovca (today: Berezivka, Ukraine) the seat of the Berezovca raion and judeţ center in the southern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, lies 82.8 kilometers (51.5 miles) north-northeast of Odessa. According to the 1926 Soviet census, 3,223 Jews lived in the city, representing 42.6 percent of the population. A 1939 census found the number of Jews in the city reduced to 1,424, amounting only to 16.54 percent of the population. Of those, 800 lived in the Berezovca raion outside the city of Berezovca.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the city on August 6, 1941. In the weeks preceding the occupation, some Jews managed to flee eastward, and men eligible for military service were drafted into the Red Army. By the time the Germans and Romanians occupied the city, only 250 to 300 Jews remained. From August to early September 1941, a German military commandant (Ortskommandantur II/939) administered the city. The city's first "Jewish Aktion" was on August 14, 1941, when Sonderkommando 10a shot 41 Jews. Another 100 Jews were murdered on August 25 or 26, 1941. Records produced by the German commandant's office listing Jewish property showed that 211 Jews (56 men, 84 women, and 71 children) were murdered by early September.

In September 1941, the Romanian civil administration took over and romanianized the name of the town from Berezovka to Berezovca. Berezovca's prefect was Colonel Leonida Popp, and his deputy was Dr. Victor Petrenciuc; the praetor in Berezovca was C. Şerpuleţ, and the commander of the Gendarmes Legion was Maior Ion Popescu.

The Romanian gendarmerie placed the remaining Jews in a ghetto in late September 1941, to which were added Jews rounded up from nearby villages. In total, the ghetto had nearly 800 Jews. In November and December 1941, they were all sent to the Bogdanovca camp (the last transfer was sent on December 10, 1941), where they perished at the end of 1941 along with the other

Jews gathered there.

Following the massacre of Odessa's Jews by the Romanian Army in October 1941, thousands of survivors were subsequently deported to the villages and townships of northern Oceacov and southern Berezovca judeţe. After a temporary halt in December 1941, a systematic deportation of Jews from Odessa began again in January and February 1942. The Berezovca judeţ was traversed by a main rail line linking Odessa to Kiev, which passed the city of Berezovca. Convoys of Jews from the city of Odessa regularly arrived by train in Berezovca during the first half of 1942. After disembarking at the Berezovca train station, they marched north toward the Golta judeţ, where many met their end in its "death camps." Other Jews from the Odessa judeţ were marched on foot (some in carts) through Berezovca and from there to the death camps. Stragglers were shot and their bodies left on the side of the road.

As these Jewish convoys were forced-marched through the Berezovca judeţ they were occasionally robbed and shot by armed residents of the many ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) villages along the way. The *Volkdeutsche* then distributed these Jews' possessions—jewelry, money, and clothes—to German and Ukrainian villagers.

Some 100 to 200 Jews from Romania were resettled in Berezovca in 1942. Among them were a few descendents of state functionaries in interwar Romania.[1] The secretary of the Jewish labor committee, named Lazarovici, enlisted Jews for mandatory work in Berezovca.[2] As forced laborers, their pay was a fraction of what they were entitled to receive.[3] A few Jews (Leiba Raff, Frida Lazarovici, and Paul Grünvald) were assigned white-collar positions, working temporarily as accountants for Berezovca's prefecture in its economic and commercial offices in July 1943.[4] Several other skilled Jews (Iosif Abramovici, Ţalic Raf, Efraim Fleişman, Solomon Aizic, Rudolf Hirchem, Gustav Segal, and Iţic Alter) occupied similar privileged positions in the praetor's office and local industries, such as the detergent and soap factory and the fruit cannery, and in the town's main shop.[5] Deemed important to the Berezovca administration, these workers were promised on October 16, 1943, a monthly income of 400 RKKS (German-

issued scrip, *Reichskreditkassenschein*); their situation was a stark contrast to that experienced by the rest of the Jewish workers.[6] Private funds from family and friends living in Romania were sent to the deportees in Berezovca to use to better their situation.[7]

In 1942 three Jewish doctors (Iosub Solomon, Bercu Iancu, and Moise Kestelman) were brought as forced laborers to work in Berezovca's general hospital and health clinic, as well as in an insurance office.[8] Doctors Ludvig Samler, Mendel Wiesenthal, and Haim Iţicovici were sent to the same hospitals in 1943, serving two obligatory 90-day cycles as forced laborers per year.[9]

The March 1943 census of deported Jews in Transnistrian ghettos, which was requested by the delegation of the Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România,* CER) that visited Transnistria in January 1943, listed 47 people in Berezovca (and 452 for the whole judeţ). It is not clear whether this figure included the local Ukrainian Jews.[10] A subsequent count, conducted on September 1, 1943, listed only three Jews (two Jews from Bessarabia and one from Bukovina) remaining in the ghetto, without counting local Jews.[11] In the wake of the Soviet liberation of Transnistria in March 1943, the Romanian government repatriated all Romanian Jewish orphans, up to 15 years old, from Transnistria; Berezovca orphans were enlisted for repatriation as well.[12]

In late 1942, deported Roma (Gypsies) from Romania were scattered throughout villages and small towns in the Berezovca judeţ.[13] Their already precarious material situation worsened dramatically during the winter months. By the summer of 1943, hundreds had died from starvation, the cold, and illness. Almost naked and unwashed, their plight worried the Romanian authorities only insofar as the Roma posed the danger of the outbreak of a typhus epidemic among them spreading to infect locals from neighboring colonies, as indeed happened.[14]

SOURCES Information on the fate of Jews and Roma in Berezovca during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Berezovka," in Jean Ancel et al. eds., *Pinkas ha-*

kehilot: Romanyah; Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 409–410; "Berezovka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 125; and "Berezovka," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 116; for Soviet census data, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), pp. 21, 53; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003). For a study of Romanian Gypsies during the Holocaust, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Eciclopedică, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the life of Jewish and Roma deportees in Berezovca can be found in the following archives. Documents of the Soviet Extraordinary Commission and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the extermination of the Jews of Berezovca are found in GARF, file 7021-69-75. At USHMMA, records of DAOO under RG-31.004M can be searched for lists of Jews living and working in Berezovca in reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, 591, p. 76, and in reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, 675, p. 68; records of Jewish doctors doing forced labor in Berezovca's hospitals can be found in the same record group in reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, 77, p. 19. For a list of Jewish descendants of

Romanian state functionaries, see in the same collection reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, 592, p. 195; for tables listing the names of Romanian Roma (Gypsies) deported to the Berezovca judeţ, see in the same collection reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, 592, pp. 292–297, and reel 12, fond 2242, opis 2, 72, pp. 15–21. For a survivor's testimony, see Hanna Ra bino vich, April 10, 1944, GARF, fond 7021, opis 149, delo 38, pp. 12–13.

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NOTES

1. See "Tabel nominal al evreilor descendenţi ai foştilor funcţionari publici şi aflaţi actualmente în districtul Berezovca," February 25, 1944, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, 592, p. 195 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1, 592, p. 195).

2. See "Tabel nominal de evreii aflaţi în Berezovca," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1, 591, p. 76.

3. See "Tabel nominal de evreii care execută muncă obligatorie în raionul Berezovca," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19 /2361/1, 675, p. 68.

4. See Decision Nr. 4131/1943, signed by Colonel Leon-ida Popp, Berezovca's prefect, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/18 /2361/1, 26, p. 141.

5. See Phone Note Nr. 1986, April 2, 1943, Pretura Berezovca to Prefectura Jud. Berezovca, USHMMA, RG-31.004M /21/2377/2s, 4, p. 37.

6. See Decision Nr. 6562, December 11, 1943, signed by C. Şerpuleţ, Berezovca's praetor, USHMMA, RG-31.004M /18/2361/1, 26, p. 189.

7. See "Borderou de plăţile făcute evreilor aflaţi în Jud. Berezovca în baza ordinelor Guvernământului," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1, 669, p. 68.

8. See "Order Nr. 35070," signed by Dr. Juga Aurel, January 27, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1, 26/65; letter dated

February 5, 1943, "Prefectura Jud. Berezovca, Serv. Administrativ către Pretura Berezovca," USHMMA, RG-31.004M /21/2377/2s, 4, p. 21.

9. See "Tabel nominal de medicii evrei care lucrează în raza Jud. Berezovca în cadrul muncii obligatorii de 90 de zile," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1, 77, p. 19.

10. See "Tablou numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347.

11. See "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439.

12. See "Tabel nominal al copiilor orfani până la vârsta de 15 ani aflaţi în Jud. Berezovca," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1, 592, p. 197.

13. See "Tabel nominal al ţiganilor evacuaţi din Ţară în Transnistria, care au fost aşezaţi în raionul Landau, Jud. Berezovca," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1, 592, pp. 292–297; and "Tabel nominal al ţiganilor evacuaţi din Ţară în Transnistria, care au fost aşezaţi în raionul Landau, districtul Berezovca şi plecaţi în locuri necunoscute," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/12/2242/2, 72, pp. 15–21.

14. See Aurel Juga's field report, Berezovca's Chief of Medical Services, to Berezovca's prefect, July 13, 1943, reprinted in Achim, *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, pp. 248–249.

BERNANDOVCA

Bernandovca (pre-1941: Berandovka; today: Chyzhove), a township in the Berezovca raion in the Berezovca judeţ, is located 85 kilometers (53 miles) north of Odessa in the southeastern part of Transnistria. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 1,424 Jews lived in the Berezovca judeţ, amounting to 16.5 percent of the total population. Of those, 800 Jews lived in the villages and townships of the Berezovca raion.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Bernandovca and the surrounding Berezovca raion in August 1941. After a brief period of German rule, the Romanian civil administration of Transnistria, coordinated from Odessa, took over control of the township. The new administration romanianized the township's name to Bernandovca or, in some documents, Bernadovca, and governed it through the Berezovca judeţ. Berezovca's prefect was Colonel Leonida Popp, and the commander of the judeţ's Gendarmes Legion was Maior Ion Popescu.

Bernandovca was an ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) Ukrainian township. In the early days of the invasion, the Einsatzgruppen moved throughout Transnistria, murdering Jews, Roma, and political prisoners. They were assisted by Selbstschutz police units formed of local *Volksdeutsche*, who continued to kill Jews after the Einsatzkommando left the region. Romanian gendarmes and local Ukrainian police units occasionally acted in concert with them, sharing intelligence and manpower in gathering and murdering the Jews of Berezovca, both in the autumn of 1941 and in the spring of 1942. They also acted independently of each other.

Following the massacre of Odessa's Jews by the Romanian Army in October 1941, thousands of survivors were deported to the villages and townships of the northern Oceacov and southern Berezovca judeţe. After a temporary halt in December 1941, a systematic deportation of Jews from Odessa began again in February 1942. The deportees were transported by freight trains in

unbearably freezing and crowded conditions. The Berezocva judeţ was traversed by a main rail line linking Odessa to Kiev, which passed by the Berezovca township. Jews disembarked at Berezovca and were marched north toward Golta's death camps or were placed in various locations throughout the Berezovca raion and in other raions farther away.

In February 1942, about 500 Jews from Odessa were placed in a dilapidated farm house in Bernandovca, where they remained for approximately one month. On March 18, 1942, a Selbstschutz unit from the village murdered 483 of these Jews. A German officer was present during the mass murder.[1] The report about this incident, issued by Berezocva's Gendarmes Legion and retransmitted by the Transnistrian General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, indicated only the manner in which the Jews died ("execution through shooting"), but not the disposition of the remains.[2] The Red Army liberated Bernandov ca in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information about the fate of Bernandovca's Jews during the Holocaust can be found in the following sources: "Bernadovka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 128; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), pp. 21, 53; International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania, *Final Report* (Iaşi: Polirom, 2005); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate

Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources on the ghetto at Bernandovca can be found in SRI, a microform of which is available at USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 20, file 40011, vol. 8. For a survivor's testimony proposing an even higher number of victims of Selbstschutz units in Bernandovca, see Rubin Udler, "Horrors of War," in Anita Brostoff and Sheila Chamovitz, eds., *Flares of Memory: Stories of Childhood during the Holocaust* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 70–80.

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NOTES

1. See the information report issued by the Berezovca Gendarmes Legion and signed by Colonel Emil Broşteanu: "Notă Informativă, Nr. 181 in 18 Martie 1942," reprinted in Ancel, ed., *Documents*, 5: 261, reproduced from USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 20, file 40011, vol. 8, n.p.

2. Ibid.

BERŞAD

Berşad is the seat of the Berşad raion, Balta judeţ, located some 48 kilometers (30 miles) north of Balta in Romanian-controlled Transnistria. According to the 1926 census, there were 7,016 Jews living in the Ukrainian town of Bershad (Romanian: Berşad); Soviet census data for 1939 indicated that the town's Jewish population had declined to 4,271 (73.6 percent of the total population). This decline was primarily a result of the resettlement of Jews to other towns and regions.

German forces occupied Berşad on July 29, 1941, five weeks after the invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During those intervening weeks, some Jews managed to evacuate eastward, and men eligible for military service were drafted into the Red Army. Approximately 2,500 Jews remained at the start of the occupation.

In September 1941, the Romanian authorities assumed responsibility for the administration of the town, romanianized its name to Berşad, and established a ghetto in the town. It encompassed 12 side streets and 337 houses. The ghetto was not surrounded with barbed wire, but going outside its boundaries without permission was punishable by death. Eli Marchak headed the Jewish Council that ran the ghetto. In October and November 1941, around 15,000 Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina were moved into the ghetto. In December 1941, they were joined by several thousand Jews from the Berezovca judeţ, including around 1,500 Jews from Balta (although about 500 of them were soon returned to Balta) and around 500 Jews from the village of Peschanaia.[1] In total, more than 20,000 Jews were concentrated in the ghetto. The Romanian Jews were placed in the homes of local Jews, with 15 to 25 people living in each room; even the synagogue building was used as living space.

The ghetto had a Jewish police force and a well-organized Jewish labor committee, directed by Beniamin Korse, on which seven members served: lawyers Mihail Schrenţel (an aide to the colony chief) and Solomon Schneider (secretary), Dr. Filip Tabac,

Iehil Gold, Şmil Puchki, Leon Heisner, and Bercu Goldenberg (chief of the ghetto police).[2]

Jewish forced labor at Berşad assumed various forms. Some Jews felled trees and cleaned streets, others were used in workshops and factories (furniture, sugar, electric, and canning), whereas still others had duties inside the ghetto (at the pharmacy, city hall, hospital, school, and orphanage).[3] Some were unemployed due to a shortage of work and work tools. In return for their work, most received meager or no compensation and therefore were forced to barter items for food or to work for Ukrainian peasants, exposing themselves to the risk of being shot if caught outside the ghetto. The payment some received, which consisted of one or two German-issued scrip (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS) per day, was equivalent to the price of a loaf of bread.[4]

As early as December 1941, a typhus epidemic raged in the overcrowded ghetto, and in a short time more than 8,000 people died from the disease, hunger, and cold.[5] Living conditions for the ghetto inmates improved slightly in the summer of 1942 when supplies, including medical aid, began to arrive from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER).[6] A pharmacy, a 65-bed hospital for infectious diseases, and a free dining hall for 450 people were then set up in the ghetto. A special problem in the ghetto was presented by the orphaned children, who begged for alms in the streets but nevertheless succumbed to the hunger and cold. In the fall of 1941, money sent by CER was used to rent a four-room house, in which 122 children between the ages of 5 and 16 were placed. In the spring of 1942, the Jewish Council rented a room and housed a group of 10 orphans there, who had all been released from the hospital after recovering from typhus. In addition, 135 children were placed with families who were in relatively good shape. Another 60 to 70 children were moved to a children's home (orphanage) in Balta in late November 1942. In mid-1943, financial aid from Jews in Romania was used to buy new clothes for the residents of the children's home in Berşad. Teachers educated the orphaned children, and as of the second half of 1943, a Jewish Romanian school for all the children in the ghetto was in operation in Berşad. The teachers did not receive any pay, and the language of

instruction was Romanian. In early March 1944, orphans younger than 15 were repatriated to Romania.[7]

In January 1943, with the permission of the Romanian government, a delegation from the Relief Commission (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare*) of CER visited the Berşad ghetto. The delegation found that there were 9,200 Jews in the ghetto, including 6,950 Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina and 2,250 Ukrainian Jews. The number of Jewish orphaned children was 257. By mid-1943, after the transfer of 1,000 Jews to a labor camp, the number of Jews in the ghetto declined to 8,061. On September 1, 1943, after 1,203 more Jews were relocated for work in August 1943,[8] there were 5,261 Jews in the ghetto (1,998 from Bessarabia and 3,263 from Bukovina).[9]

A resistance group, headed by Iosif Blinder, operated in the ghetto from 1942 to 1944. This group made contact with a partisan detachment commanded by Iakov Talis that was based in the Berşad raion. The Jews provided assistance to the partisans in the form of money, material goods, and medication and also hid partisans inside the ghetto. In retribution for helping the partisans, 173 Jews were shot on February 11, 1944, and an additional 154 were shot on March 11, 1944. Among the victims were Eli Marchak and Iosif Blinder. Other victims included Jeni and Hasia Sicor, the brother and sister-in-law of survivor Marcus Vexer from Vaslui (Romania), whose written testimony confirms the events and gives the name of one of the Romanian subordinates involved in the killings, Florin Ghineraru.[10]

Approximately 3,000 more Jews were exterminated and buried in mass graves by Romanian and German troops in the weeks before the Soviet army reached Berşad. The town was liberated on March 14, 1944.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Berşad during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Berschad," in Hugo Gold and Max Rendel, eds., *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina* (Tel Aviv: Olamenu, 1958–1962); "Bershad," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam*

ha-sheniyah (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 411; "Bershad," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 128; V. Lukin et al., eds., *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy: Istoricheskii putevoditel'. Vypusk 2. Podoliia* (St. Petersburg: Ezro, 2000), pp. 119–145; and "Bershad," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 1 (New York: New York University Press, 2001). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 23. Other historical information is available in Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din Romania, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947).

Primary sources begin with GARF (7021-54-1242), DAVINO, and YVA. Relevant archival sources at USHMM are as follows: DAOO, records from the collections of YVA, USHMMA, Acc. No. 1995.A.1273; for the Jewish Bureau Labor Organization of Balta County and of Jewish Committees from Balta County, with reference to the Berşad ghetto, see USHMMA, RG-31.004 (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, p. 1562; and short written testimonies from survivors from the Berşad ghetto are available in USHMMA, RG-25.051, "Records of the World Jewish Congress, 1945" (Locality Vaslui, file 2D).

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NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-69-84, p. 250; and 7021-69-81, p. 281 (and verso).

2. “Tabel de membrii Biroului de Organizare a Muncii Evreilor din Jud. Balta şi a Comitetelor evreieşti din Jud. Balta pe data de 1 Septembrie 1943,” USHMMA, RG-31.004 (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1562, n.p. (image 0000 1128–29).

3. “Tabel nominal de evreii din ghetoul Berşad între buinţaţi la diverse întreprinderi si instituţii locale,” as copied to USHMMA, Acc. No. 1995.A.1273.

4. See survivor testimony of Herman Vexer from Vaslui, Romania, in USHMMA, RG-25.051M (Locality Vaslui, file 2D).

5. See the statements of former ghetto leader V. Golden-berg at the trial of 38 Romanian war criminals in Bucharest (*Pravda*, May 19, 1945). According to ChGK materials, between late 1941 and the spring of 1942, 13,500 people died of typhus in the ghetto (GARF, 7021-54-1242, pp. 129 [and verso]). This figure is too high, but survivors corroborate high figures of people dying each day. See Dora Weisthal’s letter in USHMMA, RG-25.051M (Locality Vaslui, file 2D).

6. USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 17.

7. USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1541, n.p.

8. GARF, 7021-54-1242, p. 10.

9. “Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439.

10. GARF, 7021-54-1242, p. 5; USHMMA, RG-25.051M (Locality Vaslui, file 2D).

BIRZULA

Birzula (today: Podilsk, Ukraine), a town in the Rybnitsa judeţ in Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 96 kilometers (60 miles) northeast of Chişinău. There were 2,507 Jews living in Birzula according to the 1926 Soviet census. The town was renamed Kotovsk in 1935. From 1928 to 1929, the town was the capital of the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which comprised territories east of the Dniester River. The 1939 Soviet census recorded 2,735 Jewish residents in the town, or 17 percent of its population.

The German armed forces occupied the town on August 6, 1941. Between that time and the earlier invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, some of the Jews had managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the USSR, and men eligible for military service had been drafted into the Soviet Army or entered military service voluntarily. In August 1941, a German military commandant's office governed the town. From September 1941 to March 1944, Birzula came under the Romanian governorship of Transnistria in the Rybnitsa judeţ.

The town was a transit point for convoys entering Transnistria via the Rezina-Râbniţa crossing point over the Dniester River. One such convoy from Vertujeni in Bessarabia crossed the Dniester at Rybnitsa on October 10, 1941, and spent the night in cowsheds and a bombed-out school in Birzula, before moving on to the Grozdovca transit camp.[1] The corporal in charge of the Birzula ghetto greeted each arrival with a blow on his or her back with an iron bar. The convoys passing through Birzula went to the towns of Bobrick (in the Liubaşevca raion) and Crivoi Ozero (in the Golta judeţ) and from there to other destinations across the Bug River.

Immediately after the occupation of Birzula, Einsatzgruppe D killed 115 Jews from the town. The remaining Jews were then herded into an open ghetto, and more were shot during the process of ghettoization. In October 1941, the Jews of Birzula were forced

onto convoys with other Jews arriving from Bessarabia and Bukovina and were deported eastward. Many died or were killed en route, their bodies left unburied by the side of the road. More than 600 Jews were shot at one point along the road, 10 kilometers (6 miles) south of the village of Borshchi, by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian policemen. Some 50 Jews from Birzula were killed in November 1941, and some were deported to Dubăsari.

Between the summer of 1942 and the autumn of 1943, Birzula became an important work center of the Balta Labor Battalion 120. Jews from other ghettos in Transnistria, including Odessa, were brought into the town and put to work by the Romanian authorities in the newly reorganized industrial "workshops" (*ateliere*), in nearby factories, and on local building projects. This select workforce was divided according to training or profession. An official count of all the Jews found in Birzula between September and October 1943 listed 117 Jews divided into 24 professions—from doctors to builders to fashion designers.[2] Birzula workshops were under the direction of two appointed Jewish doctors, Sigfried Wittner of Cernăuţi and Wilhelm Schimmel of Rădăuţi, who in turn answered to Romanian administrators.[3] Workshop chiefs managed work production. The items produced in the Birzula workshops (shoes, furs, boots, leather suitcases, and furniture) were transported back into Romania and sold there.[4] Skilled Jews from the Birzula ghetto were recruited by the Government of Transnistria's Department of Labor to work on tasks in and around Odessa toward the end of 1943 and beginning of 1944.[5] Because the expertise of the workers was so valued, their requests for family members to accompany them were usually granted.[6]

Information is known about the head administrator of a shoe factory in Birzula, whose name was G. Cracovescu: he was denounced by the Romanian authorities for forcing young Jewish women into prostitution with officers of the Romanian 35th Infantry Regiment stationed in Birzula.[7] Sexual abuse of Jewish women during their internment in ghettos is known almost solely from survivors' testimonies, because such despicable acts were rarely mentioned in government records. The case in Birzula was an exception, though it is not known what measures, if any, were taken against Cracovescu and/or other incriminated army officers.

On September 1, 1943, there were still 95 Jews living and working in Birzula (10 from Bessarabia and 85 from Bukovina). The Red Army liberated the town in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information from secondary sources on Jews in Birzula/Kotovsk during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: for census counts, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 26; for brief, introductory articles, see "Birzula," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 2 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); and "Kotovsk," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 174. A brief mention of the death of Jews in Birzula also occurs in the booklet, *Vaad of Ukraine: Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Ukraine* (Vaad Ukrainy, 1991). For other studies that discuss the situation of Jewish deportees in Birzula in greater detail, see Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003), pp. 59–60, 82, 276; and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947), p. 88. For an account of rape and forced prostitution during the Holocaust in Romania, see Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască*, vol. 2, second part: *1933–1944*, trans. Carol Bines (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003), pp. 53–71.

Primary sources from the following archives document life under German and Romanian occupation for the Jews of Birzula: GARF (7021-69-74), DAOO, and YVA. Additional relevant holdings at USHMMA include RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, p. 1503; reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, p. 1561; and reel

13, fond 2264, opis 1, p. 8. Some published documentation may be found in *Final Report of the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania* (Iaşi: Polirom, 2005), vol. 2.

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NOTES

1. See "Cronologie Istorică, 21 Iunie–10 Noembrie 1941," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 88.

2. See "Tabel numeric de evreii aflaţi la Birzula pe categorie, în luna Septembrie 1943 pană la 1 Octombrie a.c.," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1561, n.p. (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1561/n.p.).

3. See "Tabel nominal al meseriaşilor din Atelierele Guvernământului Birzula," in ibid.

4. See "Referat: Domnule Guvernator, September 28, 1943" (Letter from Director of Labor, C. Sdrobici, to the Governor of Transnistria, dated September 28, 1943), USHMMA, RG-31.004M/5/2242/1/1503/n.p.

5. See "Lista evreilor repartizaţi din Birzula, pentru Dir. Muncii," in ibid.

6. See "Direcţia Muncei, Serviciul Migraţiunii: La adresa Dvs. Nr. 2999/944, avem onoare a vă cominica mai jos numele meseriaşilor evrei si al soţiilor lor veniţi de la Birzula la Odesa, 11 Ian. 1944," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/8/ n.p.

7. Report dated October 2, 1943, and forwarded by the Chişinău-Odesa Gendarmes Under-Inspectorate to the Government of Transnistria, Labor Bureau. Official report is reprinted from DAOO, Acc. No. 2242-1-1503, in Lya Benjamin, ed., *Final Report of the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania*, vol. 2: *Documente*, p. 514.

BOBRIC

Bobric (pre-1941: Bobrik), a village in the Liubaşevca raion, in the Golta judeţ, in the eastern part of the Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 140 kilometers (87 miles) northeast of Chişinău and 26 kilometers (16 miles) northeast of Ananiev. According to the 1939 Soviet census, some 1,021 Jews lived in the Liubaşevca raion (statistical data for the village do not exist), representing 3.3 percent of its population. Before being occupied in 1941, a few of Bobric's Jews managed to escape by retreating with the Red Army or by enlisting as soldiers, but most remained in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Bobric in August 1941, and after a short period of German rule, authority was turned over to the Romanian civil administration. However, while the village was still under German occupation, German forces rounded up hundreds of Ukrainian Jews from Bobric and shot them at the outskirts of the village.

After establishing areas of jurisdiction over Transnistria in the Tighina Agreement of August 30, 1941, which divided the territorial and economic spoils in and around Transnistria between Germany and Romania, the Romanian authorities took control of the southern part of Pirvomaisk, which was divided by the Bug River, and renamed it Golta, the pre-Soviet name. Thus, Golta became a judeţ center and the seat of various county administrative and military offices that oversaw affairs in Bobric. The authorities romanianized the village's name to Bobric and placed it under the administration of Golta's prefect, Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, and his deputy prefect, Aristide S. Pădure.

Along with Crivoi Ozero, Bobric was one of the destinations initially intended for Jewish convoys from Bessarabia entering Transnistria via the Rezina-Râbniţa crossing point.[1] However, many deportees initially directed to Bobric and nearby Crivoi Ozero were instead taken to Golta's death camps at Bogdanovca, Acmecetca, and Domanovca, where they perished in large

numbers at the end of December 1941. Subsequent convoys, as well as smaller groups from the Balta ghetto, were stationed temporarily in Bobric before being transferred across the Bug River to German-occupied territory. According to a gendarmerie report dated December 9, 1941, and signed by General de divizie Constantin Z. Vasiliu, at that time General Inspector of Gendarmes and later Deputy Interior Minister in Antonescu's government, some 29,476 Jews were concentrated "in and around Bobric, Crivoi Ozero, and Bogdanovca."[2]

Information about Bobric's camp (*lagăr*), as it was called by Romanian authorities, is scant because it was actually a transit site. The deadly combination of many corpses that were left exposed to the elements or only partly buried, the arrival of deportees already infected with lice, and the lack of hygiene and medicine among locals resulted in a large typhus epidemic that spread in Bobric and its environs. In addition to endangering the healthy deportees, the epidemic also threatened Ukrainian civilians and Romanian soldiers. The acquiring of lice-infested clothes from Jews, bartered in exchange for food, also contributed to the spread of disease among locals. Thus, in November 1941, measures were taken to disinfect nearby camps (such as Vazdovca) and villages in the Liubaşevca raion, with the help of local farmers and Romanian infantrymen, commanded by Locotenent Gheorghe Moşoiu. However, the epidemic continued to spread with the arrival of new convoys in the area in January and February 1942. On January 31, 1942, Prefect Isopescu requested a mobile sanitation team with delousing equipment to be sent to the area in an effort to prevent the spread of typhus to Bobric and beyond.

In January 1942, after seeing firsthand the deplorable conditions in which Jews were held while awaiting transfer across the Bug, members of the National Society of the Red Cross of Romania (*Societatea Naţională de Cruce Roşie din România*, SNCRR) petitioned Marshal Ion Antonescu through Dr. Ion Costinescu, the society's president, to conduct an investigation of the Bobric transit camp. The petition carefully appealed to Antonescu's moral and national pride as a Romanian Christian leader and blamed the Jewish disaster on the negligence of his pitiless subalterns. The SNCRR offered to provide immediate medical assistance, if it was permitted to visit Transnistria's ghettos and camps. (In addition to

Bobric, the letter mentioned other locations, including Mitki, Obodovca, Balanovca, and Bogdanovca.)[3] The request passed through the hands of various ministery officials before reaching Professor Gheorghe Alexianu, Transnistria's governor, who refused the Red Cross's request to assist interned Jews. Instead, he directed their concerns to the needs of the Romanian Army and of its prisoners of war, thus leaving Jewish needs in the hands of Jewish organizations.[4]

In the summer of 1943, deported Roma (Gypsies) from Romania were concentrated on the outskirts of Bobric, forming the Bobric colony (*colonie*). Poorly guarded and irregularly fed, the Roma occasionally left the colony, banding together and committing robberies in search of food; some were wounded or killed by the gendarmes.[5] To earn their living, the Bobric colony residents were sent to work in forestry in the Savrani woods. Unpaid, hungry, and ill, they resorted to stealing and selling wood, as well as making various wooden items (such as wooden spoons) that they sold to villagers.[6] In anticipation of the winter of 1943, a proposal was made on October 22, 1943, that Roma from the Arcipitovca camp (7 kilometers or 4.3 miles from Arcipitovca) be placed in two groups in Bobric until the spring: 300 in one part of the village (known as Bobric I) and 150 in another part (Bobric II).[7] According to the food-request form, which was issued by the Liubaşevca raion's praetor to the gendarme post in Bobric, the only ingredients that could be requested (and so provided) for the Roma were cornmeal, oil, and potatoes.[8] The Red Army liberated Bobric in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information about the fate of Bobric's Jews and Roma during the Holocaust can be found in the following sources: Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască 1933–1944*, vol. 2 (parts 1 and 2) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer 2003); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004); and Mordechai

Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53. For a study on the activity of SNCRR on behalf of Jews interned in Transnistria during the Holocaust, see Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internaţională şi România, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Bobric's Jews and Roma during the Holocaust are found at USHMMA in the DAOO, DAMO, and SRI records. For a report detailing crossing points over the Dniester River, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, delo 5, pp. 1–5 (especially p. 3). For the SNCRR letter requesting an investigation of the mistreatment of Jews at Bobric while asking permission to intervene, see in the same collection reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1486, p. 162. For gendarmerie complaints concerning Roma acting lawlessly in and around Bobric, see USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 369, pp. 36, 49, 132. For reports concerning food and accommodation of Roma, see in the same collection fond 2178, opis 1, delo 369, p. 86 (and verso). For the Vasiliu letter, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 64, file 18844, vol. 3, p. 718.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See "Dare de Seamă asupra Organizarei şi Funcţionarei Serviciului Jandarmeriei în Transnistria," December 3, 1941, and signed by Transnistria's Gendarmes Inspector, Colonel M. Petală, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, delo 5, pp. 1–5 (especially p. 3) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/1/2242/4s/5, pp. 1–5).

2. See "Referat din 9 Decembrie 1941," December 15, 1941, and signed by General de divizie Constantin Z. Vasiliu, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 64, file 18844, vol. 3, p. 718. The report and figures are reprinted in Ancel, *Transnistria,* 1: 608.

3. See a copy of the letter sent by SNCRR, "Copie de pe adresa

Societăţii Naţionale de Cruce Roşie a României No. 4091/942," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1486, p. 162.

4. See the marginalia containing Alexianu's answer on the letter informing him of the SNCRR request, January 22, 1942, ibid., pp. 159–160.

5. See the report "Nr. 6367, 1943, Luna ix Ziua 12, Legiunea Jandarmi Golta către Prefectura Jud. Golta," USHMMA, RG31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 369, p. 36 (USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/369, p. 36); and see also another report to the same effect on p. 49. Both are reprinted in Achim, *Documente privind Deportarea Ţiganilor*, 2: 312, 321.

6. See communication between Transnistria's Directorate of Forestry, Balta Office, and Transnistria's Directorate of Forestry, Administrative Service, "Nr. 6568, 18 December 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/369, p. 132, reprinted in Achim, *Documente privind Deportarea Ţiganilor*, 2: 407–408.

7. See "Raport privind situaţia generală şi motivarea măsurilor luate de Pretură, pentru cazarea şi repartizarea ţiganilor în localităţi pe timpul iernei," October 22, 1943, and issued by the Praetor's office, Liubashevka raion, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/369, p. 86 (and verso), reprinted in Achim, *Documente privind Deportarea Ţiganilor*, 2: 352–355.

8. See "Pretura Raionului Liubaşevca către Postul Jandarmi Bobric," August 16, 1943, Order Nr. 5829, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/21/2383/1/19, p. 658, reprinted in Achim, *Documente privind Deportarea Ţiganilor*, 2: 288–289.

BOGDANOVCA

Bogdanovca, a village in the Domanovca raion, in the Golta judeţ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Bohdanivka, Ukraine), is located near the Bug River. Bogdanovca is 33 kilometers (21 miles) southeast of Golta and 152 kilometers (94 miles) north-northeast of Odessa.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Bogdanovca in August 1941, and the Romanian administration took over control at the end of September 1941. Under this administration, the village's name was romanianized from Bogdanovka to Bogdanovca. The Golta prefect was Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu; his deputy was Aristide Pădure. Maior Romulus Ambrus commanded the Golta Gendarmes Legion. The Domanovca praetor was Vasile Mănescu, who was succeeded by Teodor Iliescu and Gheorghe Bobei. The commandant of the Bogdanovca gendarme post (and camp) was Sergent-major Niculae Melinescu.

Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina reached the Golta judeţ by early October and continued to pour into the region until November 1941. Approximately 1,500 Jews were placed in a large, dilapidated animal farm (*sovkhoz*) in Bogdanovca. The site was supposed to be temporary, but the German authorities' halting of deportations of Jews across the Bug led to it becoming a more permanent camp. Jews from other camps in the Golta and Berezovca judeţe were transferred to Bogdanovca in November 1941. The largest influx, 30,000 Jews, came from Odessa and the southern districts of Transnistria in November and December 1941. From housing 1,500 Jews in October 1941, the camp grew to 11,000 Jews in November and to 52,000 Jews by mid-December 1941, making it the largest camp of Jews in Transnistria.

The sovkhoz was equipped with dozens of pigsties, large barns, and silos for raising pigs and cows. In addition, 40 or more sheds were connected to the farm, but were scattered over a larger area. Ukrainian auxiliaries guarded the unfenced camp.[1] On arrival the deportees were shoved into pigsties without provisions.[2] A typhus

epidemic erupted by November 1941, killing hundreds daily and threatening the entire region. In the pigsties, the dead lay among the living. A wagon came around every few days to gather frozen bodies, which were thrown into silos.

At Bogdanovca, Jews were to be exterminated by "natural" means: starvation and disease. Therefore typhus, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, and dysentery were allowed to rage in the camp. The strongest sneaked out to get food, but risked capture by police, locals, or soldiers.[3] To prevent Jewish valuables from falling into Ukrainian hands, Prefect Isopescu established committees that asked the Jews to hand over valuables in exchange for compensation by the National Bank of Romania (*Banca Naţională a României*, BNR). This fraudulent scheme became known as "robbery by protocol." Deputy Prefect Pădure, Praetor Mănescu, and other military authorities were implicated in it, and the involvement of a Jewish agent, Izu Landau, lent it a sense of plausibility. When Jews hesitated to hand over valuables for a piece of paper, the complicit authorities set up a camp bakery that sold only 500 loaves of bread per day, just enough to induce the starving Jews to pay with gold.

In December 1941, Bucharest officials transmitted the order to exterminate every one in the Bogdanovca camp. Prefect Isopescu was first informed of it verbally and passed the information on to his deputy, Pădure. Pădure informed Praetor Mănescu, who in turn asked Sergent major Melinescu to implement the order. Melinescu's refusal to obey prompted his dismissal. Pădure eventually assigned the task to a Ukrainian policeman, Afanasie Grigorievici Andrusin, who was already implicated in the murder of Jews in the Golta ghetto. A group of 70 Ukrainian auxiliaries from the district assisted Andrusin.

The massacre of 48,000 Jews began on December 20, 1941. It started inside the camp where 4,000 to 5,000 of the weakest were locked in four cowsheds that were covered with straw, sprinkled with gasoline, and incinerated. The next day, the remaining Jews were ordered to march to the forest near the Bug River, 2 to 3 kilometers (about 1.5 miles) from the camp. Once there, they were told to undress and remove any valuables; gold teeth were extracted on the spot with bayonets. In smaller groups they proceeded to a ravine where a firing squad awaited them. From

December 21 to 24 and from December 28 to 30, the murderers shot from morning to evening, while the victims awaited their deaths in the bitter cold. Operations resumed after the New Year holiday, on January 3, and ended on January 9. Three hundred and sixty (later reduced to 163) Jews were selected to form a disposal team to cover up the operation. This team gathered the bodies, sorted through piles of victims' goods, and burned the corpses on large pyres. The cremation of the bodies went on for two or more months (some accounts suggest until May 1942). During that time, other Jews who were found hiding in nearby villages were brought to that forest, shot, and thrown into the fire. The victims' belongings were dispersed to local hospitals or hotels or sold to the populace.[4]

The Bogdanovca sovkhoz, a Romanian state farm by that point named "Bogdan-Vodă," resumed animal herding activities in the spring of 1942; some survivors of the massacre and other Jews who arrived in the camp were deployed there as forced laborers. On May 20, 1942, 154 Jews from the Chişinău ghetto, together with 48 Jewish mental patients from the Chişinău Hospital, were deported to Vradievca in Transnistria. On their arrival on May 22, they were marched to the Bogdanovca camp, some 40 kilometers (25 miles) east of Vradievca.[5] Most of them were killed or deported soon thereafter.

A young man who survived the massacre of the Jewish population of Bogdanovca, 1944. USHMM WS #80849, COURTESY OF THE RUSSIAN STATE DOCUMENTARY FILM & PHOTO ARCHIVE.

On June 29, 1942, 213 prisoners (166 men, 38 women, and 9 children) were counted in the Bogdanovca camp; on September 1, 1943, there were 70 (not including the local Ukrainian Jews).[6] They wore the yellow star, were kept in the pigsties, and worked without pay. On January 14, 1943, a few hundred Jews from the Alexandrovca camp (Odessa judeţ) arrived in Bogdanovca after spending 19 days locked in freight cars without food or water and in extreme temperatures. Eleven of these unfortunate Jews died in transit from hunger and cold, and the surviving deportees were placed in the pigsties. Some were later moved to Golta. On

February 5, 1943, some 200 Jews were deported directly from Romania to Bogdanovca as punishment for allegedly evading forced labor. Seven of them died in the pigsties before the rest were moved to Golta.[7]

In 1943, the inmates' treatment improved. The Jews received aid from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din Romania, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER). Domanovca's praetor made a half-hearted effort to pay the Jewish workers in the raion by backdating days worked from July 1, 1943 to March 31, 1944. It is unlikely that the 138 Jewish "day laborers" were ever paid, however.[8] The Romanian administration evacuated Golta at the end of March 1944. The Red Army liberated the Bogdanovca camp in early April 1944.

The atrocities that occurred in Bogdanovca became known to the National Society of the Red Cross of Romania (*Societatea Naţională de Cruce Roşie din România*, SNCRR) in 1942. SNCRR's president implored Marshal Ion Antonescu to ameliorate the situation. Mihai Antonescu, Romania's Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, asked the Internal Affairs Ministry to "investigate" the claim, but nothing was done.[9] In 1942 and 1943, Tiraspol's military court investigated a number of Golta officials, including the prefect and his deputy, in connection with the theft of Jewish gold from Bogdanovca and other camps in the Golta judeţ.[10] In May 1945, the People's Tribunal in Bucharest tried Isopescu and Pădure, along with accomplices Mănescu, Bobei, Landau, and Melinescu, for robbery, torture, and murder at Bogdanovca.[11] They were sentenced to life in prison for their crimes against the Roma, not the Jews.

SOURCES More information regarding the fate of Jews imprisoned in the Bogdanovca camp can be found in the following publications: "Bohdanovka," in *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); "Bohdanovka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene,

1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Eric C. Steinhart, "Family, Fascists, and 'Volksdeutsche': The Bogdanovka Collective Farm and the Holocaust in Southern Ukraine," *HSJCH* 16: 1–2 (2010): 65–96.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews in the Bogdanovca camp are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), SRI (RG-25.004M), and AMAN (RG-25.003M). A testimony by T. Lowenstein Lavi regarding the annihilation of Cernăuţi's Jews in the Bogdanovca camp was a featured example of Nazi-encouraged cruelties in the trial of Adolf Eichmann; a film clip about it is available at USHMMA, under RG-60.2100*060. USHMMA's oral history project and VHA hold together 86 testimonies from Jewish survivors who were held in the Bogdanovca camp for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-50.477*0010, Klara Birman, oral history interview, December 9, 1998.
2. VHA #49554, Libe Havas Burihovici testimony, March 8, 1999.
3. See the prefect's report about the arrest of Ukrainian policemen and locals robbing and murdering 60 to 70 Jews, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 9, p. 45 (verso).

4. Isopescu's letter to the government of Transnistria, April 20, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.008M, microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 15, p. 193.

5. General de divizie Constantin Voiculescu's information report to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 153–154. See also the post-deportation account, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 128, file 96, pp. 73–74.

6. "Situaţia numerică de evrei aflaţi pe raza judeţului Golta la data de 27 Iunie 1942," USHMMA, RG-31.008M, microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 423, p. 163; for the September 1, 1943, count, see the census table reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

7. Diary entries January 14, 1943, and February 5, 1943, in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 303–304.

8. See a table with number of workers and compensation for the Domanovca raion, March 1944 (?), USHMMA, RG-31.008M, microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 423, p. 29.

9. See correspondence and resolution, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2241, opis 1, delo 1486, pp. 161–162.

10. USHMMA, RG-31.008M, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 59, 74, delo 457.

11. USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 5; indictments appear in the same collection and reel, vol. 19, vol. 1, pp. 4–40, 115–120.

BOLGRAD

Bolgrad, a small town in the Ismail judeţ in southern Bessarabia, in southeastern Romania (today: Bolhrad, Ukraine), is 150 kilometers (93 miles) south-southwest of Chişinău. There were approximately 6,240 Jews in the Ismail judeţ (census data for Bolgrad were not available) in 1939 and only 1,259 Jews in September 1941 at the time of the Romanian and German occupation; the Soviet regime that controlled Bessarabia from June 1940 to June 1941 had deported to Siberia some Jews from Bolgrad for being "wealthy" and/or "unsupportive" of the regime, and Jewish men of military age were drafted into the Red Army just before the attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941.[1] Some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities, and others tried unsuccessfully to flee the area, but many remained in place. At the next census in May 1942, there were no Jews left in Bolgrad.[2]

The German and Romanian armies occupied Bolgrad in early July 1941. The prefect in the Ismail judeţ was Colonel S. Atanasiu, and the deputy commandant of the Ismail Gendarmes Legion was Locotenent Ion Gangea. The local population, encouraged by the approaching troops, started ransacking Jewish properties, especially those left unattended by the departed Jews. Roundups and shootings of the Jews and of those (both Jews and non-Jews) deemed communist began immediately. Jews living in rural areas around Bolgrad were rounded up by gendarmes and brought to the village. Some were shot outside the town, others were transported to the Tarutino ghetto in August 1941, but a number remained in Bolgrad where they were confined to a small area.

The Bolgrad ghetto encompassed only a few streets in the town's former Jewish section. Houses inside the ghetto were damaged during the fight for the town or were vandalized after the occupation and were hardly fit for human habitation. Wearing the yellow star became mandatory. Gendarmes guarded the ghetto, permitting only a small number of men to leave the ghetto to purchase food from the market. Permission to leave, however, was

discontinued after September 15, except for small groups of Jews who were subjected to forced labor in town—cleaning streets and removing rubble. They were guarded while working.[3]

Orders for the deportation of all Jews from southern Bessarabia, including Bolgrad, were issued in early October 1941 by Colonel Teodor Meculescu, the chief inspector of gendarmes for Bessarabia. On his orders, the Jews of the Bolgrad ghetto left on October 15 and began a four-day march to Tarutino. Soon thereafter, on October 25 and 27, they embarked on another four-day march from Tarutino to Purcari-Iasca (south of Tighina) on the Dniester River, some 70 kilometers (43 miles) northeast of Tarutino.[4] Meculescu ordered the gendarmerie authorities in southern Bessarabia (the Gendarmes Legions in Cetatea Albă, Ismail, and Chilia) to remove all Jews from the areas under their jurisdiction and to bury those who were shot for not keeping up with the forced march. He warned of severe penalties if he found "a single Jew in the rural or urban territory after the closing of the operations."[5] Even while the Jews were still living in the Bolgrad ghetto, but especially after their deportation, Jewish homes and business were expropriated and became state property.

Indeed, only four Jews—a Jewish woman who was an Argentinian national, two Jewish women married to Christian men deported by the Soviet authorities, and a 14-year-old un-baptized son from a mixed marriage—were left in Bolgrad at the beginning of November 1941.[6] According to a census of ethnic groups living in Bolgrad, only one Jew—the Argentinian national—resided in town in December 1941 (of a population of 10,000 residents, most of whom were ethnic Bulgarians).[7] As Ştefan Ionescu, chief of the Bolgrad police, Security Bureau, noted in a November 1941 report, "all Jews have gone to the camp."[8] The orders of Bessarabia's governor, General de divizie Constantin Voiculescu, for the "total cleansing" of Bessarabia, which Meculescu reiterated, were thus fulfilled.[9]

The Bolgrad ghetto closed down in November 1941, its former residents arriving weeks later in the southern part of the Golta district, an area known as the "kingdom of death" for its killing centers at Bogdanovca, Acmecetca, and Domanovca, as well as in the northern part of the Berezovca judeţ (Berezovca and Mostovoi) in Transnistria. Many perished there, although a few survived and

returned to Bolgrad in March and April 1944. The Bolgrad police continued to supervise them closely until June 1944.[10]

In May 1942, some 1,119 Jews from the Regat (from towns such as Huşi, Tecuci, Vaslui, and Galaţi), along with 119 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), were deployed to the 2nd Bolgrad Roads Battalion to do forced labor.[11] The battalion was headquartered in Bolgrad. A detachment of Jews was stationed 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) northeast of the town, in a village called Cubei (Kubey), where they worked in a stone quarry, breaking down boulders needed for road construction around the city of Ismail.[12] The work was physically demanding and dangerous, most of it being done with sledgehammers; the rocks were then transported by hand to wagons. After a few months of work the laborers' clothes turned into rags, and their tools broke. The food received was minimal, mail and packages were censored, freedom to move about was limited, and leaves were granted rarely. At the end of 1943 the battalion moved back to the Regat, along with its detachments of Jews. It was not until after Romania switched sides in the war, on August 23, 1944, that the Jews were released from forced labor and could return home.

Starting in 1945, the People's Court in Bucharest tried and convicted a number of perpetrators, including Governor Voiculescu, for crimes committed against the Jews in Bessarabia.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews imprisoned in the Bolgrad ghetto can be found in the following publications: "Bolgrad," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), vol. 1; "Ismail," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 2:331–334; Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel

Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia şi Alte Câteva Întâmplări: Contribuţii la Istoria Încercării de Exeterminare a Evreilor* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947); Arkadii Mazur, *Stranít s˘y istorii sorokskikh evreev: Vtoráia˘polovina XIX veka i XX vek* (Chişinău: Editura Ruxanda, 1999); and Ion C. Butnaru, *The Silent Holocaust: Romania and Its Jews* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992). For forced labor of Jews in Romania, including Bolgrad, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013). Information about the persecution of Christian religious minorities in Bolgrad under the Antonescu regime can be found in Viorel Achim, ed., *Political Regimului Antonescu Faţă de Cultele Neoprotestante: Documente* (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania; Iassy: Polirom, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Bolgrad's Jews are available at USHMMA, in collections RG-31.004M (DAOO); RG-31.014M (DAOO, Izmail branch); RG-25.004M (SRI); RG-25.025 (ANR, Vs); RG-54.001M (ANRM); and RG-54.004M (ANRM), Selected Records of the Liaison Office (under the Office of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers) for Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transnistria, 1941–1944. VHA holds 10 testimonies from Jewish survivors deported from Bolgrad or who had lived in the town before the outbreak of the war against the Soviet Union.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-50.405*0011, Mikhail Schvartsman testimony, June 4, 1990.

2. Ismail district census figures, 1930 to 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, fond 2694, vol. 18, p. 15.

3. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 21, fond 7525, opis 1s, delo 8, p. 22.

4. Deportation instructions for the Jews of southern Bessarabia: USHMMA, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 22, pp. 53–60 (esp. pp. 55–60); each convoy's itinerary and schedule were carefully indicated and clearly marked on the map of the area accompanying the instructions (pp. 61–63).

5. Meculescu's instructions: USHMMA, RG-54.001M, reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 22, pp. 64–66; for accompanying departure/arrival schedules and map, see pp. 67–68.

6. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 21, fond 7525, opis 1s, delo 8, p. 89 (see also pp. 13–15).

7. Statistical figures of ethnic minorities in Bolgrad, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 21, fond 7525, opis 1s, delo 8, p. 168 (see also p. 149) and p. 3 (verso).

8. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 21, fond 7525, opis 1s, delo 8, p. 120.

9. Ibid., p. 87.

10. USHMMA, RG-54.004M (ANRM), reel 17, fond 680, file 4766, vol. 1.

11. For a description of the battalion, see USHMMA, RG-54.004M (Selected Records of the Liaison Office [under the Office of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers] for Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transnistria, 1941–1944), reel 10, fond 706, opis 1, delo 522, p. 35.

12. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0049, Ion Butnaru testimony, May 3, 1990; for a nominal list of the Jewish workers, see USHMMA, RG-25.025M (ANR-Vs), reel 8, file 2, 1942.

BOLGRAD/LPRS NO. 8

Bolgrad, a small town in the Ismail judeţ in southern Bessarabia, in southeastern Romania (today: Bolhrad, Ukraine), is 150 kilometers (93 miles) south-southwest of Chişinău.

A camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) was set up in Bolgrad, following the joint German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union that occurred on June 22, 1941. The camp was formally known as a camp for Soviet prisoners (*Lagăr de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici No. 8 Bolgrad*, LPRS), LPRS No. 8 Bolgrad. The camp fell under the III Territorial Command Center (*Comandamentul III Teritorial*), which contributed to the camp's organization and supplies, but control over the camp was exercised by the Romanian Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM). The commandant of the camp was Maior Cristea Lazarovici, assisted by Locotenent Dumitru Opriţoiu. The camp guards were gendarmes from the Ismail Legion of Gendarmes.[1]

The first wave of Soviet prisoners interned in the Bolgrad camp in the fall of 1941 came from the provinces of Bessarabia and Bukovina, as well as from Transnistria, which had been recaptured by the German and Romanian armies in July and August 1941. Most were originally from those territories and had been only recently drafted into the Red Army. After being captured, the prisoners were sent to a few transit camps for processing in Bessarabia, as well as in the Regat. One such camp in Bessarabia was in Chişinău and was known as prisoner camp no. 1 (*Lagărul No. 1*).[2] LPRS No. 4 Vaslui, in the Regat, also processed prisoners before their internment in the Bolgrad camp.[3] Later, as the Eastern Front advanced beyond Odessa and across the Bug River, a second wave of prisoners arrived in the Bolgrad camp during the spring of 1942. They had been captured in Crimea (Sevastopol and Kerch) and had already spent time in a prisoner camp in Nicolaev (Mykolaiv, Ukraine).[4]

Little information has survived about the camp's actual location

and its layout. It can be safely assumed, however, that living conditions inside it were difficult for the prisoners, particularly in the winter of 1941. In November 1941, a typhus epidemic erupted in the camp, likely caused by filth and overcrowding. It claimed the lives of many prisoners. The spread of the disease was finally controlled by February 1942, when mobile steam baths were dispatched to Bolgrad and a few delousing ovens were put in operation. A total of 271 prisoners (1 officer and 270 troops) died while in the Bolgrad camp because of the lack of hygiene, adequate food, and appropriate shelter. The absence of real medical attention, including treatment for battle wounds, added to the mortality count.[5]

Prisoners of Romanian origin from Bessarabia and Bukovina were released from LPRS No. 8 Bolgrad beginning in October 1941; they were followed in 1942 by anyone who resided in those provinces, as well as Transnistria.[6] Once repatriated, all former prisoners had to report twice a month to the local police or gendarme station to receive a stamp on their release form.

The number of Soviet POWs in the Bolgrad camp in August 1944 was 5,763. Whether this figure approximates the number of prisoners held in the camp between 1941 and 1944 is yet to be determined.[7] This information is important given the existence of three other prisoner camps near Bolgrad—Sergheieşti (Serhiivka) in the Cetatea Albă judeţ, Arciz (Artsyz) in Ismail judeţ, and Friedenthal (Myrnopillya) in the Cetatea Albă (or Ismail) judeţ. These detention sites, in operation for only a few months, were situated in the Odessa oblast, Ukraine. Because they were not classified as stand-alone prison camps (and thus were not allocated an individual camp number), most likely they were subcamps of the Bolgrad camp.[8]

At some point in mid-or late 1942, LPRS No. 8 Bolgrad was moved to a new location in the Regat, to a camp in Turnu Măgurele in the Teleorman judeţ. The town is near the Danube River, some 124 kilometers (77 miles) southwest of Bucharest. The Wehrmacht had established this camp for Serbian POWs in the spring of 1941 near the town's abattoir. Most Soviet prisoners who were transferred there worked in agriculture as hired hands, though others were allocated to road and rail maintenance. In October 1943, groups of prisoners from many Romanian camps,

including Bolgrad/Turnu Măgurele, were gathered together and sent to LPRS 5/12 Tighina (the precursor of LPRS 5/12 Tiraspol) for work in the fields and various industries.[9]

Romania switched sides in the war on August 23, 1944. The prisoners left in the Turnu Măgurele camp were handed over to the Soviet authorities in the Allied High Command (*Înaltul Comandament Aliat*) in September 1944, as stipulated by the Armistice Convention. The handing over of prisoners occurred without formalities, the Soviet authorities apparently refusing to sign for the prisoners they received. The camp was closed in September 1944.

SOURCES For further information about Soviet POWs held in the Bolgrad camp, see Alesandru Duţu, Florica Dobre, and Leonida Loghin, *Armata Română în al Doilea Război Mondial (1941–1945)*: *Dicţionar Enciclopedic* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999), especially pp. 329–341; Vasile Popa, "Prizonierii Sovietici în România (1941–1945)," available at www.once.ro/sesiuni/sesiune_2007/9%20prizonieri_popa.pdf; and Alesandru Duţu, Florica Dobre, and Andrei Şiperco, "1941–1945: Prizonieri de Război în România … şi Crucea Roşie Internaţională," *MagIs* 2 (1997): 7–16; on prisoner repatriation, see Constantin Dedu, "Repatrierea Prizonierilor Aparţinând Naţiunilor Unite, După 23 August 1944," available at www.centrul-cultural-pitesti.ro/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=833:file-de-istorie&catid=254:restituiri-3-2007&Itemid=118. For the involvement of the ICRC and CRR in assisting the Soviet POWs in Romania, see Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internaţională şi România în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război mondial (1 septembrie 1939–23 august 1944): prizonierii de război anglo-americani şi sovietici, deportaţii evrei din Transnistria şi emigrarea evreilor* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources documenting the Bolgrad camp for Soviet POWs are available at USHMMA, collections ANR (RG-25.002M) and DAOO (RG-31.004M). Further evidence about the camp can be found in TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1635; and opis 977528, delo 141–153; and RGVA, fond 1512,

opis 1, delo 19 and 20, containing prisoner registration forms.

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NOTES

1. For these and other Bolgrad camp staff, see USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 24, file 59, p. 29.
2. TsAMO, fond 58, opis 977528, delo 151, pp. 255, 259.
3. RGVA, fond 1512, opis 1, delo 20, p. 6; TsAMO, fond 58, opis 977528, delo 153, p. 277.
4. TsAMO, fond 58, opis 977528, delo 150, p. 346.
5. List of deceased Soviet soldiers in Romanian camps, TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, p. 2.
6. For example, see TsAMO, fond 58, opis 977528, delo 152, p. 347; and delo 153, pp. 195–197.
7. The names of the Soviet prisoners in Bolgrad camp appear in a searchable database based on Soviet archives (RGVA, TsAMO); database can be found at www.obd-memorial.ru/.
8. For the Sergheieşti subcamp, see the gendarmerie report informing the Chişinău Inspectorate of Gendarmes of a typhus epidemic erupting and claiming lives among the prisoners in January 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 21, fond 7511, opis 1s, delo 2, p. 18; for the Arciz and Friedenthal subcamps, see camp personnel, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 24, file 59, pp. 29–30.
9. Information on individual prisoner forms, RGVA, fond 1512, opis 1, delo 19, pp. 1–38; and delo 20, pp. 1–20.

BONDUROVCA

Bondurovca, a large village in the Obodovca raion in the Balta judeţ, in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (pre-1941: Bondurovka; today: Bondurivka, Ukraine), is located along the Dokhna River. Bondurovca is 50 kilometers (31 miles) northwest of Balta. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 754 Jews in the Obodovca raion (535 of whom lived in the Obodovca township), representing nearly 2.5 percent of the entire raion's population. Census data for Bondurovca are not available.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the village on July 28, 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the town at the beginning of September 1941 and romanianized its name from Bondurovka to Bondurovca (sometimes spelled Bandurovca or Bondarovca). The prefect in the Balta judeţ was Colonel Vasile Nica. The Balta Legion of Gendarmes was commanded by Locotenent-colonel Ştefan Gavăţ. The Inspector of Gendarmes in Balta (from 1943) was Colonel Marcel Petală. The praetor in Bondurovca was Dumitru Sofian.

Convoys of Jews deported from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia were marched in the direction of Obodovca at the end of October and early November 1941. En route, a few hundred Jews stopped in Bondurovca in a transit camp that had been created in the war-torn stables of the local collective farm (*kolkhoz*). The conditions inside the farm were inhumane. The few stables occupied by the Jews were missing windows and/or doors and lacked any beds, heating, running water, and toilets. Temperatures dropped well below freezing in November and reached extreme cold in the winter of 1941. During this time, some Jews died of cold, hunger, exhaustion, and diseases (mainly typhus and dysentery) in the camp. Frozen corpses were amassed outside the cold barns because it was impossible to dig deep enough into the frozen ground without tools and bury them.

With a population of 26,240 people in January 1942, the Obodovca raion was struck by a typhus epidemic in the winter of

1941, becoming one of the most highly infected raions in the Balta judeţ—and Bondurovca, which had 2,551 residents in January 1942, had one of the highest rates of infection in the Obodovca raion.[1] The epidemic flared from December 1941 to March 1942, touching almost every village in the raion. Colonel Nica blamed the arrival of Jewish deportees in the area for the spread of the disease and ordered strict quarantine measures in the Obodovca raion, including the incarceration of the Jews in guarded camps (*lagăre*).[2]

A record from the Balta medical service indicates that 26 Jews in the Bondurovca camp contracted typhus in January 1942. The actual number was likely higher and did not include those who had already died from the disease. It is unclear how many of the Jews in the camp survived, because they did not receive any assistance from the Romanian administration.[3] The Obodovca hospital had an infectious disease department that admitted Ukrainian patients, but not Jews.[4] The health situation in the Obodovca raion improved slightly in the following year, when the Romania civil administration struggled to provide the minimum delousing equipment necessary to prevent another typhus epidemic.[5]

The harsh living conditions inside the camp forced the Jews to search for work and food in the nearby villages. They slipped out of camp after dark under risky conditions, as Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries patrolled the area. Barter became a mode of survival for those who had been able to smuggle valuables with them when crossing into Transnistria; yet even for those lucky few, their resources only lasted so long. Eventually most Jews ran out of items to sell or exchange. Gradually, during the summer of 1942, the Jews moved outside the camp and into empty houses vacated by local residents, some of whom were Jewish. A ghetto was thus created in an area of the village allocated for Jewish settlement (at which point the farm ceased to exist as a camp). The ghetto was not enclosed with barbed wire, but was simply demarcated by signs and word of mouth.

Leon Jrubetki led the Bondurovca ghetto, assisted by a few other leaders selected from among the ghetto community.[6] Workshops (*ateliere*) were created in late 1942 and throughout 1943 in the Obodovca raion, but not in the Bondurovca ghetto, probably because of its small size and lack of tools. The Jews in

Bondurovca found work among the villagers; Jewish men were taken to load and unload train cars at the Dochna train station (today: Dokhno), located three kilometers (nearly two miles) southeast of Bondurovca.[7] There were tailors, seam-stresses, shoe makers, and a furrier living in the ghetto, but their skills were not utilized.[8]

Financial and material support to the Jews in Bondurovca came from the Jewish communities in Romania. In 1943 the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) sent money, goods (glass, produce, coal, and tools), and medicine (particularly against typhus and dysentery) to the Balta ghetto to be redistributed to every ghetto or camp in the Balta judeţ.[9] The District Jewish Office in Cernăuţi (*Oficiul Judeţean al Evreilor din Cernăuţi*) also sent used clothing and tools to the Jews in Obodovca for re distribution to the Jewish communities in the raion, including those in Bondurovca.[10] Financial aid from family and friends in Romania also reached one or two Jews in the Bondurovca ghetto in the second part of 1943.[11] Despite the assistance, the deportees lived in great poverty.

According to the March 1943 census of deported Jews in Transnistria, there were 250 Jews in Bondurovca (including Ukrainian Jews); in September 1943, there were 116 (excluding Ukrainian Jews), all originally from Bukovina.[12] Another statistic from late 1942 or early 1943 indicates that there were 121 Jews in Bondurovca, while the total number by mid-February 1944 was 117 Jews.[13]

The Red Army liberated Bondurovca on March 15, 1944, by which time the civil Romanian administration had evacuated the town. The Jews waited for the Red Army to arrive before setting out to return to Romania. In April 1945, the Bucharest's People's Court tried and sentenced to prison some of Balta's gendarme commandants, including Gavăţ and Petală, for abusing the Jews in the Balta judeţ.[14]

SOURCES Further information about the fate of Jews imprisoned in the Bondurovca ghetto can be found in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow:

Rosspen, 2009); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 1 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,* vol. 4 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007); Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 49; "Bondurovka," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel hayishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), p. 407; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2 (parts I and II) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Bondurovca ghetto can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and DAOO/YV (RG-68.130M). VHA holds seven survivor testimonies in five languages (English, Romanian, Russian, Hungarian, and Portuguese) from Jews

imprisoned in the Bondurovca ghetto.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See figures of typhus and other diseases in the Bondurovca village and the Obodovca raion, from December 1941 to June 1942, at USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, pp. 1–60 (and verso).

2. The prefect's report following a field visit in the Obodovca raion in December 1941 can be found at USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 695, pp. 142–143.

3. See USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, pp. 21 (verso) and 22.

4. For medical personnel and institutions in the Obodovca raion, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 717, p. 26.

5. For a list of delousing equipment and its condition in the Obodovca raion, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 717, p. 5.

6. See the list of work committees and ghetto chiefs for the Balta judeţ, "Tabel de membrii Biroului de Organiz. a Muncii Evreilor din Jud. Balta şi a Comitetelor evreieşti din Jud. Balta pe data de 1 Septembrie 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 72 (and verso).

7. See the list of Jewish forced laborers working in the Obodovca raion, USHMMA, RG-68.130M (DAOO/YV), reel 2, file M-39/32 (DAOO: fond 2358, opis 1, delo 666), p. 11.

8. See the list of Jews according to skills and labor utilization in Balta judeţ's ghettos, USHMMA, RG-68.130M, reel 2, M-39 (DAOO: 2358/1/668), p. 73.

9. See one such parcel containing boxes of medicines, August 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 718, pp. 184–185, 189–190.

10. Letter informing the Jewish Committee in the Obodovca raion about the sending of packages, September 29, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.130M, reel 1, file M-39/26 (DAOO: 2358/1/107), p. 7 (see also pp. 104, 110, 112).

11. See receipts of deposit, "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din România deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Obodovca (Jud. Balta)," RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 783, n.p.

12. March 1943 census, "Tablou numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; September 1943 census: "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 456.

13. For late 1942 or early 1943 census data, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, p. 16; for February 1944 data, see USHMMA, RG-68.130M (DAYV), reel 2, M-39/27 (DAOO: fond 2358, opis 1, delo 110), p. 100.

14. See court depositions against Gavăţ, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 1, pp. 4, 38 (verso); vol. 2, p. 96, 121; for Petală, see reel 26, file 20725, pp. 311–312.

BRANIŢA-MOGHILEV

Braniţa (today: Bronnytsya, Ukraine), a village in the Moghilev judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 8.4 kilometers (5 miles) southeast of Moghilev-Podolsk, the seat of the Moghilev judeţ and raion.

A small camp for political prisoners (Legionnaires) already existed in Braniţa, called the "camp of detained legionnaires, Braniţa-Moghilev" (*Lagărul de deţinuţi legionari BraniţaMoghilev*). The Legionnaires were members of the fascist movement, the Legion of the Archangel Michael (*Liga Arhanghelului Mihail*), founded in 1927 by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. From its inception, the movement was extremely antisemitic, xenophobic, and anticommunist, instigating and carrying out acts of violence against Jews and other ethnic or religious minorities. After its failed coup d'état against General Ion Antonescu in January 1941 (in the so-called Legionary Rebellion in Bucharest during which hundreds of Jews were killed, Jewish properties looted, and synagogues set on fire), the Legionary movement was abolished and its many active members imprisoned. The Antonescu regime suppressed the Legionnaires throughout the war. The gendarmerie in the Moghilev judeţ and throughout all of Transnistria, just as in Romania, closely monitored the Legionnaires' activity, alongside that of Ukrainian nationalists, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), religious minorities, and Jews.[1] Various Romanian police agencies ferreted out the activities of Legionnaire groups, which they termed "nests" (*cuiburi*).

The Braniţa camp for the Legionnaires was located near the eastern bank of the Dniester River, along the highway connecting Moghilev-Podolsk to Iampol (today: Yampil, Ukraine). It was created by the Inspectorate of Gendarmes of Transnistria, under Order No. 503 of February 16, 1943. The camp was administered and staffed by the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion. The camp commandant was Plutoner Augustin Nicoară, assisted by one

sergeant and six gendarmes. In March 1943, it had a total of eight prisoners—six men and two women (seven Romanians and one Hungarian)—who were interned for possessing Legionnaire propaganda.[2]

It is not clear what the fate of the camp and its prisoners were as the Red Army approached the region in the spring of 1944. The Red Army liberated the Moghilev judeţ in March 1944.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the suppression of Legionnaires in Romania and Transnistria are available at USHMMA, records ANR (RG-25.002M) and SRI (RG-25.004M).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. On the suppression of Legionnaires, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reels 70, 97–99, 101, and 102.
2. "Nota. Lagărele existente în Transnistria," March 21, 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 33, pp. 410–411, 417–418.

BUCUREŞTI/LPRA NO. 12 AND NO. 13

Bucureşti (Bucharest), the capital of Romania and the largest municipality in the Ilfov judeţ, is located in the southeastern part of Romania.

The Romanian army captured American and British airmen following the repeated Allied aerial bombardment between April and August 1944 of the Ploieşti oil fields and refineries of Bucharest. The first camp for Allied prisoners of war (POWs) was set up at Timişul de Jos, and a second camp was established in Bucharest in April 1944. The camp was known as a "camp for American prisoners" (*Lagărul de prizonieri americani*, LPRA), but it was understood that prisoners from other Allied nations, particularly the British, were held there too. The majority of the prisoners were airmen of the United States Army Air Forces (USAAF) and the Royal Air Force (RAF).

The camp was located on the grounds of the Sixth Mihai Viteazul Guard Regiment in Bucharest. It incorporated a few large military barracks that were made available for housing prisoners. The camp was guarded by army soldiers, and it was likely surrounded by fencing. Living conditions inside the camp were generally acceptable, especially for officer prisoners who received better treatment than the other soldiers. The barracks contained multitiered beds and straw mattresses for sleeping; bedding, blankets, and pillows were gradually made available to each prisoner. A dining hall, shower rooms, and lavatories were also available. The water supply to the camp (and much of the city) was severed as a result of bombing, making showers unavailable. A limited amount of water for daily washing, however, was brought into the camp each day for personal hygiene. The number of prisoners rose steadily as air raids intensified, leading to overcrowding and lice infestation. Attempts by camp officials to delouse the prisoners were made using an iron press, and prisoners also tried to delouse themselves by washing their clothes in cold water, but without soap or kerosene, these efforts were

unsuccessful.

Meals were served three times a day. Officer prisoners received better meals, with meat and other sources of protein, as reflected in the food allocation set by the Romanian Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM) for officers. Noncommissioned officers (NCOs) had a smaller food allocation, and consequently their meals were less nutritious, producing discontent. The number of prisoners at the end of April 1944 was 229: 93 officers and 136 NCOs. The Senior Allied Officer (SAO), representing all the prisoners, was Major James B. Beane.[1]

A number of factors hampered the development of the Bucharest camp for Allied POWs into a full-fledged camp, with better facilities and services. Chief among these factors was its temporary nature: it was conceived from the outset as a provisional camp, to be occupied while the Sixth Guard Regiment soldiers were away on duty. Adding to this factor, however, was the crippling of strategic infrastructure (rail hubs, bridges, and highways) and national institutions (ministerial buildings and factories) resulting from continual bombardment. Between May and June 1941, Bucharest sustained repeated bombing by the Allied air forces. By July 1944 the functioning of many state institutions in Bucharest (and elsewhere in the country) was totally disrupted, if it had not already ceased.[2]

Still, even in such circumstances, the Allied POWs in the Bucharest camp benefited from attention from national and international aid organizations. Periodically, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) supplied parcels to the prisoners. In addition, Romania's King Michael I, along with his mother, Queen Helen, visited the camp and advocated on behalf of its prisoners. Days before visiting the Bucharest camp, the king met with a wounded American prisoner who was being interrogated in the military barracks in Ploieşti. He spoke alone with the prisoner and requested that he be interned in the military hospital in Ploieşti for medical treatment. On April 25, 1944, the king visited the Bucharest camp and observed its conditions. He talked with the SAO, Beane, about the prisoners' treatment by Romanian camp officials, their rations, and lodging. The king requested of the camp officials that the camp be less congested and that meals be improved. He then ordered that some of the captured

equipment (parachutes, pistols, and ammunition) be taken to his royal residency in Sinaia for storage and restitution at a later time.[3]

In May 1944, officials of the German army stationed in Bucharest requested of the Romanian Army General Staff that a center for the interrogation of Allied (primarily American) POWs be established in Bucharest. Marshal Ion Antonescu approved this request. The interrogation center had 20 to 30 interrogation rooms (cells), and it was set up in the German barracks at the outskirts of Bucharest.[4]

In the second part of May 1944, Beane wrote a letter to King Michael I requesting that the Allied prisoners be moved out from Bucharest so they could be protected from future bombardment. Antonescu agreed to relocate the Allied POWs, but only to an area inside the city. Consequently, in late May or early June, the officer prisoners were moved into the building of the Saint Ecaterina Normal School for Girls (*Şcoala Normală de Fete Sfânta Ecaterina*), in Bucharest's southern district, while the NCO prisoners were housed in the Queen Elisabeth Military Hospital (*Spitalul Militar Regina Elisabeta*) in Bucharest's northern part. The camp in the Ecaterina School became LPRA No. 12, and that in the Queen Elisabeth Military Hospital became LPRA No. 13. The total number of U.S. POWs in Bucharest's camps in August 1944 was roughly 1,010 (some 420 officers, 581 NOCs, and 9 troops); the number of British POWs was around 30.

Living conditions inside both camps were initially unsatisfactory, characterized by overcrowding, only basic meals, no soap or radio, and cold-water showers; yet prisoner morale remained high. Thanks to parcels received from the ICRC and increased cooperation from camp officials, food and hygiene conditions slowly improved. Sending and receiving mail were possible through the Romanian Red Cross (*Crucea Roşie din România*, CRR). A weekly "newspaper" was produced by a group of prisoners in LPRA No. 12, reporting what ever information was obtained from the guards.[5]

On August 23, 1944, Romania switched sides in the war, aligning itself with the Allied nations against Nazi Germany. The Allied POWs in Bucharest's camps were released from camps a week later to the Allied Control Commission (*Comisia Aliată de*

Control). Between September 1 and 3, 1944, almost all the American and British POWs in Romania were flown out of the country and returned to their respective armies: 1,117 American POWs, 31 British, 12 Dutch, and 1 French.

SOURCES For more information regarding the Allied POWs in Bucharest's camps, see Donald R. Falls, "American POWs in Romania," *APH* 37 (Spring 1990): 37–44; Alesandru Duţu, Florica Dobre, and Leonida Loghin, *Armata Română în al doilea război mondial (1941–1945): Dicţionar enciclopedic* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999); Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internationalã şi România, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997); Mircea Pietreanu, "Prizonierii americani învaţă limba română," *MagIs* 2: 311 (February 1993): 58; Alesandru Duţu, "1943–1944, the American Prisoner Fliers in Romania,"*RMH* 1 (1992): 10–12; and Ottmar Traşcă, "Bombardamentele ango-americane asupra României, Aprilie-August 1944. Percepţii germane şi maghiare," available at www.history-cluj.ro/Istorie/anuare/2002/Otto%20-%20Bombardamentele%20anglo.htm. On repatriation, see Constantin Dedu, "Repatrierea prizonierilor aparţinând Naţiunilor Unite, după 23 August 1944," available at www.centrul-cultural-pitesti.ro/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=833:file-de-istorie&catid=254:restituiri-3-2007&Itemid=118.

Primary sources documenting LPRA Nos. 12 and 13 can be found at USHMMA, record PCMCM (RG-25.013M). NARA holds a brief film documenting the liberation of Allied fliers in Bucharest by the U.S. Fifteenth Air Force, which is available at USHMMA under RG-60.0943. The citation is OSS, Field Photographic Branch, "Project Gunn (Camera Report No. 4, Unit 24D)." A transcript of an interview with the SAO, Major (and later Lieutenant Colonel) James B. Beane, can be found at HI. A fragment of the unpublished memoir, "Benghazi to Bucharest: A Second World War Memoir," written by Bertrand Whitley, a former prisoner in Bucharest LPRA No. 12, can be found in Adrian Boda, "Prisoner and Agent in 1944 Romania: A Fragment from the Memoir of Pi lot Officer Bertrand Whitley,"

Philobiblon, 19: 2 (2014): 1–24; and Bertrand Wiley, "Benghazi to Bucharest: A Second World War Memoir," available at http://citynews.ro/previzualizare/215005.

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NOTES

1. See a description of the camp facilities, conditions, treatment of prisoners, and official visits from the Counter-information Bureau, MSM, prisoner section (or Section II), "Nota," April 1944, USHMMA, RG-25.013M (PCMCM), reel 6, file 175, pp. 52–54.

2. See the situation depicted in German and Hungarian diplomatic correspondence, Traşcă, "Bombardamentele angoamericane asupra României," available at www.history-cluj.ro/Istorie/anuare/2002/Otto%20-%20Bombardamentele%20anglo.htm.

3. Summary of visits by King Michael I and Queen Helen, in "Nota," April 1944, USHMMA, RG-25.013M (PCMCM), reel 6, file 175, pp. 52–53.

4. Resolution note, May 9, 1944, USHMMA, RG-25.013M (PCM-MC), reel 6, file 175, p. 43.

5. See summary of unpublished memoir of Bertrand Whitley, an RAF pi lot held prisoner of war in LPRA No. 12: "Benghazi to Bucharest," available at http://citynews.ro/previzualizare/215005.

BUDEŞTI/LPRS NO. 7 AND 13

Budeşti, a small town in the Ilfov judeţ in the Regat, in southern Romania (today: Budeşti, Călăraşi judeţ), is 36 kilometers (22 miles) southeast of Bucharest.

A camp for prisoners of war (POWs) existed at Budeşti in the spring of 1941, before the joint German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union that occurred on June 22, 1941. When it was established, the camp held POWs taken by the Wehrmacht in the Balkan campaign. It reopened in the summer of 1942, when the camp for Soviet prisoners of war (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Războ Sovietici*, LPRS), LPRS No. 7 Bălţi, in Bessarabia, moved to Budeşti. The concentration of Soviet POWs in the Regat was part of a plan designed by the Romanian Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM) in March and April 1942, whereby prisoners would be made available for hire to large state-owned and private agricultural and forestry companies, as well as to national rail and road services.[1]

The camp became known as the Budeşti camp for prisoners No. 7/13. The listing of the Budeşti camp as LPRS No. 7/13 was meant to distinguish it from its former existence as Bălţi LPRS No. 7, although it was not uncommon for the Budeşti camp to be listed later as LPRS No. 7. The camp fell within the jurisdiction of the II Territorial Command Center and was controlled by the MSM. Locotenent-colonel Teodor Gheorghe and Maior C. Ionescu were among the camp commandants from 1942 to 1944. After the camp was established, it received Soviet prisoners from other camps in Romania; for example, from Tiraspol LPRS No. 5, Vaslui LPRS No. 4, and Independenţa-Galaţi LPRS No. 3.

The Budeşti camp became one of the largest camps for Soviet POWs in Romania, holding about 11,200 prisoners in 1943.[2] It also recorded the highest number of deaths, namely 938 prisoners. This figure comes from the statistical data produced by the Romanian authorities for the Soviet authorities in the Allied

Control Commission in December 1944 and includes the prisoners who died while the camp was based in Bălţi.[3] Their corpses were buried in mass graves as well as individual graves in a cemetery created expressly for the Budeşti camp prisoners. The most common causes of death were starvation, exhaustion, skin infections, blood poisoning (septicemia), enterocolitis, tuberculosis, heart failure, pneumonia, jaundice, and generalized edema.

The camp consisted of 163 barracks containing multi-tiered beds. A barbed-wire fence surrounded the camp, and a troop of 216 soldiers was charged with guarding it. Prisoners who were officers, 15 in total and of various ranks, were housed separately in better conditions. The camp had showers, delousing ovens, and an infirmary. Sublocotenent Ştefan Mişcă, a Romanian military doctor—assisted by six prisoner doctors and four nurses—headed the camp infirmary. A small Christian Orthodox chapel was built early on, and religious services were officiated in the Russian language by an Orthodox priest brought from Kuban. A number of warehouses and workshops were set up in the camp for storing clothing, blankets, and shoes and for mending prisoner uniforms.

Prisoners who were educated worked in the offices of the camp administration. Most prisoners, however, were sent to work out of the camp for varying periods of time. On the assumption that the prisoners were buried in the cemeteries near their work sites, the following list includes some of the places where the Budeşti POWs worked: Cocioc and Crângaşi (Ilfov judeţ); Obileşti, Râmniceni, Măicăneşti, and Gulianca (all in Râmnicu Sărat judeţ); Brăila (Brăila judeţ); Bolovani-Ploieşti (Prahova judeţ); Medjidia (Constanţa judeţ); Călăraşi (Ialomiţa judeţ); and Bucharest.

A delegation from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), composed of Edouard Chapuisat and David de Traz, visited the camp in May 1943, along with representatives of the Romanian Red Cross (*Crucea Roşie din România*, CRR). They distributed postal cards for the prisoners to use for their correspondence. To help the prisoners who were illiterate or lacked writing utensils, some of the cards already had a short message on them—"We are well. Wishing to receive news from you."—in Russian and Romanian.[4]

At the request of the governors of Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transnistria, prisoners originally from those provinces were gradually released from the camps in Romania beginning in 1942; this process, however, ended in 1943, with no prisoners being released after that time.[5]

Romania switched sides in the war on August 23, 1944. Soon thereafter the Wehrmacht rapidly began moving troops to Bulgaria through the Budeşti area and liquidating assets along the way, such as the Luftwaffe arms depot from the nearby Şoldanu village. To prevent the Soviet prisoners from falling into the hands of the Wehrmacht, they were quickly marched to Bucharest. The Romanian camp officials released the Soviet prisoners to the Red Army authorities that reached Bucharest soon thereafter. This transfer of prisoners occurred without formalities. The Red Army absorbed some of the prisoners in various capacities, some as laborers and others as soldiers, while sending others eastward. The camp was destroyed by the freed prisoners upon their liberation and was closed down in September 1944.

SOURCES For further information about the fate of the Soviet POWs held in the Budeşti camp, see Alesandru Duţu, Flo-rica Dobre, and Leonida Loghin, *Armata Română în al Doilea Război Mondial (1941–1945)*: *Dicţionar Enciclopedic* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999), especially pp. 329–341; Vasile Popa, "Prizonierii Sovietici în România (1941–1945)," available at www.once.ro/sesiune_2007/9%20prisonieri_popa.pdf; and Alesandru Duţu, Florica Dobre, and Andrei Şiperco, "1941–1945: Prizonieri de Război în România … şi Crucea Roşie Internaţională," *MagIs* 2 (1997): 7–16; on prisoner repatriation, see Constantin Dedu, "Repatrierea Prizonierilor Aparţinând Naţiunilor Unite, După 23 August 1944," available at www.centrul-cultural-pitesti.ro/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=833:file-de-istorie&catid=254:restituiri-3-2007&Itemid=118. For the involvement of the ICRC and CRR in assisting the Soviet POWs in Romania, see Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internaţională şi România în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război mondial (1 septembrie 1939–23 august 1944): prizonierii de război anglo-americani şi sovietici, deportaţii evrei din Transnistria*

şi emigrarea evreilor (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources documenting the Budeşti camp for Soviet POWs are available at USHMMA, records PCMCM (RG-25.013M) and DAOO (RG-31.004M). Further evidence about the camp can be found in TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003 and opis 977528; RGVA, fond 1512, opis 1, contains prisoner registration forms and death certificates. See also the archives of the Budeşti district (*Pretura Plăşii Budeşti*) and Budeşti City Hall (*Primăria Comunei Budeşti*) available at ANR-Că.

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NOTES

1. MSM study plan, USHMMA, RG-25.013M (PCMCM), reel 22, file 48, pp. 99, 137–147.

2. The names of the Soviet POWs held in the Budeşti camp appear in a searchable database based on Soviet archives from TsAMO; the database can be found at www.obd-memorial.ru/.

3. See TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, p. 2. A nominal list containing the names of the 938 Soviet POWs, including their burial place, can be found in that archival collection.

4. See mailing cards bearing the seal of the CRR, TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18004, delo 918, n.p.

5. See rejection letter for a release request addressed to the camp by the governor of Transnistria, February 1944, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 534, p. 15.

BUDI

Budi, a village in the Balta judeţ, in Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is approximately 119 kilometers (74 miles) northeast of Chişinău. According to the 1939 Soviet census, the Jewish population of Budi (Ukrainian: Budy) was 79, which represented an increase from the 1926 census, when only 21 Jews lived there. Budi was occupied by German forces on July 28, 1941. From September 1941 to March 1944, the village was under Romanian administration.

In October 1941, a ghetto was established in Budi to hold Jewish convoys deported by the Romanian authorities from Bessarabia and Bukovina to Transnistria. It held about 1,200 Jews, about half of whom were from Storojineţ, a town in northern Bukovina. Approximately 1,000 perished in the winter of 1941 due to a deadly mix of circumstances: frigid temperatures, poor housing, lack of food, and an unforgiving typhus epidemic that alone claimed 450 lives.[1] Assuming that the Budi ghetto resembled other ghettos in the Obodovca raion (a subdistrict of the Balta judeţ), the stables where the deportees were housed likely had no windows, doors, or beds, and those dying every day were either buried unceremoniously in ditches that served as mass graves or were piled up frozen on the ground, awaiting burial in the spring when the snow melted and the ground defrosted.

Not much is known about the activity of the several hundred Jews who survived the winter of 1941. The existence of well-structured Jewish work committees—the so-called *comitetele evreieşti*—within the Bureau of Labor of the Government of Transnistria for the Balta judeţ suggests that the Jews of Budi performed mandatory labor. The chief of the Budi colony (*şeful coloniei*) was Tresser Berl, a Bukovinian Jew from Storojineţ who supervised work assignments for the ghetto, among other responsibilities.[2] Not paid for their work or paid only symbolically, and having been robbed of their possessions en route, the Jews in Budi relied heavily on humanitarian aid and

money sent to them by the Bucharest's Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din Românian*, CER), as well as by their family or friends from Bessarabia and Bukovina.[3] However, this material and financial aid came too late for many in the Budi ghetto.

Statistical evidence compiled in 1943 puts the number of Jews living in the ghetto at somewhere between 179 and 270 people. Romania's General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, Department of Security and Public Order, reported there were 270 Jews in the ghetto (134 Jews from Bessarabia and 136 Jews from Bukovina) as of September 1, 1943.[4] This figure is slightly higher than the one of 220 Jews provided by the Relief Commission (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare*) of CER on their return from Transnistria, used to determine the anticipated delivery of aid to the deportees of Transnistria in 1943.[5] It is still higher than the figure of 179 Jews (45 men, 65 women, 69 children) listed in the table appended to the Relief Commission's ghetto inspection report of May 1943.[6] The Red Army liberated the camp in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Budi during the Holocaust can be found in these secondary sources: for census data, see "Budy," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah,* vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969); "Budy," in *Rossiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 181; and Gary Mokotoff and Sallyann Amdur Sack, with Alexander Sharon, eds., "Budy," *Where Once We Walked—Revised Edition: A Guide to the Jewish Communities Destroyed in the Holocaust* (Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu, 2002). For the numbers of Jews deported to Budi, their place of origin and living conditions while in captivity, see Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din Romania, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947), pp. 267, 440; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The*

Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986), p. 325.

Primary sources documenting the extermination of the Jews of Budi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1259), DAVINO, and YVA. Records of labor information and external financial and material aid sent to Budi can be found in USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, p. 1561; reel 9, fond 2255, opis 1, 1359, n.p.; and reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, 837, n.p. See also at USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 16, file 205/1943, vol. 2, p. 446, for statistical evidence of ghettos in the Balta judeţ as of May 1943.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See "Cronologie Istorică, 1 Octombrie 1941–20 Martie 1944," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 267.

2. See "Tabel de membrii Biroului de Organizare a Muncii Evreilor din Jud. Balta şi a Comitetelor evreieşti din Jud. Balta pe data de 1 Septembrie 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1561, n.p.; USHMMA, RG-31-004M/6/2242/1, 1561/n.p.

3. See, for instance, receipts of money transfer to Jews from Romania deported to Budi in Transnistria (Budy is the spelling in these documents), in USHMMA, RG-31.004M /17/2358/1, 837/n.p.; USHMMA, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1, 1359 /n.p.

4. See "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe si localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

5. See “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe,” Ancel, *Documents Concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry*, 5: 346.

6. See “Situaţia numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi în lagărele din judeţul Balta, la 5 Mai 1943,” USHMMA, RG-25.002 (ANR), reel 16, file 205/1943, vol. 2, pp. 433–435, 446 (Annex Nr. 2). Government inspection of Jewish and Roma ghettos in Transnistria took place in May 1943 at the request of Marshal Ion Antonescu, the dictator of Romania (1941–1944).

CALAFAT

The city of Calafat, in the Dolj judeţ in the southern part of the region of Oltenia in Romania, is more than 80 kilometers (50 miles) southwest of Craiova and over 257 kilometers (almost 160 miles) southwest of Bucharest, along the Danube River. An internment camp was set up near the city.

The Calafat camp was created as part of Order No. 4147 of the Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs (*Ministerul Afacerilor Interne*, RMAI), issued on June 21, 1941, the day before the Axis invasion of the Soviet Union began. This order was relayed to the Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM), the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, the General Directorate of Police, and all district prefects. The order contained Marshal Ion Antonescu's command that all able-bodied Jewish men aged 18 to 60 residing between the Prut and Siret Rivers (in northeastern Romania) were to be "evacuated" to the Târgu Jiu internment camp in southern Romania; all remaining Jews in Moldova, including the families of those deported to Târgu Jiu, were to be evacuated to urban areas and then deported to purpose-built internment camps in southern and southwestern Romania, one of which was Calafat.[1]

The deportation of the Moldovan Jews to the internment camps, including Calafat, began within 48 hours of the issuance of Order No. 4147. The Jews who were deported to Calafat came from the city of Rădăuţi, in the Botoşani judeţ, along the Prut River (not to be confused with the larger city of Rădăuţi in the Suceava judeţ), located more than 558 kilometers (347 miles) from Calafat. The total number of people interned in the camp peaked at 780, according to a report from August 7, 1941.[2] By mid-August, there were 744 people interned in the camp: 243 men, 295 women, and 206 children.[3] They were guarded by troops from the local military garrison, along with gendarmes and local police, under the orders of the RMAI.

It is difficult to determine who actually did forced labor in the

internment camps, because of the chaotic nature of the initial organization of Jewish forced labor in Romania in August 1941. Although Antonescu ordered that Jews in the internment camps perform "hard labor" (*muncă grea*), this command only applied to Jewish men between 18 and 60 years old; the status of women and men outside that age group was not clear.[4] Even though MSM took control of Jewish forced labor in Romania from the RMAI on August 8, the status of Jews such as those interned at Calafat remained unclear. On August 23, MSM proposed that the Jews in the internment camps who were not directly subject to the work order issued by Antonescu and the RMAI would remain under the authority of the latter. Although the final decision regarding the forced labor of the internees at Calafat rested with the I Territorial Command, per the RMAI's orders, no work order was ever issued for the people interned at Calafat. It is therefore unlikely that forced labor was organized there, with due allowance for possible labor in the local community.[5]

Camps like those at Calafat were designed only to intern Jews living near the front, because the regime considered them potentially sympathetic to the Soviets and thus politically unreliable; they were not intended to be a part of the Antonescu regime's genocidal policies toward the Jews (such as those carried out in present-day Moldova during the first months of the war). Therefore, no organized killings took place at Calafat. The spoliation of Jewish property through "war effort contributions" did serve as a secondary motive in the formation of camps like Calafat, and conditions in such camps were spartan at best. The potential for disease, including serious diseases such as typhus, was always present, though the local authorities and RMAI did not record statistics on illness or of any deaths that may have occurred in the internment camps.

The internment camps in southern Romania, including Calafat, remained in operation for approximately six months. On December 16, 1941, the RMAI ordered the camps to be closed and those Jews living in the camps to be returned to the urban center closest to their places of origin (because Jews were still concentrated into urban areas by law).[6] It is not clear how many people remained in the camp at Calafat and how many were freed at this time. Those who remained were returned to the city of

Dorohoi in northeastern Romania. None of the people directly involved in the operation of the camp were brought to trial on any matters related to the persecution of the Jews of Romania during the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Calafat camp are Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania*, trans. Yaffah Murciano (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Vladimir Solonari, *Purifying the Nation: Population Exchange and Ethnic Cleansing in Nazi-Allied Romania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); and Ottmar Traşcă, ed., *"Chestiunea Evreiască" în documente militare române, 1941–1944*, preface by Dennis Deletant (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2010). Additional information can be found in Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 2 (Bucharest: Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013); Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969); and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, 3 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Calafat camp can be found in AMANR, available at USHMMA in collection RG-25.003M; and ANR, available at USHMMA as RG-25.002M.

NOTES

1. Order No. 4147 reproduced in Traşcă, ed., *"Chestiunea evreiască, "* Doc. 5, pp. 120–121.
2. USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMANR), reel 144, file 2410, p. 381; and RG-25.002M, "Situaţia Lagărelor," August 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, p. 19.
3. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2413, p. 309.
4. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2410, p. 386.
5. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 136, file 2361, n.p.
6. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2411, p. 2.

CĂLĂRAŞI

The seat of the Ialomiţa judeţ and center of the Călăraşi raion, the town of Călăraşi is located on the Danube River in southeastern Romania. It is 101 kilometers (63 miles) southeast of Bucharest and 331 kilometers (206 miles) south of Iaşi (Yassy). According to Romanian censuses, the Jewish population was 327 in 1930, 193 in September 1941, and 203 in May 1942.

After the pogrom of Iaşi in June 1941, in which more than 12,000 thousand Jews died at the hands of Romanian and German authorities (both military and civilian), a train transport carrying 2,530 Jews departed that city on June 30. The Jews—mostly men of various ages, including some teen agers—were crammed into overcrowded freight cars in numbers of 100 or more. They were without food or water and unaware of their destination.[1] After a week of random movements and prolonged stops, the train arrived in Călăraşi on July 6.

Fewer than half the initial passengers survived the journey. With a few exceptions, such as when the dead were unloaded, the car doors remained tightly shut; the windows were covered with wooden planks. The hot summer temperatures warmed up the unventilated cars, leading to mass exhaustion, dehydration, and suffocation. Moreover, Jewish and non-Jewish civilians wishing to distribute water or food rarely succeeded in doing so, because they were usually prevented by the train guards from approaching the train.[2] The train had become a "death train" (*trenul morţii*), with the count of bodies offloaded along the way being as follows: 6 corpses in Mărăşeşti, 654 in Târgu Frumos, 327 in Mirceşti, 300 in Săbăoani, 53 in Roman, 40 in Inoteşti, and 25 in Călăraşi.[3] If those shot by the guards for trying to get water during stops were added, the total count reached 1,400 dead. The number of Jews disembarking at Călăraşi's train station, Călăraşi Port, was 1,011 (or 1,006) with more than 100 unaccounted for.

They were all in a state of despair, hungry and unwashed; many were naked or barely dressed. From the train station they were

marched to a makeshift camp on the premises of the 23rd Infantry Regiment. At least some of the escorts were German soldiers. The 25 bodies of those offloaded in Călăraşi were buried in mass graves dug in the Jewish cemetery.[4] The internees were placed in the garages or ware houses used for military vehicles, and those structures became their camp.[5] The Romanian Internal Affairs Ministry controlled the camp at that time.

Unfit for human habitation, the garages lacked beds; people slept on the floor that was covered with hay. The Jewish community of Călăraşi (with additional help from the Bucharest Jewish community) provided some relief to the Jewish internees. Packages containing canned foods and clothes were thrown over the fence by non-Jews sympathetic to the Jews' fate. Occasionally, the Jews were taken to wash in the nearby Borcea River. Ninety-nine Jews perished while in the camp, probably from injuries and diseases acquired while on the train and left un-cared for due to the absence of medical assistance in the camp.

Another group that was brought to Călăraşi, just a few weeks after the death train arrived, was that of 685 Old Believers (*Lipoveni*), a Russian ethnic and religious minority in the Tulcea judeţ (among other places in Romania). In the official terminology, the Jews were labeled "evacuees," whereas the Old Believers were seen as "suspects." In August 1941, the total number of people held in Călăraşi was 1,691.[6] It is unknown how the Old Believers fared in the Călăraşi camp in comparison with the Jews, but their shorter journey to the camp may have aided in their survival.

Survivors of the Iaşi-Călăraşi death train languish in an internment camp after their arrival in Călăraşi. USHMM WS #80079, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM PHOTO ARCHIVES.

On August 30, 1941, all the people were released from the Călăraşi camp and sent home. They were again transported by train to Iaşi and other places, but this time in relatively humane conditions, due to the efforts of the camp commandant.[7]

Men from the Călăraşi Jewish community were recruited for forced labor periodically from 1942 to 1944. In particular, during the winter months of 1942 and 1943, teams of 20 or more Jewish men were created to clear snow for the 12th Călăraşi Regiment.[8] Forced labor duties for Jews ceased soon after Romania switched sides over to the Allies on August 23, 1944.

Yad Vashem honored Viorica Agarici, president of the Romanian Red Cross (*Crucea Roşie din România*, CNR) in the city of Roman, Moldavia, as a Righteous Among the Nations for her kind deeds in bringing food and water to the Jews on the train when it passed through Roman.

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Călăraşi's Jews can be found in the following publications: "Calarasi," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 282; "Calarasi," in Jean Ancel et

al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 229; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Marius Mircu, *Pogromul de la Iaşi* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947). For forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in asssociation with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013). Information about the persecution of Christian religious minorities under the Antonescu regime can be found in Viorel Achim, ed., *Political Regimului Antonescu Faţă de Cultele Neoprotestante: Documente* (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania; Iaşi: Polirom, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews interned in the Călăraşi camp are available at USHMMA, collections ANR-Că (RG-25.067M) and ANR-Ialo (RG-25.079M); SRI (RG-25.004M); AMAN (RG-25.003M); and FUCER (RG-25.021M). USHMMA RG-50 also holds a few oral history interviews by victims and witnesses of the persecution of Jews in or on the way to Călăraşi. VHA holds seven testimonies (in four languages) from survivors or witnesses of the Iaşi-Călăraşi death train and the subsequent imprisonment in the camp.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0495, Michael M. Cernea testimony, May 4, 2005; for documentation, see trial indictments and witness testimonies, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reels 43–48, file 108233.

2. USHMMA, RG-50.573*0017, Ana Dediu testimony, September 24, 2004.

3. USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 48, fond 108233, vol. 30.

4. USHMMA, RG-50.573*0009, Aurel Giurcă testimony, April 3, 2004.

5. A rare photograph showing the camp and its inmates in the courtyard of the military regiment is available at YVA (Item ID: 82101).

6. For demographic information on Jews in camps in the Regat in August 1941, see "Situaţia Lagărelor," USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, p. 19; for Old Believers, see USHMMA, RG-25.085 (CNSAS), file D 15.248, pp. 20–22.

7. For their names, see USHMMA, RG-24.004M (SRI), reel 148, file 7632, vol. 1; for the names of those aboard the train before departing Iaşi, see, in the same collection, reel 48, file 108233, vol. 30.

8. USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 86, file 89; and also reel 63, file 7281; see also the total number of Jews already recruited and those available to be recruited for forced labor on October 1, 1941, in USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, p. 254.

CAPUSTERNA

Capusterna (today: Kopystyryn, Ukraine) is a village in Şargorod raion in the Moghilev judeţ. It is located between the towns of Şargorod and Şmerinca in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, 68 kilometers (42 miles) west-northwest of Iampol. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 2,626 Jews lived in the Şargorod raion, but a much smaller number of Jews lived in Capusterna. In the general mobilization following the invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, some local Jews were drafted into the Red Army. Only 13 house holds were still living there when the German and Romanian armies occupied Capusterna on July 22, 1941.

After a short period of German control, Capusterna came under the jurisdiction of the Romanian civil administration at the end of August. The village's name was soon romanianized from Kapusterna to Capusterna (also written in the records as Copesteren, Copistern, Copistrin). High officials from the Şargorod praetorial staff and the Gendarmes Legion controlled Capusterna's affairs. The praetor in Şargorod was Iosif Dindelegan; the commandant of the Şargorod gendarmes sector (within which Capusterna fell) was Locotenent Vasile Grama, and the chief of Capusterna's gendarmes post was Toma Crainic.

Convoys of Romanian Jews marching from the direction of Moghilev were interned in Capusterna; their numbers reached 400 in June 1942. Among them were World War I veterans, as well as many women and children separated from their husbands and fathers in Romania, who had undertaken forced labor in other parts of Romania when deportation orders were issued. Once in Capusterna, the Jews were crammed into empty and dilapidated buildings that once formed the village's collective farm (*kolkhoz*). The camp was surrounded with barbed wire, and anyone found outside it without written permission was severely punished. Diminishing provisions and the lack of items for bartering, coupled with extremely cold winter temperatures and illness

(typhus in particular), decimated the weak and the elderly in the winter of 1941. From late November 1941 to March 1942 some 50 Jewish internees perished.

Living conditions in the camp were so precarious that after Maior Romeo Oraşanu, commandant of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion, visited the camp in early 1942, he had it dismantled immediately. He relocated the deportees to the village, in the area where local Jewish families were living. The new arrangement resulted in an open ghetto, with better living conditions than available at the farm.

The deportees' effort to organize themselves also brought about an improvement in their situations. In the spring of 1942, a Jewish Council of nine members was formed, along with a small Jewish police force. Also facilitating survival was assistance from the Jewish Council from Şargorod and Murafa, which redistributed clothing, medicine, and money that they received from the Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews in Bucharest (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER). Soup kitchens functioned for the very poor and the sick and elderly unable to work. A Jewish doctor was also available to provide medical assistance and enforce camp hygiene measures. The deportees' public religious life was restricted to prayers during the High Holidays.

The village's farmers hired Jewish day workers in exchange for food, with which they supported their families. The deportees also did forced labor on the Ieroshinka-Murafa road and in the Nestervarka labor camp near Tulcin, where they dug peat.

Small security units were formed from the local Ukrainian population to aid the Romanian gendarmes in policing the village, the Jews in particular. Toma Crainic, chief of the Capusterna gendarmes post, was a fierce persecutor of the Jews, killing Jews indiscriminately for any deviation from official orders. On December 8, 1943, he shot two Jewish children who had escaped German-controlled Transnistria via the Bug River and who were hiding in Capusterna.

An additional concern for the occupying forces was the Soviet partisans. Small partisan cells, such as the one unit led by Schiopa, sought refuge in the forests surrounding the village. The Jewish

Council of Capusterna shared some aid it received with the partisans. After the murder of the Jews in Brailov in 1943, 12 escaping Jewish families were hidden in Capusterna with friendly Ukrainian farmers.

According to the March 1943 census of deported Jews in Transnistria, there were 250 Jews in Capusterna (it is not clear whether this figure included both Romanian and local Ukrainian Jews).[1] A subsequent count, on September 1, 1943, found only five Romanian Jews in the camp (this census excluded local Ukrainian Jews), the rest of the deportees having been deployed for labor in other parts of Transnistria.[2] Of the total number of surviving Jews in Capusterna, 201 were from Dorohoi County and were repatriated to Romania in December 1943; the remaining 140 were from various other places in Bukovina and Bessarabia and remained in Capusterna until March 20, 1944, when the Red Army liberated the site.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Capusterna can be gleaned from the following sources: "Kopystyrin," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 151; "Kopystyrin," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), 459; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); "Kapusterna," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad

Vashem, 1969), 1: 494–495; M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), p. 50; and Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 23.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews of Capusterna can be found at USHMMA, records DAVINO (RG-31.011M) and DAOO (RG-31.004M). For a list of Transnistria's urban and rural localities, see "Tablou de judeţele şi raioanele, comunele şi cătunele din Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 37, pp. 1–30; and "Tabel nominal de comunele din Districtul Moghilev," USHMMA, RG-31.011M, reel 14, fond 2966, opis 1, delo 44, pp. 11–12; for a survivor's account, see VHA (# 39273), Sonia Shtrikman testimony, December 18, 1997.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.

2. "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

CAPUSTIANI

Capustiani, a village in the Trostineţ raion in the Tulcin judeţ in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Kapustyany, Ukraine), is located 21 kilometers (13 miles) southeast of Tulcin.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Capustiani during the second part of July 1941. The few local Jews were soon persecuted by the military authorities, forced to wear the yellow star, and eventually deported on foot and under escort to the larger town of Chechelnyk where they were put in a ghetto.[1] The Romanian civil administration took control of the area beginning in September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Kapustiani to Capustiani (sometimes spelled Căpuşteni or Copusteni), and the name of the raion was changed to Trostineţ. The praetor in the Trostineţ raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

A forced labor camp was set up in Capustiani at some point in 1942. It was most likely intended as an agricultural settlement, possibly existing on the grounds of the local kolkhoz and/or in the vacant homes left after the expulsion of the village's Jews. If the latter was the case, it explains the frequent use of the term "ghetto" for this camp.

Jews deported from Bukovina in Romania and likely a handful of Ukrainian Jews from Transnistria were brought to Capustiani from other camps and ghettos in the Tulcin district, such as the Pecioara (Pechora) and Ladajin (Ladazhyn) camps. The camp was guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries.[2]

The treatment applied to those in the camp was strict, and work was physically demanding. Hunger and diseases were rampant, causing the deportees to steal and smuggle produce from the kolkhoz to survive. Still, some perished as a result of mistreatment. The civilian leader of the forced laborers was Vaisman.[3]

The census of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala*

Evreilor din România, CER) in March 1943 did not list Capustiani among the places where Jews deported from Romania lived; it could be that the delegation gathering this information in January 1943 was unable to obtain any census figures for this location. The Romanian gendarmerie in Transnistria, however, listed the camp in its September 1, 1943, census as having 66 Jews, all from Bukovina.[4] There were also most likely Ukrainian Jews there, who were included in a census taken in October 1943 by the gendarmerie that included "all" the Jews in the Tulcin judeţ; it found that the Capustiani camp held 142 Jews (37 men, 56 women, 39 children, and 10 elderly).[5]

At the beginning of March 1944, the Romanian administration retreated from Tulchyn, handing control to the German military authorities who were retreating before the advancing Red Army. In March 1944, the Red Army recaptured Capustiani, freeing the Jews who were still being held there.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Capustiani can be found in the following publications: "Kapustiany," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 386; "Kapustiany," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 146; "Kapustiany," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 49; "Capustiani," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas hakehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam hasheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 494; and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research

and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Capustiani camp can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). VHA holds 14 survivor testimonies in three languages (Russian, Ukrainian, and Hebrew) from Jews held in the camp for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #52003, Viktor Faitel'berg-Blank testimony, January 15, 1999.

2. VHA #18289, Mikhail Ikman testimony, August 5, 1996.

3. VHA #19049, Rosa Grinfel'd testimony, August 18, 1996; VHA #10383, Eva Skliar testimony, February 26, 1996.

4. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347; for the April 1943 census, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, p. 11, and delo 717, p. 42; for the

absence of Capustiani from the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

5. USHMMA, RG-26.006M (AME), reel 11, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 585.

CARACAL

The city of Caracal in the Olt judeţ, in the south-central part of Romania, is located approximately 48 kilometers (30 miles) southeast of Craiova and 145 kilometers (90 miles) southeast of Bucharest.

An internment camp was established in Caracal on June 21, 1941, by Order No. 4147 of the Romanian Internal Affairs Ministry (*Ministerul Afacerilor Interne*, RMAI), which was relayed to the Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM), the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, the General Directorate of Police, and all district prefects. The order contained Marshal Ion Antonescu's command that all Jews residing between the Prut and Siret Rivers in northeastern Romania were to be deported to purpose-built internment camps in the southern part of the country, so that they would no longer be near the front with the Soviet Union. Able-bodied Jewish men between 18 and 60 years old were to be sent to the large camp at Târgu Jiu, where they were to perform forced labor; their families, as well as other women, children, and elderly men, were to be sent to other camps in the area.[1] The roundup and deportation of Jews from northeastern Romania began within 48 hours of the issuance of Order No. 4147.

The deportees to Caracal consisted of men from the area near the town of Dărăbani in Botoşani judeţ, in northeastern Romania, who were unfit to perform forced labor at Târgu Jiu. At its peak population, in August 1941, the camp at Caracal held 1,319 prisoners, all of them men, of a total of 12,744 deported under Order No. 4147. The men in the camp were described as "suspected communists," an accusation frequently leveled against Jews by the Antonescu regime.[2] In the camp, these men were guarded by the army garrison in Caracal, with assistance from the gendarmes and the local police force, although the camp itself remained under the RMAI's overall authority.

It is unclear whether the prisoners at Caracal were subjected to

forced labor, despite the fact that Antonescu had previously ordered that all Jews in the internment camps were to perform "hard labor" (*muncă grea*).[3] Given that all of the able-bodied Jewish men from the region of Moldova from which the deportations took place were sent to the larger Târgu Jiu camp for forced labor, the men sent to Caracal were probably either too old to be used as forced laborers or were deemed physically incapable for such labor. After the RMAI transferred the control of Jewish forced labor in Romania to the MSM on August 8, 1941, the regional army authorities—in this case, the I Territorial Command—would have had the authority to decide whether the Jews in the Caracal camp were to be subjected to forced labor, with due allowance for possible labor deployment in the local community.

Like the other internment camps created under Order No. 4147, the internment camp at Caracal was neither intended as a killing site nor was it part of the Antonescu regime's plans to exterminate the Jews of Bessarabia and Bukovina; instead its purpose was to remove Jews from the vicinity of the front line, because they were considered politically unreliable and Antonescu feared that they would spread communist "propaganda" in the region. It was only in the territories that were occupied by the Soviet Union, including present-day Moldova and the area around the city of Cernăuţi, that the order for extermination was carried out. As such, no organized killing operations were conducted at Caracal.

Nonetheless, the Jews living in Caracal still suffered from poor living conditions. As was the case at the forced labor camps, the food supply was not consistent nor was the food always of good quality, and sanitary conditions in the camps were also substandard. As a result, many people in the camps became ill, and the risk of outbreaks of serious diseases, such as typhus, was ever present. However, because no official statistics on illnesses or any subsequent deaths in the camps were recorded, it is impossible to determine how many (if any) deaths occurred in the camp.

Caracal, like the other camps created under Order No. 4147, operated for the remainder of 1941. On December 16, 1941, the RMAI ordered the closure of the internment camps for Moldovan Jews, and the return of these people to the urban areas closest to their place of origin (because Jews were still prohibited from residing in villages).[4] The Jews remaining at Caracal at this time

were returned to Dorohoi. None of the camp's guards or other personnel associated with the camp were ever brought to trial.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Caracal camp are Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania*, trans. Yaffah Murciano (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Vladimir Solonari, *Purifying the Nation: Population Exchange and Ethnic Cleansing in Nazi-Allied Romania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); and Ottmar Traşcă, ed., *"Chestiunea Evreiască" în documente militare române, 1941–1944*, preface by Dennis Deletant (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2010). Additional information can be found in Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 2 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013); Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas hakehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam hasheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), vol. 1; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, 3 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Calafat camp can be found in AMANR, available at USHMMA in collection RG-25.003M; and ANR, available at USHMMA as RG-25.002M.

Dallas Michelbacher

NOTES

1. Order No. 4147 reproduced in Traşcă, ed., *"Chestiunea evreiască,"* pp. 120–121, Doc. 5.
2. USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMANR), reel 144, file 2413, p. 309.
3. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2410, p. 386.
4. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2411, p. 2.

CARIŞCOV

Carişcov (pre-1941: Karyshkov; today: Karyshkiv), in the Copaigorod raion of the Moghilev judeţ, Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is almost 41 kilometers (26 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. German forces occupied the village on July 20, 1941. The village does not appear to have had a settled Jewish population before 1941. From September 1941 to March 1944, the village, renamed Carişcov, was part of the Romanian governorship of Transnistria.

In October 1941, a ghetto was created in the village to hold Jewish convoys from Bessarabia and Bukovina who had been deported to Transnistria by the Romanian authorities. Initially, there were 300 Jews in the ghetto, of whom 280 died, most in the winter of 1941–1942, from malnutrition, cold, and typhus.[1] Several hundred more Jews from Bessarabia were placed in the ghetto in 1942. As a result, in January 1943 the ghetto's population reached 400.[2] By March 1943, the total number dropped to 301 Jews, possibly as a result of deaths, or population transfers, or both.[3]

The official report of the Relief Commission of the Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER), written in the aftermath of its visit to Transnistria in January 1943, indicated that money delegated earlier by CER to assist the Jews of Carişcov had not yet been appropriated by those who were supposed to receive it.[4] The allocated money was still in Moghilev at the time of the official visit, awaiting delegates of the Carişcov colony to claim it. The report does not specify why the sums had not yet been claimed. From observations made in the report by CER's Jewish representative, Fred Şaraga, difficulty in communication between the organization in Bucharest and the ghettos in Transnistria, as well as among the ghettos themselves, coupled with unanticipated and sudden population transfers, may have been plausible causes of the delay. Şaraga and the other three

members of the delegation visited Transnistria in the first half of January 1943, with the permission of the Romanian government. On September 1, 1943, only 227 Jews were recorded for Carişcov (210 from Bessarabia and 17 from the Bukovina).[5] The decline in the number of ghetto inmates probably occurred because some Jews were deployed elsewhere to work in mid-1943.

Lack of information about the ghetto in Carişcov makes it difficult to piece together what the living conditions were like between 1941 and 1944. In the Copaigorod (later Kopaygorod) ghetto, located only 6 kilometers (4 miles) northwest of Carişcov, the 2,200 Jews held there, who were mostly from Bukovina, did not receive any pay for their forced labor. Similar circumstances may have prevailed in the smaller ghetto of Carişcov, but this supposition needs further investigation as more evidence becomes available.[6] The Red Army liberated Carişcov in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES For information on the fate of the Jews of Carişcov, see Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din Romania, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986), especially pp. 345–358.

Primary sources include GARF (7021-54-1239). At USHMMA, information about Carişcov may be gleaned from the official report of the Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews that visited Transnistria in January 1943 in RG-25.004M, Romanian Information Service Records, reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-54-1239, p. 20 (and verso).

2. Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, p. 221, citing records of Fred Şaraga, a member of a delegation from the Relief Commission of CER.

3. See "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.

4. See "Raportul oficial al comisiunii evreieşti care a fost în Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.004M, Romanian Information Service Records, reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 119, reproduced in part in Ancel, ed., *Documents*, 5: 353–358 (USHMMA, RG-25.004M/9/2710/33/119).

5. See "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

6. "Raportul oficial al comisiunii evreieşti care a fost în Transnistria," RG-25.004M/9/2710/33/126.

CAŢMAZOV

Caţmazov, a village in the Stanislavcic raion in the Moghilev judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Katsmaziv, Ukraine), is located on the Murashka River. It is 51 kilometers (32 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 301 Jews in the Stanislavcic raion, all living in the town of Stanislavcic and none in Caţmazov.[1]

The German and Romanian armies occupied Caţmazov, on July 21, 1941. After a short German military occupation, the Romanian civil administration took control of the region in September 1941. The praetor in the Stanislavcic raion was Gheorghe Iosa.[2] The town's name was romanianized from Catzmazov to Caţmazov, although it was occasionally spelled Kotmazov or Catmazov.

Hundreds of Jews from Bukovina (from the Hotin, Dorohoi, Suceava, and Campulung districts) and northern Bessarabia in northern Romania were deported to Caţmazov and arrived probably in November 1941, typically after months of forced marches from place to place in wintery conditions. The majority of them entered Transnistria via the Atachi crossing point over the Dniester River and made a short stop in Moghilev-Podolsk before being sent farther east or northeast toward the Bug River. The Jews were robbed of many possessions at the entry point, which added substantially to their misfortune.

Little information is known about the fate of the Jews deported to Caţmazov and the conditions in which they lived. It can be safely assumed, however, that at first (and given the absence of a Jewish community in Caţmazov to receive them) they lived in the village's dilapidated homes along a few streets that formed a ghetto. Most certainly, they faced the harsh winter of 1941 with few and inadequate resources, which led to the death of many deported Jews in the surrounding camps and ghettos in the Moghilev district (for example, Copaigorod, Şargorod, and Cazaciovca, a village in the Şmerinca district). Hunger and disease (especially typhus) raged through the camp. Those fit for work

were enlisted for forced labor from the summer of 1942 onward. The deportees survived by exchanging goods or services for food. Contact with relatives back in Romania or abroad was rarely possible and was usually mediated by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) in Bucharest or by the International Red Cross in Geneva.[3]

A Relief Commission from CER visited Transnistria at the beginning of 1943, stopping on January 4 in Şmerinca (Zhmerynka), some 21 kilometers (13 miles) northeast of Caţmazov. The commission delegation, led by Fred Şaraga, learned from the Jewish leaders of the Şmerinca ghetto that 1,200 Jews were amassed in Caţmazov. It does not appear that the commission was able to leave any goods for them at that time, but future shipments most likely included useful items.[4] By March 1943, the known number of Jewish prisoners was 376 (probably not counting the Ukrainian Jews); on September 1, 1943, also without the Ukrainian Jews, there were 344 Jews (253 from Bessarabia and 91 from Bukovina).[5] In February 1944, the number of Jews deported from Romania and living in the entire Stanislavcic raion was 970 Jews (specific data for Caţmazov are not available).[6]

The repatriation of the deported Jews originally from Dorohoi and the Regat began at the end of 1943; the remaining Jews were permitted to return to Romania only in March 1944. The Red Army reached Caţmazov in April 1944, liberating those still in the camp.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Caţmazov can be found in the following publications: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 204); A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of*

the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Caţmazov ghetto can be found at USHMMA, records DAVINO (RG-31.011M) and SRI (RG-25.004M). VHA holds 10 survivor testimonies from Jews held in the ghetto.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Altshuler, *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR*, p. 49.

2. For the praetors in the Moghilev district, see RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, pp. 9–10.

3. The Ghelbert family's correspondence from the Caţmazov ghetto is available at YVA, and can be found at www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/gathering_fragments/ghetto_katzmazov.asp.

4. For a visit report, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 115.

5. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor

deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346, and for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

6. See population figures according to nationalities in the raions of the Moghilev district, USHMMA, RG-31.011M, reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, p. 5.

CAZACIOVCA

Cazaciovca, a village in the Şmerinca raion in the Moghilev judeţ (today: Ukraine), in what became the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 66 kilometers (41 miles) north-northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 4,630 Jews living in the city of Zhmerynka, the raion's administrative center, representing 17.8 percent of the city's total population, and an additional 2,108 Jews living in the entire Zhmerynka raion, representing 3.7 percent of the population (census data for Cazaciovca for this period do not exist).

The German and Romanian armies took control of Cazaciovca soon after the occupation of Zhmerynka, on July 17, 1941. After a short period of German rule over Zhmerynka and its surroundings, the Romanian civil administration of Transnistria took over in late August or early September 1941. The new administration romanianized the village's name from Kazachovka to Cazaciovca (or Cozacivca, as it appears in some documents) and the name of the raion from Zhmerynka to Şmerinca in the Moghilev judeţ. The village's affairs were placed under the authority of the prefect, Colonel Constantin Năsturaş, and of successive military leaders from the 11th Moghilev Battalion of Gendarmes, who ensured that local gendarme platoons were placed in the Şmerinca raion to implement the prefect's orders.

Among other villages in the Şmerinca raion, Cazaciovca was one of the final destinations for Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina who entered Transnistria via the Atachi-Moghilev crossing point over the Dniester River. A ghetto was created in Cazaciovca that held some 300 Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina as late as January 1943. A subsequent count, on September 1, 1943, found only 24 detainees in the ghetto. Of these, 23 were from Bukovina and 1 was from Bessarabia.[1] It is not clear whether relocation for work, deportation across the Bug River, or extermination led to the decrease in the number of Jewish

prisoners between these two dates. The Moghilev Jewish Labor Office assisted with the implementation of work projects assigned to the Jewish population in Cazaciovca.

Sums of money from deportees' families and friends reached those detained in the Cazaciovca ghetto, providing an occasional lifesaving means of support. The Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă,* CER), based in Bucharest, facilitated the sending and receipt of these private funds.[2] The ghetto closed on March 18, 1944.

SOURCES Information about the fate of Cazaciovca's Jews can be found in the following publications: "Kazachovka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 372; M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) /Handbuch der Lager, Gefangnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), pp. 32–33; Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României. Problema Evreiască 1933–1944*, vol. 2 (parts 1 and 2) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); for 1939 census data for the Cazaciovca, a village in the Şmerinca raion, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47.

Primary sources are available at USHMMA, records of DAOO, RG-31.004M. For a remittance receipt, see in this collection reel 9, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1363, p. 293.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See “Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943,” Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

2. See “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară evacuaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Cazaciovca, raion Jmerinca, jud. Moghilev,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 9, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1363, p. 293.

CERNĂUŢI

Cernăuţi (today: Chernivtsi, Ukraine), the capital of the Bukovina province, in northeastern Romania and the administrative center of the Cernăuţi judeţ between 1941 and 1944, is located along the Prut River. It is 176 kilometers (104 miles) northwest of Iaşi (Iassy), and 265 kilometers (165 miles) northwest of Chişinău. It was known in German as Czernowitz and in Ukrainian as Chernivtsi. In December 1939, there were 49,587 Jews in the city of Cernăuţi and 319,994 in the entire Cernăuţi judeţ. In early June 1941, some 3,000 Jewish business owners and intellectuals, considered "capitalists" and "political undesirables," were deported by the Soviet authorities to remote areas of the Soviet Union. When the Germans and Romanians attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, young Jews were drafted into the Red Army, and some families retreated with the Soviet administration; however, most Jews stayed in place. In September 1941, 49,497 Jews were living in the city of Cernăuţi, and 265,165 Jews in the Cernăuţi judeţ. In May 1942, there were 19,400 Jews in the Cernăuţi judeţ, most living in the city.[1]

After occupying Cernăuţi on July 5, 1941, German and Romanian soldiers terrorized Jewish men and women and plundered Jewish property for three days. On July 6 to 7, they murdered approximately 2,000 Jews. Another 3,000 Jewish men, women, and children were confined in the cellars of the Cernăuţi Gendarmerie, where after intensive searches, the women and children were released while the men remained in custody for a few more days. Einsatzgruppe D rounded up some 400 Jewish leaders, including Rabbi Dr. Mark and Cantor Gurman, and held them in the city's Cultural Palace. On July 9, all of them were shot near the Prut River. The imposing Jewish synagogue in downtown Cernăuţi was set on fire at that time as well.[2] On August 1, 1941, another 682 Jews were rounded up and shot on the city's outskirts.

The Romanian civil administration took control of the city in July 1941. The governor of Bukovina was General de divizie

Corneliu Calotescu, and the Inspector of Gendarmes was Colonel I. Mânecuţa. Traian Popovici was the mayor of Cernăuţi from 1941 to 1942, and Colonel F. Berechet was the prefect of the Cernăuţi judeţ. The early months of occupation, before ghettoization, were characterized by the ad hoc rounding up of Jews for forced labor. Jews were forced to clean up streets and to remove debris from the main roads. Some women were taken to clean German and Romanian military barracks, whereas other male workers were enlisted for a German-coordinated dam construction project on the Prut River.[3] Jews were required to wear the yellow star, as announced by Calotescu with Ordinance No. 1344, promulgaged on July 30, 1941, and reissued as Ordinance No. 43 on August 24, 1942.[4]

Preparations for deportation began on October 10, 1941.[5] On October 11, 1941, Calotescu notified the Jewish population of Cernăuţi to relocate before 6 P.M. that day to an area in the eastern part of the city, known as the Jewish district, which was designated as the ghetto. The governor's announcement indicated that deportation was to follow shortly thereafter. The Jews were permitted to take clothes and food into the ghetto, but only what they could carry. Before leaving, each house hold had to inventory its remaining possessions, lock the house, and place the keys in an envelope to be handed over to authorities once they were in the ghetto. Such property was subsequently seized. Assisting the Jews or, conversely, robbing their homes, was strictly prohibited; however, these regulations were not immediately enforced, and so many Jewish homes were robbed. Any Jew found outside of the ghetto after 6 P.M. or anyone resisting the order was to be shot.

German police and auxiliaries in civilian clothing prepare to execute naked Jewish men and boys who are being lined up at the edge of a mass grave, near Cernăuţi, 1943. USHMM WS #43196, COURTESY OF BILDARCHIV PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ.

The ghetto area included some of the downtown center (between Eminescu Street, Dacia Square, and General Mircescu Street, on one side, and Căliceanca Street, Ion Creangă Street, and General Averescu Street, on the other side).[6] The ghetto was encircled with barbed wire, wooden boards, and nets; there were a few entry and exit points guarded by Romanian gendarmes.[7] A hospital was inside the ghetto. In addition to providing medical services the hospital was used as a Jewish community center. The Cernăuţi ghetto commandant was Maior Iacobescu.[8]

The ghetto soon became overcrowded. Up to 48,000 people inhabited a space that would normally accommodate a few thousand. Luggage and other goods brought into the ghetto added to the space shortage. Some Jews had family or relatives in the former Jewish district, and they moved in with them, up to 30 to 40 people in a room. Every available space, including cellars, basements, corridors, entry ways, attics, and barns, was occupied. People slept on the floor in their clothes. The ghetto streets and apartments became unsanitary, because essential services were difficult to access. Food was available from the families' limited personal supplies or could be bought in stores that already existed in the ghetto or from the ghetto's provisional marketplaces

supplied by villagers.[9] Ghetto life was especially difficult for children and the elderly, many of whom succumbed to illness. Despite these circumstances, young adults set up theatrical performances for which they improvised costumes. This was one way the internees tried to carry on a "normal" life.[10]

Deportations commenced on October 13, 1941, and concluded on November 15, 1941. A brief interruption occurred from October 14 to 20, when Mayor Popovici secured authorization for the retention of 4,000 Jewish skilled laborers deemed essential to the city's economic survival.[11] An additional 16,000 Jews were granted permission to remain in Cernăuţi after paying bribes; they were later able to depart the ghetto. Those who stayed in Cernăuţi were requisitioned for labor in the city or sent for forced labor in the Regat by the Cernăuţi Recruitment Center (*Cercul de Recrutare Cernăuţi*).[12]

The Romanian authorities deported 28,341 Jews from Cernăuţi (or 33,891 Jews from the entire Cernăuţi judeţ) to Transnistria. Commanded by Iacobescu, the 1st Gendarmes Battalion cordoned off the ghetto and escorted the Jews to the train station. There were 14 transports, each averaging 2,200 to 2,500 people, as well as an additional transport from the Sădăgura camp that carried 400 "more dangerous" Jews.[13] The Jews were forced onto freight trains, 80 to 100 people per car, traveling eastward to Atachi (Otaci) near the Dniester River, though some went to Mărculeşti (and from there walked to the Dniester).[14]

In June 1942, after reevaluating their permits to remain in Cernăuţi, an additional 4,290 Jews were deported to Transnistria by the Romanian authorities. The following transports took place: 1,977 Jews (June 8 and 11); 1,151 Jews (June 15); and 1,162 Jews (June 29). The Jews were picked up from their homes and escorted by gendarmes to the "Macabi" sports club. After being forced to sell their valuables for worthless German-issued scrip (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS), they were led to the train station and transported in freight cars to Atachi, where they were forced to cross into Transnistria.[15]

A remnant of Jewish survivors returned to Cernăuţi in early 1944. The Red Army recaptured Cernăuţi in March 1944. In April 1944, there were 17,341 Jews in Cernăuţi, with a few more

thousand in labor camps in the Regat. In 1945, the Bucharest People's Tribunal sentenced several of Bukovina's former leaders, including Calotescu, to years of hard labor.[16]

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Cernăuţi's Jews can be found in the following publications: "Cernauti," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 237–238; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 341; "Chernovtsi," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 362–364; "Chernovtsi," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 1063–1066; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, "The Cernăuţi Ghetto, the Deportations, and the Decent Mayor," in Valentina Glajar and Jeanine Teodorescu, eds., *Local History, Transnational Memory in the Romanian Holocaust* (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2011), pp. 57–75; Nathan

Getzler, "Tagebuchblätter aus Czernowitz und Transnistrien (1941–1942)," in Hugo Gold, ed., *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina*, Ein Sammelwerk, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: Olamenu, 1962), 2: 53–60 (a translation by Jerome Silverbush is available as "Diary Pages from Czernowitz and Transnistria" at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/bukowinabook/buk2_053.html); and Traian Popovici, *Spovedania=Testimony*, ed. Th. Wexler, trans. Viviane Prager (Bucharest: Fundaţia Dr. W. Filderman, c. 2001). On September 21, 1969, Popovici was recognized as a Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem for his efforts to save Cernăuţi's Jews; see Israel Guttman et al., eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust, Europe* (part 2) (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2011), pp. 84–85.

Primary sources documenting the destruction of Cernăuţi's Jews are available at USHMMA, records DACkO (RG-31.006M), SRI (RG-25.004M), and AME (RG-25.006). For testimonies taken by the ChGK in July 1945, see RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 21, fond 153, opis 1, delo 103; for the Cernăuţi labor brigade, see RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 84; for monthly information reports regarding the situation of Jews and other ethnic and religious minorities in Bukovina, see ANRM, Selected Records of the Liaison Office for Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transnistria, 1941–1944, available at USHMMA as RG-54.004M; and ANR, Selected Records Related to Bessarabia and Bukovina, available at USHMMA as RG-25.019. Additional documentation on deportations from Cernăuţi is available in RG-25.021 (FUCER). USHMMPA holds many prewar and postwar photos of Cernăuţi. VHA holds 1,238 testimonies (in 16 languages) from survivors of the Cernăuţi ghetto and deportations to Transnistria.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. CER census figures, 1930–1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, fond 2694, vol. 17.

2. VHA #03947, Sophie Berkowitz testimony, August 10, 1995; VHA #23574, Eva Bender testimony, November 3, 1996.

3. VHA #02598, Leo Dawer testimony, April 20, 1995.

4. Ordonanţa 43, USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 6, fond 307, opis 3, delo 13, pp. 11–12 (USHMMA, RG-31.006M, 6/307/3/13, pp. 11–12). Photos of Jews wearing the yellow star: USHMMPA, WS #30087; WS #38050.

5. Calotescu's instructions for the Bukovina Military Cabinet, No. 37, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.006M, 5/307/3/10, p. 202; and the schedule for the operation, "Programul strângerii în ghettou a evreilor din Cernăuţi," p. 204.

6. For the announcement, see "Încunoştiinţare," USHMMA, RG-31.006M, 5/307/3/10, p. 203; for rules applying to the ghetto, see "Regulament," pp. 205–206.

7. VHA #08315, Meta Brandwein testimony, October 29, 1995.

8. "Nota Informativă," October 16, 1941, reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 103–109 (esp. 106).

9. VHA #40785, Dorothea Benjamini testimony, April 28, 1998.

10. See photographs depicting young Jews in the ghetto staging performances and reading magazines: USHMMPA, WS #29629; WS #29630; WS #29627.

11. USHMMPA, Erika Neuman's authorization, WS #42012, and Lotte Gottfried Hirsch's, WS #33919.

12. See a list of Jewish specialists requisitioned for work for the city of Cernăuţi, February 1942: USHMMA, RG-31.006M, 5/307/3/10, pp. 21, 70.

13. See schedule, numbers, and officers in charge: USHMMA, RG-31.006M, 5/307/3/10, pp. 208–209.

14. VHA #11435, Bertha Blauner testimony, January 26, 1996; VHA #49994, Harry Kolisher testimony, July 18, 1999; VHA #45947, Iosif Adler testimony, September 1, 1998; VHA #23574, Eva Bender testimony, November 3, 1996.

15. Statistical reports prepared by the Government of Bukovina for the Presidency of the Council of Ministers of Romania,

September 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 130–131, 150–151, 196–215.

16. USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 22, file 40011, vol. 27, p. 31; reel 28, file 40017, vol. 7, pp. 19–20.

CERNOVIŢI

Cernoviţi, a raion center in the Jugastru judeţ within Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located some 26 kilometers (16 miles) northwest of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,425 Jews living in the village of Cernoviţi (pre-1941: Chernevtsy; Yiddish, Chernivitz), constituting 18.6 percent of its population.

The village was occupied on July 21, 1941, one month after the joint German and Romanian invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. In the period between the retreat of the Soviet armies and the arrival of the advancing German and Romanian armies, a small number of Jews managed to evacuate eastward, and men of military age were drafted into the Red Army. From July through August 1941, the German military commandant's office governed the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the Romanian civil administration. It was renamed Cernoviţi (or Cernevti, in some Romanian documents, not to be confused with the city of Cernăuţi in Bukovina).

On the first day of the occupation, July 21, 1941, one Jew was shot in the village. On July 24 and 27, 25 Jews perished at the hands of Romanian and German soldiers, and one more Jew was killed in August 1941.[1]

In the fall of 1941, the Jewish neighborhoods of the village were turned into a ghetto. This ghetto contained all the remaining Jews of the village—around 1,300 people—and several hundred Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina who had been deported to Transnistria in the fall of 1941. A committee of local and Romanian Jews headed the ghetto. Going outside the ghetto's limits was punishable by shooting. A special permit had to be obtained for burials in the Jewish cemetery, which was located on the other side of the Murafa River. Ukrainians and Poles brought food to the ghetto to sell, and several of them tried to help the Jews. Those few "Romanian" Jews who had some money left after deportation or those receiving money from outside the ghetto

could occasionally purchase goods from locals. Money and other forms of aid were sent from Romania through the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER).[2]

A small group of Jews maintained contact with the partisans and spread information obtained from Soviet Information Bureau radio reports among the ghetto inhabitants.

The occupation authorities deployed the Jews for agricultural and construction work. There existed various types of workshops (*ateliere*) in Cernoviţi, in which many Jews from the ghetto worked daily. According to a list of workshops from 1943, nine such workshops were active at that time: tailoring, sewing military uniforms, shoemaking, hairdressing, locksmithing, painting, weaving, tinsmithing, and soap making.[3] Three Jewish doctors—Brandes Iuliu, Cleiner Clara, and Renblid Polea—provided medical assistance in the ghetto.[4]

On September 1, 1943, there were 449 "Romanian" Jews (170 from Bessarabia and 279 from Bukovina) in the ghetto.[5] Together with the local Jews, the total Jewish population was roughly 2,000 Jews.[6]

Cernoviţi was liberated on March 18, 1944. The vast majority of the Jews survived the occupation and detention. This high survival rate was due, in large part, to the ability of local Jews to remain in their own homes and the relatively small number of deportees arriving from Romania who were housed in the homes of local Jews (for example, in barns or attics). The Jewish community in Cernoviţi was thus preserved.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Cernoviţi during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Cernevti (Chernevtsy)," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 493; "Chernevtsy," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 247; and "Chechel'nik," in V. Lukin, A. Sokolova, and B. Khaimovich,

eds., *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy: Istoricheskii putevoditel'; Vypusk 2; Podoliia* (St. Petersburg: Ezro, 2000), pp. 347–372. For statistical information, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente. Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Cernoviţi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1255); DAVINO (r2988-3-81, 84; r6022-1-39: lists of ghetto prisoners); DAOO (r2255-1-1156, 1157, 1189, 1240, 1309, 1359, 1362–1367, 1369, 1373, 1400, 1403, 1407, 1408, 1412: lists of ghetto prisoners); and YVA. For information on active workshops in Cernoviţi, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1562, n.p.; for remittances sent to Jews in the Cernoviţi ghetto, in the same collection see reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1567, n.p.; and reel 9, fond 2255, opis 1, 1189, n.p.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-54-1255, pp. 3, 23 (verso), 24 (verso).

2. See, for example, "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Cernevti (Jud. Jugastru)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1567, n.p. (USHMMA, RG-31.004/6/2242/1, 1567/, n.p.); also "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Cernevti (Jud. Jugastru)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/9, fond 2255/1, 1189, n.p.

3. See “Tabel de atelierele evreeşti din judeţul Jugastru,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1, 1562, n.p.

4. See “Tabel nominal de medicii evreii aflaţi in judeţul Jugastru (ghetouri),” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1, 1562, n.p.

5. See “Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

6. See “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe,” reproduced in Ancel (ed.), *Documents*, 5: 348.

CETVERTINOVCA

Cetvertinovca, a village in the Trostineţ raion in the Tulcin judeţ (today: Ukraine), is in the northeastern part of what became Romanian-controlled Transnistria, bordering the Bug River. It is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) east-southeast of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 1,731 Jews lived in the Trostineţ raion, representing slightly more than 4 percent of the raion's population.

The German and Romanian armies captured the town and its surroundings in late July 1941. After a short period of German rule, the Romanian civil administration assumed control in September 1941. The Romanian authorities romanianized the village's name from Chetvertinovka to Cetvertinovca and placed its affairs under the rule of Colonel Ion Lazăr, the first prefect of the Tulcin judeţ, and of the praetor of the Trostineţ raion, Constantin Alexandrescu.

Immediately after his installation as prefect, Lazăr issued an ordinance (*ordonanţă*) establishing a ghetto in Cetvertinovca for local Jews. Micu Grünberg became the ghetto leader (*şef de colonie*); he was expected to mobilize all ghetto residents, ages 14 to 60, for forced labor each day at 6:00 A.M. On November 17, 1941, Lazăr issued a new ordinance severely restricting Jewish movement. It forbade Cetvertinovca's Jews from leaving the ghetto without a permit. Depending on the distance needed to travel, permits were either issued by local authorities (for destinations within 20 kilometers [12.4 miles] from the ghetto) or by the county prefecture (for distances exceeding 20 kilometers from the ghetto). Any Jew found outside the ghetto without a leave permit and identity documents was considered a "communist courier" or a "spy" and subject to the laws of war. Moreover, police chiefs who did not report unauthorized residents were considered accessories to plotting against the Romanian state, which called for severe punishment.[1] Lazăr's actions reflected practice regarding the "Jewish regime" that was eventually

formalized in the 10 articles of the far-reaching Ordinance No. 23, which Marshal Ion Antonescu issued through Transnistria's governor, Gheorghe Alexianu, on November 11, 1941.[2]

On July 6, 1942, some 1,800 Jews from Cernăuţi and Dorohoi were deported to Cetvertinovca, after staying for a short time at the Ladijin stone quarry ghetto (*Cariera de piatră*), a dilapidated Soviet-era labor camp, for delousing.[3] They were placed in abandoned houses, with several families sharing a single house. In August 1942, German authorities from across the Bug River requested that Colonel Constantin Loghin, Tulcin's prefect who had succeeded Lazăr, send 5,000 Jews to work on the Nemirov-Bratslav-Seminki-Gaysin segment of Highway IV (*Durchgangsstrasse IV*, DG-IV), the strategic highway connecting Poland to southern Ukraine. With Alexianu's approval, Loghin sent 800 Jews exclusively from Cetvertinovca's ghetto across the Bug River.[4] Some of those transferred, including the elderly and the disabled, as well as some women and children, were shot in the first days after their arrival. The Jews remaining at Cetvertinovca were used for forced labor in the local stone quarry.

On August 26, 1942, more Jews from the Ladijin stone quarry ghetto were deported to Cetvertinovca. A group of mentally ill deportees from Cernăuţi was shot the same day. After three weeks, on September 13, the group that had been previously transferred to Cetvertinovca on August 26 was returned to the Ladijin quarry. A new group of 250 Jews from the Ladijin quarry was transferred to Cetvertinovca in October 1942 and then was moved to Obodovca (Balta judeţ) after a few weeks. During their time in Cetvertinovca these Jews were housed in cowsheds. The back-and-forth movement between ghettos, in addition to transfers across the Bug River, separated family members, resulting in increasing numbers of petitions to Romanian authorities to be re united; it also led to the failure of private aid sent by deportees' family and friends to reach the intended recipients.[5]

Evidence is too scant to reconstruct everyday life in the Cetvertinovca ghetto. It is unlikely that payment or food rations were given in exchange for forced labor, despite government rules regarding deportees' entitlements. Article 6 of Ordinance No. 23, issued by Antonescu in November 1941, clearly stipulated that "in

return for a day's work, a worker receives a food stamp (*bon de alimente*) worth 1 RSKS (*sic*) for unskilled labor and 2 RKKS (German-issued scrip; *Reichskreditkassenschein*) for skilled labor."[6] Hardly enough to buy a loaf of bread and about one-quarter the daily income of an apprentice (*ucenic*), the sum was paid irregularly, if at all. But private sums of money sent by family and friends via the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Everilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) did reach the Cetvertinovca ghetto. However, as mentioned earlier, many intended recipients had already been moved to a different location or had been transferred across the Bug, never to return.[7] For the few among Cetvertinovca's Jews who were fortunate enough to receive aid, that money prolonged their survival in the remaining months of 1942.

The Cetvertinovca ghetto was not included in the two general deportee counts that took place in 1943. According to the count that followed the visit by a Romanian delegation of CER to Transnistria's ghettos in January 1943, there were no Jews reported as residing in the Trostineţ raion.[8] The September 1943 count lists Trostineţ as having 95 Bukovinian Jews, but does not mention Cetvertinovca.[9] The ghetto may have closed down in early 1943. Residents were most likely transferred across the Bug or were moved to other ghettos in Transnistria.

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of Cetvertinovca's Jews can be found in the following sources: "Chetvertinovka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moskow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 1066; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in

association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României. Problema Evreiască 1933–1944*, vol. 2 (parts 1 and 2), (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer 2003); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Cetvertinovca's Jews can be found at USHMMA, in the records of the DAOO (RG-31.004M). For Prefect Ion Lazăr's Ordinance No. 6, restricting Jewish movement in the Tulcin judeţ, see reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 76, n.p.; for Ion Antonescu's Ordinance No. 23, outlining the treatment of Jews in Transnistria, see in the same collection reel 20, fond 2361, opis 15, delo 1, p. 268 (and verso); for Alexianu's approval of a transfer of 3,000 Jews from Tulcin, which included 800 Jews from Cetvertinovca, see reel 2, fond 2241, opis 1, delo 1088, p. 151; for receipts of money transfers to Cetvertinovca ghetto, see reel 9, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1189, pp. 105, 188; and for failed deliveries of money due to the recipient no longer living in the ghetto, see reel 12, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1405, pp. 2–8 (and verso). For a survivor's testimony, see Erica Antal's account at http://193.226.7.140/~leonardo/n05/Vakulovski2.htm.

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NOTES

1. See "Ordonanţa Nr. 6," November 17, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 76, n.p. (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/7/2242/2/76).

2. See "Ordonanţa Nr. 23," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/20/2361/15/1, p. 268 (and verso).

3. See entry "6 Iulie 1942," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 279–280.

4. See Alexianu's answer to Loghin's telegram, "51304, 11 Aug. 1942, Inspectoratul de Jandarmi Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/2/2241/1/1088, p. 151 (but see also pp. 148–

150).

5. See official letter, “Preşedintele Comitetului Evreiesc Moghilău către Onor. Legiunea de Jandarmi Moghilău,” registered with Number 2611 and dated September 24, 1942, requesting the transfer of those listed from Moghilev to Cetvertinovca to be re united with their families: RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1490, p. 64 (see also pp. 59–66).

6. See Article 6 in “Ordinance Nr. 23,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/20/2361/15/1, p. 268 (verso).

7. See, for example, “Tabel nominal de achitarea mandate-lor de plată cuvenită evreilor din Colonia Ladajin, Carieră de piatră, în care se găsesc şi cei din col. Ladajin, Olianiţa şi Cetvertinovca, conf. adresei Prefecturii judeţului Tulcin,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1/1189, p. 188; see also “Tabel de remiterile făcute Evreilor din România evacuaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Cetvertinovca, plasa Trostineţ, jud. Tulcin,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1/1189, p. 105; finally, see “Tabel de sumele ce nu au fost plătite evreilor din Transnistria, deoarece nu au fost găsiţi la adresele arătate,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/12/2255/1/1405, pp. 2–8 (and verso).

8. “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347.

9. “Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

CHIANOVCA

Chianovca, a village in the Balki raion in the Moghilev judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Kyyanivka, Ukraine), is located 59 kilometers (36 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. A handful of Jews lived in the nearby village of Kuzmintsy in 1939 (census data for the village of Chianovca are not available).

The German and Romanian armies overran Chianovca in the second part of July 1941. After a short German military occupation, during which time the local Jews were persecuted, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Kiianovka to Chianovca (also spelled Chianivca or Chiianivca), and the raion became Balchi. The praetor in the Balki raion was Ştefan Tăutu.

The Jews deported from Bukovina (from the Hotin district, in particular) and northern Bessarabia (primarily from the Soroca district) in the summer of 1941 arrived in Chianovca in October and November 1941. After being marched all the way from their home, the majority of them entered Transnistria via the Atachi crossing point over the Dniester River. Stopping shortly in Moghilev-Podolsk, they were then marched farther northeast toward the Bug River. The convoys of deportees were robbed of many of their possessions at the entry point into Transnistria, as well as en route to the deportation site, adding substantially to the misery that they had to endure; they also suffered from many beatings along the way.[1]

Once in Chianovca, the deportees were placed on the grounds of the local *sovkhoz* (state farm), inside its dilapidated structures. It was there that the deportees spent the first winter, which proved deadly for many. According to an estimate by Siegfried Jägendorf, president of the Jewish Council of Moghilev (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM), 50 percent of the deported Jews in the

Moghilev judeţ perished during the winter of 1941 from cold, hunger, and typhus.[2] In the spring of 1942, the survivors were allowed to move into the village and rent rooms along a few streets in an area that became a ghetto (the designation "camp," *lagăr*, persisted). Several families shared a single room. A Jewish Council was formed in the ghetto, and there existed also a Jewish police force charged with maintaining order.[3]

Life in the guarded ghetto was filled with restrictions. Leaving the ghetto without permission was severely punished. Wearing the yellow star became obligatory. All able-bodied men were taken to do forced labor in agriculture, while others provided personal services for the authorities. Because the raion's administration provided nothing for the deportees, bribery and barter became essential means of survival, as was the occasional help provided by locals.[4]

The Chianovca ghetto held Ukrainian Jews deported from Transnistria, as well as Jews deported from Romania. As of March 1943, there were 33 Jews in Chianovca. The size of the ghetto grew that spring because of the transfer there of other Jews from nearby ghettos, but then declined when some Jews were sent to the Nestervarca labor camp for peat harvesting in the Tulcin judeţ. On September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 79 Jews in Chianovca (71 from Bessarabia, and 8 from Bukovina).[5]

The repatriation of Jews deported from Romania began at the end of 1943 with the Jews originally from Dorohoi and the Regat, along with orphaned children and a few other special categories of Jews (for example, former state functionaries, World War I veterans, and widows). Few, if any, of the Jews from the Chianovca ghetto qualified for this early return. The ghetto was liberated by the Red Army at the end of March 1944. Some Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, whereas others made the dangerous journey back to Romania.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Chianovca can be found in the following publications: "Chianovka," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim*

le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 505; "Kyianovka," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 153; and in these two other encyclopedias: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), vol. 5. For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional background information can be found in A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2:8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Chianovca can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). Of special interest is collection GARF (RG-22.002M), reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1273, which covers atrocities committed against the Jews in the Bar region of Ukraine. VHA holds five

survivor testimonies in Russian from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

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NOTES

1. VHA #39591, Moshe Kogan testimony, January 7, 1998; VHA #39640, Sheiva Kogan testimony, January 7, 1998.

2. Jägendorf memorandum, September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289 (esp. p. 265).

3. VHA #41082, Efim Gorin testimony, February 18, 1998.

4. VHA #39640, Sheiva Kogan testimony, January 7, 1998; VHA #41362, Sara Solomonov testimony, March 1, 1998.

5. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

CHIŞINĂU

The capital of Romanian-controlled Bessarabia (today: Republic of Moldova), Chişinău (Kishinev) is located in the Lăpuşna judeţ in west central Bessarabia, 357 kilometers (222 miles) northeast of Bucharest. In June 1941, 60,000 Jews, including refugees from other regions, lived in Chişinău.

Before the German and Romanian armies occupied Chişinău on July 17, 1941, many Jews had fled eastward toward Odessa or were drafted into the retreating Red Army; however, the majority had remained in Chişinău. The situation immediately following the occupation was chaotic: most administrative and industrial facilities had sustained bomb damage or were destroyed by the retreating Soviets. Romanian soldiers and Einsatzgruppe D murdered Jews, in retribution for allegedly showing disrespect to the retreating Romanian army in June 1940 and for aiding Soviet resistance. Under Romanian civil administration, the city's name was romanianized as Chişinău. Marshal Ion Antonescu appointed General de divizie Constantin Voiculescu as Bessarabia's military governor, with Chişinău as its capital. Colonel Anibal Dobjanski was Chişinău's mayor, and Colonel Teodor Meculescu was its Inspector of Gendarmes.[1]

The Chişinău ghetto was established on July 24, 1941.[2] It was placed under the control of the military in Chişinău, under the overall command of Colonel D. Tudosie (July 18 to September 1, 1941); General de divizie Constantin Panaiţiu (September 1 to 6, 1941); and Colonel Eugen Dumitrescu (September 7 to November 15, 1941). The Romanian authorities regarded the ghetto as a stopgap measure, before the deportation of Jews to Transnistria.

The ghetto population peaked at 11,525 Jews: 4,476 women (39 percent), 4,148 men (36 percent), and 2,901 children (25 percent). Of these, 3,206 (28 percent) were over 50 years old.[3]

Jews who converted to Christianity before 1939 or those married to a Christian spouse were confined to the ghetto and

deported as well, a practice that was later abolished but too late for many.[4]

Located in the southern part of Chişinău, in the Visterniceni area, the ghetto had a circumference of about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) with gated entrances and exits barricaded by wooden walls. Its size was reduced twice before the end of August 1941.

Approximately 80 soldiers from the First Company of the 50th Infantry Regiment and from the 10th and 23rd Police Companies guarded the ghetto.[5] Leaving the ghetto was prohibited; any Jew caught on the street at night was in danger of being shot. However, both Jews and non-Jews entered and exited the ghetto for work or trade, usually by bribing Romanian or German soldiers.[6] The airport road cut through the ghetto, and a number of workshops were located within the ghetto. Security blind spots, the authorities' poor organization, and the guards' tacit permission afforded the civilians and uniformed personnel the occasion to abuse the Jews, including robberies and rapes.[7]

When ordered to move to the ghetto, the Jews were allowed to take a few belongings with them. Once inside the ghetto, the ability to secure housing depended on each house hold's resources and individuals' opportunism. Most people lived in communal houses (25 or more to a house) in crowded and unsanitary conditions. Others slept outside in improvised shelters. Because food quickly became scarce, farmers were allowed to sell food—at inflated prices—in the ghetto.[8] Before ghettoization, approximately 3,000 Jews had relied on Jewish charitable assistance; this need immediately increased. Jews sold or exchanged their remaining possessions to obtain basic necessities. As Romanian officials noted, "because of the lack of clothes and bed linens many of the internees get ill and 10 to 15 persons die daily."[9] By early September 1941 typhus had already spread in the ghetto.

Led by president Landau Guttman, a 22-member Jewish Council represented Jewish interests before the commandants and city administration. The Council established a bakery, a market, an orphanage, and a hospital, and assisted in allocating housing. Alexandru Gherovici was a doctor in the ghetto's small hospital.

Chişinău's Jews were forced to work as street cleaners,

removing rubble.[10] They also built roads, with some working for the Nazi construction organization, Organisation Todt (OT), and others for the city administration.[11] On July 27, 1941, the Romanian Interior Ministry ordered that Jewish labor should be paid according to its value, but approximately two weeks later a new order stipulated 25 lei a day in food and 10 lei for "maintenance." In late August 1941, the number of forced laborers was about 800.[12]

Chişinău: Jewish women under Romanian military guard are led off to forced labor. USHMM WS #86179, COURTESY OF YIVO INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH RESEARCH.

In the summer of 1941, two mass killings terrified Chişinău's inhabitants. The first occurred on August 1, 1941, when 250 men and 200 women were turned over to a German officer for the ostensible purpose of being sent to work outside the ghetto. Only 39 returned, bearing the news that the remaining 411 had been shot and buried near Visterniceni. Enraged by Soviet air raids, the Germans threatened other ghetto inhabitants with collective reprisals if they did not "stop signaling with light to the incoming Russian planes."[13] The second massacre took place on August 7, 1941, when 525 Jews were turned over to a Romanian road inspector, Chircorov, allegedly to construct a road near Ghidighici, a northwestern suburb of Chişinau. A conflict with Romanian soldiers aboard a military train passing through Ghidighici station broke out, for which the 350 Jewish laborers deployed there were blamed. All were shot by the Second Machine Gun Company

commanded by Căpitan Radu Ionescu.[14]

Swift military advances across the Dniester River in July and August 1941 gave Romanian authorities the opportunity to deport Chişinău's Jews. General Ion Topor, the Romanian Army's Grand Praetor, issued deportation orders for the Chişinău ghetto in September 1941.[15] Preparations for deportation were made until early October, at which time trade in the ghetto was forbidden, forced laborers returned to their homes, and security increased considerably.[16] The tense atmosphere inside the ghetto led some Jews to commit suicide.

On October 8, 1941, the first convoy of approximately 2,500 Jews marched out of the ghetto, escorted by the 23rd Police Company, commanded by Căpitan Ion Paraschivescu, until they reached Orhei. From there the Orhei Gendarmes Legion, commanded by Maior Filip Vechi, conducted them to the northern crossing point, Rezina-Râbniţa.[17] Alternating convoys were escorted by troops from the 82nd Police Company to a southern crossing point at Tighina-Tiraspol. Those capable of walking marched to the crossing points (80 kilometers [50 miles] to Rezina and 56 kilometers [35 miles] to Tighina), while the elderly, the sick, children, and luggage were transported in horse-drawn carts.[18] During the march, the deported Jews were not supplied food, but had to feed themselves from their own provisions. Rain, cold weather, and physical exhaustion slowed down the march, and those unable to keep up were shot. Some were left unburied, and many bodies were placed in graves prepared in advance along the route.[19] Villagers along the deportation route preyed on the weakened Jews. Organized bands of thugs, with military support, robbed and shot Jews in the first convoy somewhere between Orhei and Rezina, sending waves of panic through the Chişinău ghetto.[20]

At checkpoints in the city of Chişinău and near crossing points over the Dniester River, the Romanian National Bank and the Romanianization Bureau oversaw the extraction of the deportees' remaining gold and other precious goods. Poor recordkeeping and negligence enabled Romanian officials to steal much of this property before it made its way into the national bank.[21]

Smaller convoys regularly departed the ghetto until mid-

November 1941. On November 5, only 118 Jews were left, mainly the seriously ill and hospital staff.[22] The ghetto's Jews were deported to camps in the Golta and Berezovca judeţe, where many died.[23] The ghetto closed on June 25, 1942, when the last Jews, including mental patients, were deported.[24] A small number of Jews remained in the city outside of the ghetto: there were 183 Jews by September 30, 1942, and 177 by April 6, 1943.[25]

Between 1945 and 1950, the Bucharest's People's Tribunal tried some of the perpetrators—Voiculescu, Meculescu, Tudosie, and Panaiţiu—responsible for the destruction of Chişinău's Jews. Marshal Antonescu received a death sentence and was executed on June 1, 1946.[26]

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Chişinău's Jews can be found in the following publications: Paul A. Shapiro, *The Kishinev Ghetto, 1941–1942: A Documentary History of the Holocaust in Romania's Contested Borderlands* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press in association with USHMM, 2015); Paul A. Shapiro, "The Jews of Chişinău (Kishinev): Romanian Reoccupation, Ghettoization, Deportation," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Destruction of Romanian and Ukrainian Jews during the Antonescu Era* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1997), pp. 135–193; Liviu Carare, "Evreii din ghetoul Chişinău: Studiu de caz: Masacrul de la Ghidighici (august 1941)," *HSC* 4 (2011): 74–83; Samuel Aroni, *Memories of the Holocaust: Kishinev (Chişinău), 1941–1944* (Los Angeles: University of California, International Studies and Overseas Programs, 1995); David Doron (Spektor), *Kishinevskoe Ghetto—Poslednii Pogrom* (Kishinev: Liga, 1993); "Chisinau," in Shmu el Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 249–253; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust,* vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New

York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contributii la Istoria Romaniei: Problema Evreiasca: 1933–1944* (Bucharest: Editora Hasefer, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, with a foreword by Elie Wiesel and a preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources on the Chişinău ghetto can be found at USHMMA, in microform collections copied from ANRM (RG-54.001M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and SRI (RG-25.04M). For investigative reports into irregularities taking place in the ghetto, see RG-54.001, reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 69. Also shedding light on the ghetto is General Voiculescu's memorandum, RG-54.001 (ANRM), reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 22. For trial records, see RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 16, file 22539, vol. 12 and, in the same collection, reel 34, fond 40010, opis 49; for Colonel Meculescu's instructions regarding the deportation of the Chişinău ghetto, see RG-54.001M, reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 22. For trial records of members of the Antonescu administration, see RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 16, file 22539, vol. 12 and, in the same collection, reel 34, 40010, vol. 49.

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NOTES

1. "Raport de anchetă al Comisiunei instituită conform ordinului Domnului Mareşal Ion Antonescu, Conducătorul Statului, pentru cercetarea neregulilor dela Ghettol din Chişinău," December 4, 1941, USHMMA, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 69, pp. 1–45 (esp. pp. 6–8) (USHMMA, RG-54.001M/1/706/1/69); "Raport de archetă Nr. 2 al Comisiunei instituită conform ordinului Domnului Mareşal Ion Antonescu, Conducătorul Statului, pentru cercetarea neregulilor dela Ghettol din Chişinău," in the same collection, pp. 48–58; the latter report is reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 61–65.

2. "Raport de anchetă," p. 7; "Romanian troops round-up Jews in Kishinev shortly after the occupation of the city by German

and Romanian troops," USHMMPA, WS #67310 (Courtesy of Süddeutscher Verlag Bilderdienst).

3. "Raport de anchetă," p. 16.

4. Ibid., pp. 40, 42–43; "Tablou de evreii care se găsesc pe raza oraşului ne internaţi in Ghettou," issued by Chişinău Municipality Police Office, Siguranţa Bureau, USHMMA, RG-54.001M/7/679/1/6588, p. 303.

5. General Constantin Voiculescu, "Memoriu asupra Problemei Evreilor din Basarabia," USHMMA, RG-54.001M /1/706/1/22, p. 5.

6. "Nota Informativa Nr. 1 din 20 August 1941," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 10: 92.

7. For the fraction that were reported, see "Raport de anchetă," pp. 17, 26; prosecutor Florin Tărăbuţa's report Nr. 741, October 27, 1941, from Lăpuşna court, USHHMA, RG-51.001M/706/1/68, p. 33.

8. "Ukrainian farmers sell produce to Jews at an open market in the Kishinev ghetto," USHMMPA, WS #03331 (Courtesy of Georg Westermann Verlag).

9. "Nota Informativă," resent by General Voiculescu to Colonel Eugen Dumitrescu, the ghetto commandant, September 5, 1941, USHMMA, RG-54.001M/1/706/1/22, pp. 20–21 (and verso) (esp. p. 21); "Raport de anchetă," p. 16.

10. "Jews in a forced labor battalion clear rubble from the streets of Chisinau (Kishinev)," USHMMPA, WS #67307, Courtesy of Süddeutscher Verlag Bilderdienst, and "Jewish women at forced labor clearing the rubble off the main street of Kishinev," USHMMPA, WS #03330 (Courtesy of Georg Westermann Verlag).

11. "A group of male and female Jewish forced laborers assigned to road construction in the vicinity of Chisinau, wait in front of a truck to receive their midday meal," USHMMPA, WS #55262 (Courtesy of Süddeutscher Verlag Bilderdienst). "Tabel de evrei intrebuinţaţi la lucru pe ziua de 1 Septembrie

1941," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 25, fond 20725, vol. 7, p. 86 (USHMMA, RG-25.004M/25/20725/7).

12. Vociculescu's letter to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, August 31, 1941: "Conducerea şi Administrarea Basarabiei, Cabinetul Militar către Preşedenţia Consiliului de Miniştri," USHMMA, RG-25.005M/25/20725/7, p. 486.

13. Aroni, *Memories of the Holocaust*, p. 45.

14. "Raport de anchetă Nr. 2," pp. 51–52.

15. General Voiculescu, "Memoriu," USHMMA, RG-54.001M/1/706/1/22, p. 6; "Raport de anchetă Nr. 2," p. 49.

16. General Voiculescu's communiqué sent to all Bessarabia's prefecture offices, Bessarabia's Police and Gendarmes Inspectorates, and to the office of Chişinău's Military Commandant, "Comunicat," September 15, 1941, USHMMA, RG-54.001M, reel 1, pp. 23–24 (and verso), and the following exchanges, pp. 25–30.

17. Chisinau Police Regional Inspectorate, "Buletin Contra-Informativ de la 1–10 Octombrie 1941," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/25/20725/7, pp. 180–181.

18. Chişinău Gendarmes Inspector, Colonel Teodor Meculescu, "Instructiuni referitor la evacuarea evreilor din ghetoul Chişinău şi a celor din Sudul Basarabiei," USHMMA, RG-54.001M/1/706/1/22, pp. 53–60; "Jewish families prepare to leave the ghetto during the deportation of Jews from Kishinev to Transnistria," USHMMPA, WS #01099 (Courtesy of Georg Westermann Verlag).

19. Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 195.

20. Chişinău Police, Siguranţa Bureau's report for the Regional Police Inspector, "Nr. 6847," signed N. Marinescu, October 9, 1941, USHMMA, RG-54.001M/7/679/1/6586, pp. 419 (and also 418).

21. "Raport de anchetă," pp. 11–14, 22–25, 34, 40, 43; "Ra-port de anchetă Nr. 2," pp. 50–51.

22. Voiculescu's report Nr. 733/C to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, November 18, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/25/20725/7, p. 58.

23. "Dare de Seama asupra Organizarei si Functionarei Serviciului Jandarmeriei in Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, delo 5, p. 3.

24. Regional Police Inspector, Stere Papasotir's report "Nr. 8391," June 3, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/25/20725/7, p. 60.

25. "Tablou Nominal de evreii dimiciliati pe raza municipiului Chisinau la data de 30 Septembrie 1942," issued by Chişinău Police Office, Siguranţa Bureau, USHMMA, RG-54.001M/16/679.1/692.2, pp. 722–724 (and verso); "Tablou nominal de evreii domiciliati pe raza acestui municipiu, la data de 16 Aprilie 1943," issued by Chişinău Police Office, Siguranţa Bureau, USHMMA, RG-54.001M/16/679.1/721.9, pp. 19–22.

26. "Actul de Acuzare," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/16 /22539/12, pp. 251–254, 361–460 (document pagination); for Antonescu's indictment, see Prosecution's statement, "Ion Antonescu," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/34/40010/49, pp. 49–59 (esp. p. 59). All trials and executions took place under Decree Law 312/1945.

CICELNIC

Cicelnic was the center of the Cicelnic raion, in the Balta judeţ, in Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Chechelnyk, Ukraine). According to the 1939 Soviet census, Cicelnic had 1,327 Jewish residents, representing 66 percent of its total population. The village, located some 37 kilometers (23 miles) northwest of Balta, was occupied by German forces on July 24, 1941, five weeks after the joint German and Romanian invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Before German forces arrived in the village, some Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men eligible for military service had been drafted into the Red Army.

In September 1941, the Romanian authorities established a ghetto in the village. About 1,000 local Jews, as well as Jewish refugees from Kodyma and Peschanka (today: Kodima and Pishchanka)—18 kilometers (11 miles) and 27 kilometers (17 miles) west of Cicelnic, respectively—were crowded into the ghetto. All Jews were required to wear a yellow Star of David on their clothing.

In November 1941, more than 1,000 Romanian Jews deported to Transnistria from Bessarabia and Bukovina also were placed in the ghetto. The extremely cold winter of 1941–1942, the lack of basic food and hygiene, and the great overcrowding of people in houses evacuated by Jewish inhabitants who had fled eastward led to large epidemics, primarily of typhus and dysentery. Among the Jewish deportees were physicians willing to provide care without being paid, but they lacked the necessary medicine. The mortality rate among the Jews—especially among the newly arrived Romanian Jews, who hardly had anything left with them after being robbed repeatedly en route to the ghetto—was extremely high. About half of all the Jews in Cicelnic died that first winter.

A committee headed by Iosif Zaslavskii governed the Cicelnic ghetto. By 1943, Dr. Şmuli Malamad was colony chief (*şef de colonie*); Israil Weiţman was his aide; Dr. Iacob Schor was

hospital chief; Moise Fihman coordinated social services; Moise Ackerman and Iacov Miaskovshi oversaw the ghetto's financial matters; Aria Coblic was treasurer; and Isac Granovschi managed the works section. The committee's executive arm was a Jewish police force headed by a man named Volokh. The local Romanian gendarmerie post oversaw the committee and the Jewish police. On orders of the gendarmerie, the Jews undertook forced labor at the railroad station, at a sugar refinery, and in the fields. Some held office jobs within the local Romanian administration, working as accountants (like Moti Vasslas) or clerks (such as Leon Lemberg, Olea Andesburg, Iosif Aizemberg, and Leea Rubal) in the office of the military magistrate. Still others (like Costin Ficsman) were cooks in the magistrate's canteen.[1]

Anyone found outside the ghetto could be shot. Nonetheless, many people went to nearby Ukrainian villages and either asked the peasants for food or tried to earn it by working. Women knit and sold their handwork to avoid starvation.[2] Those few receiving money from family or friends were able to improve their living situation little by little, but overall, life in the ghetto remained difficult throughout 1942.[3] In January 1943, material and financial assistance from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, *Secţiunea Asistenţei,* CER) in Bucharest began to reach Cicelnic regularly. As a result, a kitchen was opened for children and those in need.[4] There was also a small ghetto hospital, where Maria Trahtenbroid practiced medicine. Three Jewish doctors living in the ghetto—Şmuli Melamad, Leib Şuhotnăi, and Iacob Şor—worked in the Cicelnic medical center.[5]

In March 1943, there were 1,400 Jews in Cicelnic.[6] In the late spring of 1943, around 60 young, able-bodied Jews were sent to Nicolaev near Odessa to build bridges over the Bug River. Some 15 of them perished there. On September 1, 1943, there were 475 Romanian Jews in the ghetto (421 from Bessarabia and 54 from Bukovina) in the ghetto, not counting the local Jews.[7]

Cicelnic village was liberated on March 17, 1944. A week before liberation, however, the Romanian Jews were returned to their place of origin, as were 15 Jews from the Dorohoi judeţ in Bessarabia, who returned home on March 8, 1944.[8] Orphaned Jewish children from Bessarabia and Bukovina up to 15 years old

were also sent back to Romania. At least 25 such children left the Cicelnic ghetto in one group in March 1944.[9] Most of the local Ukrainian Jews survived the occupation, and as a result, the Jewish community in Cicelnic was preserved to a large extent.

After the war, Zaslavskii, the head of the Jewish committee, was sentenced to 15 years in corrective labor camps for collaborating with the Romanian occupiers.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Cicelnic during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Cicelnic (Chechelnik)," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 492; "Chechel'nik," in V. Lukin, A. Sokolova, and B. Khaimovich, eds., *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy: Istoricheskii putevoditel'; Vypusk 2. Podoliia* (St. Petersburg: Ezro, 2000), pp. 375–396; and "Chechelnik," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 242. For statistical information, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources regarding the treatment of the Jews of Cicelnic can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1270), DAVINO (r2706-1-1, 2; r2970-1-3), and YVA. Other relevant sources are available at USHMMA. See, for example, RG-31.004M (DAAO), reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, 1501, p. 156; and

reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, 838, pp. 45–46, for money transfers to the Cicelnic ghetto. Official correspondence regarding Jewish doctors from Cicelnic employed in the Romanian administration may be found in the same collection, reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, 1503, file 12A, pp. 430–431. A list with the names of Jewish doctors in Cicelnic is in reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, 15, p. 8. For a short survivor's memoir, see Roza Borukhovich, "A Memoir relating to experiences in Rezina, Rabnitza, and Chechelnik," USHMMA, Acc. No. 1995.A.0695. Survivors' testimonies also exist. See Khona Barak's testimony in *Vest-nik: Vypusk 2. Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi; Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev* (Chernovtsy: Prut, 1992), pp. 14–15, and Rakhmil Gun's testimony in *Vestnik: Vypusk 3; Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi. Svidetel'stva uznikov fashistskikh lagerei-getto* (Chernovtsy: Prut, 1994), p. 126.

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NOTES

1. See the letter, "Subinspectoratul Jandarmi Chişinău către Guvernământul Transnistriei, Dir. Ad-ţiei şi Personalului," October 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, 1503, file 12A, p. 431 (but see also p. 430).

2. Borukhovich, "A Memoir relating to experiences in Rezina, Rabnitza, and Chechelnik," USHMMA, Acc. No. 1995.A.0695.

3. See "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi în Cicelnic," RG-31.004/4/2242/1, 1501/156, and "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi în Cecelnic," RG-31.004M/17/2358/1, 838/45–46.

4. Israel Taigler's testimony, YVA, 03/246; see also Khona Barak's testimony in *Vestnik: Vypusk 2*, pp. 14–15; and Rakhmil Gun's testimony in *Vestnik: Vypusk 3*, p. 126.

5. Cf. "Tabloul medicilor evrei din Jud. Balta," RG-31.004M/13/2264/1, 15/8.

6. See “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităti, raioane şi judete,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347.

7. “Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităti, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

8. See “Colonia Evreiască Cicelnic, Jud. Balta, 8 Martie 1944, Nr. 32. Tabel nominal de evrei repatriaţi în Jud. Dorohoi,” RG-31.004M/16/2358/1, 674/42.

9. See “Colonia Evreiască Cicelnic, Jud. Balta, Nr. 26. Tabel nominal de copii orfani de ambii părinţi de la 1-15 ani plecaţi în România,” RG-31.004M/16/2358/1, 674/43.

CIHRIN

Cihrin (today: Chyhyrin, Ukraine), a village in the Berezovca raion in Berezovca judeţ, in the southeastern part of what became Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 16 kilometers (10 miles) southwest of Berezovca. According to the 1939 Soviet census, the Berezovca raion, including Cihrin, had a Jewish population of 800, representing 2.7 percent of its population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Cihrin in early August 1941, and on their arrival German forces murdered the remaining 74 Ukrainian Jews in the village. After a short period of German rule, the Romanian civil administration assumed authority and romanianized the spelling of the village's name to Cihrin (or Cihrin-Berezovca, because of its proximity to the town of Berezovca). The village's affairs were placed into the hands of the prefect of the Berezovca judeţ, Colonel Leonida Popp, and of his sub-prefect, Alexandru Smochină. The praetor of the Berezovca raion was Sergent TR (*Termen redus*, or reduced-term sergeant) Victor Petrenciu, who became sub-prefect in 1942 and prefect in March 1943. Constantin Şerpuleţ subsequently succeeded Petrenciu as praetor in 1943. The commandant of the Gendarmes Legion in Berezovca was Maior Ion Popescu, who was succeeded by Maior Octavian Ursuleanu in 1943.

The first convoys of Jewish deportees from Odessa passed through Berezovca in early November 1941, moving in the direction of Golta's "kingdom of death": the camps at Bogdanovca, Domanevca, and Acmecetca. The second round of deportations from Odessa began on January 18, 1942, and lasted until February 10, 1942. In most cases, Jewish convoys were transported to Berezovca by train, locked in boxcars for days without food, water, and toilets. After disembarking at Berezovca, exhausted and having been robbed of their belongings by Romanian soldiers, the Jews walked through bitter cold and deep snow to various ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) and Ukrainian villages, such as Cihrin. They were placed in neighboring

dilapidated *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes* (state collective farms), which were turned into improvised camps. The Jews placed in Cihrin came from one of the Odessa convoys transported by train to Berezovca in early February 1942; they then walked the remaining 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to their destination.

The Jews lived almost unsupervised for a month in the village's kolkhoz, because the majority of Cihrin's population were *Volksdeutsche* and did not welcome them in their midst, fearing contamination by typhus and other illnesses. (According to the list of German townships in the Berezovca judeţ, Cihrin does not appear to have been a German colony.[1]) The deportees did not have food and lacked the most essential elements of hygiene, such as clean water, soap, and toilets. Assisted by neither the Berezovca raion's praetor nor a representative of the SS Office for Ethnic German Affairs (*Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*, VoMi), they quickly fell prey to illness, starvation, and cold, with their bodies impossible to bury in the frozen ground.

On March 9, 1942, a Selbstschutz unit (a police unit made up of local ethnic Germans) from Mostovoi and Zavadovca townships descended on the Cihrin camp and arrested 772 Jews. The Selbstschutz units were paramilitary organizations set up by the local VoMi commander, SS-Oberführer Horst Hoffmeyer, to protect the economic interests of the *Volksdeutsche* settlements in Transnistria. These policemen, often with some assistance from the Romanian gendarmes, escorted the Jews to the outskirts of Cihrin where, after having the Jews remove their clothes, they shot them in groups of 50 to 100 people at a time. After the Jews were gunned down in a ditch, personal items belonging to the victims were collected and taken up by the German policemen, who retained the most valuable items (jewelry, watches, earrings, brooches, and gold coins) and distributed the rest to the ethnic German villagers.[2] Then the bodies were doused with gasoline and burned. Galaction Sienko, a local resident, saved a Jewish boy who survived the massacre.

SOURCES For more information about the fate of the Jews in Cihrin see the following sources: "Chigirin," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia*, (Moskow:

Rosspen, 2009), p. 1073; "Chigirin," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 249; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); for 1939 census data for the Berezovca raion, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53.

Primary sources regarding the fate of Cihrin's Jews are available at USHMMA, in collections microfilmed from DAOO and PCMCM. For a list of German townships in the Berezovca judeţ, see "Tabel de comunele Germane din Judeţul Berezovca," USHMMA, RG-31.004 (DAOO), reel 2, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1087, p. 144; for a copy of a counterintelligence summary note reporting the murder of 772 Jews from Cihrin-Berezovca, see USHMMA, RG-25.013M (PCMCM), reel 11, file 108, p. 296.

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NOTES

1. "Tabel de comunele Germane din Judeţul Berezovca," USHMMA, RG-31.004 (DAOO), reel 2, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1087, p. 144.

2. See "Exterminarea Deportatilor Evrei din Odessa. Masacrele din Regiunea Mostovoi-Vasiliev-Berezovca," communiqué of Transnistria's Gendarmes Inspectorate, number 144, March

24, 1942, reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 226. A copy of a Romanian counterintelligence summary note reporting the atrocities committed by the German police in Cihrin on March 9, 1942, is found in "Nota," USHMMA, RG-25.013M (PCMCM), reel 11, file 108, p. 296.

COLOSOVCA

Colosovca, a village in the Mostovoi raion in the Berezovca judeţ, in the southeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Kolosivka, Ukraine), is 13 kilometers (8 miles) north of Berezovca.

The German and Romanian armies overran Colosovca around August 10, 1941. The military authorities soon rounded up all the Jews in the area and concentrated them in larger towns, such as Mostovoi. Many were killed soon thereafter by extermination units of Einsatzgruppe D deployed to cleanse the rear of "elements" deemed dangerous. The Romanian civil authorities took over control of the village at the beginning of September 1941. It romanianized the village's name from Kolosovka to Colosovca, changed the raion's name to Mostovoi (or Mostovoie), and renamed the judeţ Berezovca. The prefect in the Berezovca judeţ was Colonel Leonida Popp. The deputy prefect was Sublocotenent Alexandru Smochină. The praetor in the Mostovoi raion was Dr. Victor Petrenciuc.

Between 5,000 and 10,000 people from among the tens of thousands of Jews of Odessa and the Odessa judeţ who had been deported to the Berezovca and Golta judeţe at the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942 were offloaded from trains at Colosovca.[1] After a brief examination, those deemed too weak or too ill to continue on foot were summarily shot, most likely by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries; those remaining were then marched to various makeshift camps in nearby raions, many populated by ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). Ethnic Germans underwent an intense Nazification process concomitant with the deportation of Jews and Roma (Gypsies) from Romania and Transnistria at the end of 1941 and throughout 1942. A branch of the SS Office for Ethnic German Affairs (*Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*, VoMi), the organization representing the economic and cultural interests of the *Volksdeutsche* in Transnistria, was based in Landau, some 31 kilometers (19 miles) southeast of

Colosovca; it was headed by SS-Obersturmbannführer Müller. VoMi created an extermination force made up of *Volksdeutsche* men, named Sonderkommando Russland (SkR). One of its units, Bereichkommando 11 (BK 11), was stationed in Rastadt, a village 8 kilometers (5 miles) east of Mostovoi and 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) northeast of Colosovca. SS-Hauptsturmführer Rudolf Hartung commanded BK 11.[2]

BK 11 made repeated trips to the Mostovoi camp and to the Colosovca train station to collect Jews and then rob and kill them in Rastadt or in other nearby locations. In February 1942, for instance, a group of 800 Jews arrived in Colosovca from Odessa. On February 16, all but 30 of these Jews were shot in the vicinity of Colosovca, probably by BK 11 troops that had traveled there to meet the group at Colosovca.[3] Local Roma were also killed in a similar fashion in Colosovca.[4] Finally, between July 15 and 30, 1942, approximately 1,500 Jews who had been gathered from a few camps in Transnistria (including Vapniarca) were transported by train in groups of 800, 400, and 300 to Colosovca. They were taken there under the pretext of being needed for work in the ethnic German villages. However, the Romanian authorities knew all too well that the Jews were to be killed by the *Volksdeutsche* police units soon after their transfer. The last group of 300 Jews, however, were simply too poor to attract the *Volksdeutsche* police's interest. They were shot and burned by Romanian gendarmes commanded by Sublocotenent Ion Herghelegiu in an antitank ditch outside Colosovca.[5]

In addition to being a mass murder site, Colosovca appears to have been the site of a temporary labor camp for Jews who were sent there from other parts of Transnistria in 1943. This camp most likely was linked to the train station: the Jews were needed for rail maintenance and, especially, for loading/unloading cargo from trains.[6] Hardly anything else is known about this camp. A money order sent from Romania to one of the laborers suggests that, at least for a period of time, Jewish deportees lived and worked in Colosovca.[7]

The Red Army recaptured the area at the end of March 1944. The People's Tribunal in Bucharest tried and condemned many of Berezovca's civilian and military leaders, including Herghelegiu

and Popp, for the fate of the Jews who arrived at Colosovca and in other locations in the Mostovoi raion.[8]

SOURCES More information regarding the fate of Jews in the Colosovca camp can be found in the following publications: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 446; "Kolosovka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 4: 135; "Kolosovka," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 161; "Colosovca," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah; Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 500; M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), p. 124; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Colosovca camp are available at USHMMA, records DAOO (RG-31.004M) and SRI (RG-25.004M). VHA holds eight

testimonies from Jewish and Roma survivors who were persecuted in Colosovca.

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NOTES

1. Today the Kolosivka train station is incorporated into the village of Kudriavtsivka, Mykolaivs'ka oblast', Ukraine.
2. See the outline of VoMi's EG and SK units for Transnistria, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 311, file 801, p. 321.
3. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva,* p. 161.
4. VHA #49615, Lidiia Zolotareva testimony, October 12, 1998; VHA #49704, Nina Shvets testimony, October 15, 1998.
5. See court deposition against Ion Iordachescu, deputy commandant of the Berezovca Gendarmes Legion, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 27, file 39181, vol. 4, pp. 232–234 (and verso).
6. VHA #46085, Semen Vaisman testimony, June 25, 1998.
7. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 692, p. 66.
8. See court depositions against Leonida Popp, RG-25.004M, reel 26, file 39181, pp. 248, 252–253.

CONOTCĂUŢI

Conotcăuţi (today: Konatkivtsi or Konatkovtsy), a rural town in the Şargorod raion, Moghilev judeţ, in the northwestern part of what became Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 2,626 Jews living in the Şargorod raion (census data for Conotcăuţi are not available), representing 3.4 percent of its population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the Şargorod raion in late July 1941. After a brief period of German control, authority was transferred to the Romanian civil administration in late August 1941. The new administration romanianized the town's Ukrainian spelling from Konatkovtsy to Conotcăuţi. In Romanian documents, the spelling of the town's name appeared variously as Conatcăuţi, Conatchiveţ, and Kanatchivţi. Overseeing the township's affairs were the Şargorod raion's praetors, Iosif Dindelegan and Dimitrie Rusu, and its district gendarmes commanders (*comandanţii sectorului de jandarmi*), Locotenents Vasile Grama and Vasile Mihăilescu.[1] Between 1941 and 1944, the Moghilev judeţ had four prefects whose decisions directly affected the lives of the Jewish deportees: Colonels Constantin Dumitru, Dr. Ion C. Băleanu, Constantin Năsturaş, and Constantin Loghin.

In 1942, Bessarabian and Bukovinian Jews, together with some local Jews, were interned at the camp in Conotcăuţi, which consisted of a horse stable located in the middle of a field neighboring the village. Very little is known about the circumstances under which these Jews were brought to Conotcăuţi or the administration's intention in bringing them there. Perhaps, given the village's rural economy, the goal was for these Jews to work and live off the land. Alternatively, the movement of deportees may have eased population pressures in the Moghilev and Şargorod ghettos, if indeed Jews were transferred from there.

Although the living conditions of the members of the Şargorod

ghetto improved by January 1943, thanks to self-organization and material assistance received from Romania, only 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) away in Conotcăuţi, the situation was disastrous. The absence of work and work tools greatly impoverished the Jews, and their living conditions in the horse stable were poor. On July 8, 1943, the Moghilev Jewish Labor Office, which oversaw Conotcăuţi, dispatched one of its members, Moses Katz, to visit Conotcăuţi. He left an account of the horrific conditions:

> One of the important accomplishments of our committee [Jewish Labor Office] was the visit to colonies from this county [Mogilev]. On that occasion, I discovered in Conotcăuţi, in Shargorod raion, in the middle of a field, a long and dark horse-stable where 70 persons lived. They were unfed—men, women, and children living together—and were all naked. These people lived from begging, their appearance repulsive. The camp's head was Mendel Aronovici, a former banker from Dărăbani, in Dorohoi county [today: Botoşani county, Romania], who lived there in filth beyond description.[2]

Of the 70 Jews held in Conotcăuţi, 42 were listed in the general count of Jews deported from Romania on September 1, 1943.[3] This figure does not include the local Ukrainian Jewish population, which likely accounts for the discrepancy. Of the 42 Romanian Jews mentioned, 27 were from Bessarabia and 15 from Bukovina. The Red Army liberated the village in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Conotcăuţi can be found in the following publications: "Konatkovtsy," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 449; "Konatkovtsy," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2005), 5: 142; Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente;*

Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); for 1939 Soviet census data for Şargorod raion, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47.

Primary sources attesting to the fate of the Jews of Conotcăuţi are available in microform at USHMMA, in the records of DAOO, RG-31.004M. For a table listing Transnistria's praetors' names, see in this collection reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, delo 23, p. 3; for an official document containing Gheorghe Alexianu's decision to (re)appoint named members for Transnistria's Jewish Labor Offices (county offices), including Moghilev, see in the same collection reel 18, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 26, p. 62. Moses Katz's memoir is reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 384.

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NOTES

1. "Tablou cu repartizarea pretorilor la judeţele din Guvarnământul Transnistriei," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, delo 23, p. 3.

2. Moses Katz's memoir, reprinted as "Mizeria în Coloniile din Judeţul Moghilev," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 384. For a summary entry on the same event, see "8 Iulie 1943," reproduced in ibid., 3b: 299.

3. See "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in ibid., 3b: 441. The numeric table is also reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 456.

COPAIGOROD

Copaigorod (pre-1941: Kopaigorod; today: Kopaihoroda, Ukraine) is located some 45 kilometers (28 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk, in the Moghilev judeţ, in the northwestern area of Romanian-administered Transnistria. Jews had thrived in Copaigorod since the eighteenth century. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,075 Jews living in this large village, representing 37.4 percent of the population.

German forces occupied the village on July 20, 1941. Before that, some Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men liable for military service had been drafted into the Red Army. In July and August 1941, the German authorities governed the village. In September 1941, Romanian civil administration took over and renamed the village Copaigorod, designating it a raion center in the Moghilev judeţ. Ion Voda was praetor in Copaigorod.

In late September 1941, the entire Jewish population of the village was forced into a camp near the Copai railroad station, located 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) northwest of the village. This camp was located in a forest and surrounded by barbed wire. In October 1941, several thousand Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina were also forced into this camp. A small number of those Jews arriving from Moghilev—usually those who had the means to give a hefty bribe or to buy or rent a cart—were transported by trucks or carts; most deportees, however, walked in columns to Copaigorod and then to the camp.

In late November 1941, all the Jews were driven back to Copaigorod, into a ghetto, and were forced to live in houses that had been devastated and plundered (another attempt to return the Jews to the camp near the train station was made in 1942, but the plan was halted due to the intervention of Jewish leaders in Moghilev). In the ghetto, three to four families lived in each room of the dilapidated houses. The floors in most of the houses were mud, and they were frequently damp. People searched for old boards in the ruins so they could make them into plank beds. The

ghetto was encircled with barbed wire, and leaving it without permission was punishable by death. The chief of the Jewish ghetto was Fabius Ornstein, and the chief pharmacist was Moise Weinstein.

In total, 5,000 to 6,000 Jews were concentrated in Copaigorod. Epidemics of infectious diseases erupted in the ghetto in December 1941 and January 1942, with their spread aided by hunger, cold, polluted water, and unsanitary living conditions. Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina, who had been robbed of their belongings on entering Transnistria at Atachi (a crossing point on the Dniester River), stood little chance against disease. In the absence of proper care and medicine, typhus and pneumonia claimed 2,800 lives. The dead were buried in the Jewish cemetery in four common graves. In addition, nine Jews were shot: two Jews from Bessarabia and three local Jews in July 1942; one Jew from Bessarabia and two local Jews in March 1943; and one local Jew in February 1944.[1]

Copaigorod's praetor repeatedly threatened to deport the Jews across the Bug River unless they acceded to his frequent demands for money. Those who still had money gave him bribes, only to be deported when they could no longer pay. In 1942, a group of young and healthy Jews were sent to a labor camp near the town of Tulcin to dig peat, and in 1943 they were sent to a labor camp at Trihati near the town of Nicolaev to build a bridge over the Bug River. Regular work for which able-bodied men in the ghetto were recruited each day included road maintenance, farming, and demolition. Generally, no payment was made to these laborers.

In January 1943, with the permission of the Romanian government, a delegation from the Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER) visited the Copaigorod ghetto. The delegation ascertained the presence of 2,200 Jews in the ghetto, mostly from Bukovina; the number of orphaned Jewish children was 98. (A smaller figure, 1,161 Jews, appeared in the March 1943 count; the discrepancy could be the result of the absence of Jews who had been transferred for work purposes).[2] The delegation also learned that, as of August 12, 1942, a cafeteria existed, which served two meals per day to some 500 people in the ghetto. A small hospital with 10 beds also operated in Copaigorod.

The delegation donated 4,500 German scrip (*Reichskreditkassenscheine*) to be used to augment the food supply and assist orphans.[3] Financial help from friends and family was sent to named deportees in Copaigorod via CER.[4]

On September 1, 1943, not counting local Jews, there were 1,295 Jews in the ghetto (676 from Bessarabia and 619 from Bukovina).[5] The Red Army recaptured Copaigorod in March 1944, freeing the remaining Jews.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Copaigorod during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Copaigorod (Kopaygorod)," in Jean Ancel et al., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah; Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 501f.; "Kopaigorod," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2005), 5: 148–149; and "Kopaygorod," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 656; for census information, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Jean Ancel, ed.,

Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klars-feld Foundation, 1986).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Copaigorod can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1239); DAVINO (file r2966-2-691: lists of prisoners in the ghetto); DAOO (r2255-1-1178, 1180, 1359, 1360, 1362–1366, 1373, 1377, 1400, 1403, 1407; r2264-1-8, 15: lists of prisoners of the ghetto); and YVA. At USHMMA, money transfer records to the Copaigorod ghetto can be found in RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1501, p. 165, and opis 1, delo 1496, p. 93. Fred Şaraga's report on Copaigorod can be consulted at USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 125–126. Published survivors' testimony can be found in *Vestnik: Vypusk 1; Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi. Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev* (Chernovtsy: Prut, 1991) for Rosa Sterenberg; and in *Vestnik: Vypusk 2; Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi. Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev* (Chernovtsy: Prut, 1992) for Haim Rosental; *Vestnik: Vypusk 4 (chast' pervaia); Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi. Svidetel'stva uznikov fashistskikh lagerei-getto* (Chernovtsy: Prut, 1995) for Ronia Royzen.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-54-1239, p. 1.

2. "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, ed., *Documents*, 5: 344.

3. See Fred Şaraga's final report, "Raportul Oficial al Comisiunii Evreieşti care a fost în Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 125–126.

4. See "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Copaigorod (Jud. Moghilev),"

USHMMA, RG-31.004 (DAOO), reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, 1501, p. 165 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/4/2242/1/1501, p. 165), and "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Copaigorod (Jud. Moghilev)," USHMMA, RG-31.004/4/2242/1/1496, p. 93.

5. "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

CORBENI/LPRS NO. 10

Corbeni, a township in Argeş judeţ in the south central part of Romania, is situated 19 kilometers (12 miles) north of Curtea de Argeş, along the Argeş River, and 150 kilometers (93 miles) northwest of Bucharest.

After the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the capture of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) necessitated the creation of camps to hold and exploit them. A Romanian POW camp for Soviet prisoners was officially set up in Corbeni in December 1941 to hold more than 2,000 prisoners who had been transferred from a POW camp in Alexandria in the Teleorman judeţ (158 kilometers, or 98 miles, southeast of Corbeni).[1] The new camp was called Soviet POW camp (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici*, LPRS), LPRS No. 10 Corbeni. The I Territorial Command (*Comandamentul I Teritorial*) was responsible for providing material support to it, but the camp was a self-governing unit expected to implement the Defense Ministry's "General Instructions Regarding the Treatment of Prisoners."[2]

Corbeni's first commandant was Locotenent-colonel Constantin Tănăsescu (October 1941 to March 1942); he was succeeded by Maior Ion Bălăianu (March 1942 to October 1943). At the Romanian Council of Ministers' request in October 1941, the Soviet POWs were assigned to work on the construction of an exemplary village in honor of Marshal Antonescu at Corbeni, as well as on repairing/maintaining important infrastructure roads and monasteries near Curtea de Argeş.

Three subcamps were formed along the Trans-Carpathian highway (Transfăgărăşan) at Corbeni, Oeşti (or Oieşti), and Sălătruc. Those arriving at Sălătruc were soon moved to Căpăţâneni (or Căpăţineni). In December 1941 there were 780 prisoners at Corbeni under the command of Căpitan Niculae Giurcă (Tănăsescu's deputy), 480 prisoners at Căpăţâneni

commanded by Locotenent Dumitru Georgescu (October 1941 to April 1942), and 678 at Oeşti commanded by Dumitru Cristea. A group of 205 gendarmes (75 gendarmes each at Corbeni and Oeşti, and 55 at Sălătruc) guarded the prisoners.[3]

In each subcamp the prisoners lived crammed into two barracks, each barrack normally accommodating only 250 people. The barracks were wooden, covered with cardboard building boards, and measured 25 meters long, 10 meters wide, and 3 meters high (82 × 32.8 × 9.8 feet). The barracks were poorly insulated, and at Corbeni and Căpăţâneni they were located in low, swampy areas near the Argeş River. The urinals were dug so close that they were almost touching the barracks and the river. Each camp had other barracks used for kitchens, lavatories, guard dormitories, and sometimes an infirmary. The camps were only partly surrounded by barbed wire, which created opportunities for prisoners to escape temporarily into the nearby towns and villages to work for food, drink, or cigarettes. Initially the prisoners slept on bare wooden planks or on elevated areas built out of earth covered with straw. Gradually they dismantled their "beds" to burn wood for heating. They generally lacked warm winter clothes, especially shoes. Some could not leave the barracks for work for lack of foot-wear. Others tied straw around their feet so that they could step outside. Prisoners with frozen fingers and toes were a common sight in the bitter winter of 1941.[4]

The prisoners' health rapidly deteriorated, especially at Corbeni and Căpăţâneni. Not only did they live in poorly designed and uninsulated wooden barracks during the cold season but also delousing efforts and segregating the sick in separate facilities did not begin until mid-to late January 1942. The subcamp commanders did not build or install baths and distribute soap until months after the prisoners' arrival. A typhus epidemic erupted at Căpăţâneni in February 1942. Among its first victims was Filip Sachter, a Jewish doctor conscripted to work at the Căpăţâneni subcamp. At Oeşti, an early delousing effort coupled with better housing gave prisoners a better chance of surviving the epidemic. Locotenent doctor Solomon Rosmarin, an assimilated Jew, was chief camp doctor and was based at Corbeni. There were other Jewish doctors and military health professionals working in each subcamp, but insufficient medication and inadequate medical

facilities significantly reduced their effectiveness. Hundreds of prisoners died of acute tuberculosis, starvation, exposure to the cold, and typhus. Many suffered from gastroenteritis and dysentery because of polluted drinking water.[5] Under the threat of deportation to Transnistria, the chief commandant Tănăsescu ordered conscripted Jewish doctors to report false diagnoses for the deceased prisoners so that he would not be held responsible for their deaths.[6]

The food was poor in nutrients and of very limited quantity, partially because large amounts of potatoes and cabbage intended for the subcamps were left to rot in ware houses in Alexandria. When some food was eventually sent to Corbeni, it arrived either frozen or in an inedible condition, but was served anyway. At Căpăţâneni, food designated for the camp was sold to the local population while the prisoners starved. The same practice applied to clothing distribution as well: new items that prisoners desperately needed during the winter months gathered dust in military ware houses in Alexandria until late January 1942.[7]

POW work detachments were formed in October 1941 to repair the railroad tracks between Curtea de Argeş and Cumpăna (near Piteşti). In addition, POWs skilled in stone masonry refurbished the Curtea de Argeş monastery. By early December 1941, the prisoners' poor health led contracting firms to avoid hiring Soviet POWs.[8] However, a group of prisoners from the Căpăţâneni subcamp who had been tailors before the war was sent in mid-February 1942 to a tailoring workshop (*atelier*) in Târgu Jiu.

The standard rate of pay for prisoner labor was 30 lei per day, plus an additional allowance of 5 lei for soap and 5 lei for cigarettes (the rate was lower for those who did not work, but all rates rose slightly by late 1942). POW officers received a slightly higher allocation of food (40 lei per day). The money was not paid to the prisoners, except for the daily allowance, but went into a camp fund distributed among working prisoners, according to the number of days worked. Administrative problems and the contracting firms' frequent lack of funds meant that the POWs were paid randomly, incrementally, and less than they were owed.[9]

Under Maior Bălăianu's command, the overall living conditions improved in the summer of 1942. Old barracks were rebuilt on

higher ground. Infirmaries, tailor and shoe repair workshops, and baths and toilets were built. Delousing equipment was acquired for each subcamp. Tighter government regulations, the introduction of punishment (for prisoners and gendarmes alike for disregarding orders), and frequent inspections ensured that food and health services gradually improved.[10] The employment of prisoners also resumed.

After Italy's Armistice in September 1943, the Italian Military Mission in Bucharest was dissolved, and a number of Italian troops, mostly naval personnel, were disarmed. Some 494 Italian soldiers were subsequently interned in a camp in Oeşti, next to (but separate from) the Soviet POW subcamp found in the same village. In November 1943, after the proclamation of the Italian Social Republic (*Republicca sociale italiana*, RSI), a Fascist legation in Bucharest was opened. Through an appointed representative, Tenente George Morelli, the legation requested that the Romanian Army General Staff release those Italian internees (called "prisoners" in Romanian documents) willing to join the RSI army. Only a small number of internees left as a result, because in February 1944 the number of internees in the Oeşti camp remained at 487; of these, 25 had escaped and 6 were in the hospital.[11]

While interned in the Oeşti camp, the Italians lived in wooden barracks and enjoyed better treatment than the Soviet POWs. For example, they were allowed to leave the camp and take walks through the village. They were also spared hard work (such as tree cutting in the nearby forest), unlike the Soviet prisoners, and did only what was needed in the running of their camp. As a result, except for a few cases of illness that required hospitalization, there were no deaths among the Italian internees.

On August 23, 1944, Romania re entered the war on the side of the Allies against Nazi Germany. At that time there were 2,441 Soviet POWs registered in the camp. By October 1944, the prisoners were formally handed over to the Soviet authorities for repatriation to the Soviet Union. The Italian internees, too, were released from interment and returned to Italy.

In April 1942, at health inspector Colonel Dr. Aurel Panea's request, Tănăsescu and Georgescu were court-martialed for

negligence toward the Soviet POWs in their care. They were sentenced to 10 and 6 days, respectively, in jail. Doctors Rosmarin and Sachter, too, were tried and it was proposed that they be interned in the Târgu Jiu political prisoner camp.[12] In March 1946 the Bucharest's People's Court retried and condemned Tănăsescu and Georgescu to five years and three years, respectively, of hard labor for inhumane treatment (*tratament neomenos*) of Soviet POWs.[13] Bălăianu, Rosmarin, and Sachter were also tried, but acquitted.[14] In May 1955, the Bucharest's Tribunal deemed Tănăsescu's 1946 sentence too lenient and sentenced him to nine years of hard labor.[15]

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Soviet POWs in Corbeni/LPRS No. 10 can be found in the following publications: Dedu Constantin, "Repatrierea Prizonierilor Aparţinând Naţiunilor Unite, După 23 August 1944," available at www.centrul-cultural-pitesti.ro/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=833&Itemid=118; Vasile Popa, "Prizonierii Sovietici în România (1941–1944)," available at www.once.ro/sesiuni/sesiune_2007/9%20prizonieri_popa.pdf; and Petrisor Cana and Cristina Mathias, "Lagărul Sovietic Ascuns: Secretele din Pădurea Domnitorului Şerban Cantacuzino," available at www.evz.ro/lagarul-sovietic-ascuns-in-padurea-domnitorului-serban-cantacuzino.html.

Primary sources regarding the fate of Soviet POWs in Corbeni/LPRS No. 10 (and its subcamps) are available at USHMMA, records SRI (RG-25.004M, reels 126 and 127). Archival records are found in AMR, fond MSM, Sectia Prizonieri, file 719.

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NOTES

1. Tănăsescu's deposition, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 126, file 24361, vol. 2, pp. 5–6 (USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2); see also Interior Defense Forces Command's letter, "Nr. 93.971, 1 Octombrie 1941," to LPRS No. 10 Alexandria, in the same collection and volume, p. 83.

2. See Vasile Butmy's "Memoriu," USHMMA,

RG-25.004M/126/24361/5, p. 24 (and verso); for the Ministry of Defense's general instructions, signed by the Defense Minister General Pantazi, October 13, 1941, see in the same collection, vol. 2, pp. 34–36; for instructions regarding camp discipline and other recommendations, see "Instrucţiuni asupra Tratamentului Prizonierilor," in the same collection, vol. 3, pp. 193–197.

3. See Tănăsescu's inspection reports, October 12, 1941, and December 3, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, pp. 45–47. See "Dare de seamă," January 21, 1942, in the same collection, vol. 4, pp. 136–138 (and verso).

4. See Panea's report, "Referat," December 3, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, pp. 28–29.

5. For lists with the names of ill Soviet POWs, see "Referat Nr. 88.489 din 19 Feb. 1942," USHMMA, RG-25.004M /126/24361/2, p. 74 (and verso), and "Tabel de prizonierii bolnavi febril din Lagarul de prizonieri Nr. 10 la care s-a recoltat sange pt. reactia Weil-Felix," in the same collection and volume, p. 86, but see also pp. 87–91.

6. Medical doctor Iancu Himel Brand's deposition, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, pp. 14–15.

7. Supplies officer Zaharia Vasile's deposition, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, pp. 7–8, and Inspector Aurel Panea's deposition, in the same collection and volume, p. 10 (and verso).

8. Follow-up letter from the State Forest Organization, November 13, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, p. 40.

9. Regarding payment rates, see instructions transmitted by General Pantazi and others, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, pp. 35–36, 37, 38, 84, 98; for payments or lack thereof, see in the same collection and volume, pp. 96–97. For a 1942 governmental decision regarding prisoners' payments and allocations rates, see General Vintilă Davidescu, "Deciziune Nr. 2132 din 26. IX.1942," in the same collection, vol. 5, pp. 50–51.

10. Ion Bălăianu's deposition, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, p. 185 (and verso).

11. AMR, fond MSM, Prisoner Section, file 719, p. 52.

12. Court Martial's decision, April 10, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, p. 63 (and verso); see also Aurel Costescu's deposition in the same collection and volume, pp. 16–17, and his "Declaraţie," p. 18 (and verso); see also Bucharest's People's Court, "Decision Nr. 13/March 14, 1946," in the same collection, vol. 7, pp. 440–484 (esp. pp. 453–464).

13. See Bucharest People's Court decision, "Hotărâre Nr. 13," March 14, 1946, USHMMA, RG-25.00M/126/24361/7, pp. 440–484 (esp. pp. 453–462, 482–483) and also "Act de Acuzare," in the same collection and volume, pp. 123–124, 128–138.

14. "Ordonanţa de scoatere de sub urmărire," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/127/24361/2, pp. 292–295.

15. For a retrial proposition, see Romania's General Pros-ecutor A. Alexa's letter to the President of the Supreme Court, "Către Preşedintele Tribunalului Suprem," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/1, pp. 140–141, and the court's ac ceptance, pp. 147–148 (and verso); see record of Penal Sentence Nr. 526/May 28, 1955, in the same collection and volume, p. 127.

CORNEŞTI TÂRG

Corneşti Târg (referred to simply as Corneşti or Corneşti Tg.) is 76 kilometers (47 miles) northwest of Chişinău, 38 kilometers (24 miles) northeast of Iaşi (Iassy), and 357 kilometers (222 miles) northeast of Bucharest. Commanded in succession by Locotenent-colonel I. D. Creţu, Maior Radu Spânu, and Căpitan Dumitru Rădulescu, the 3rd Roads Battalion was a unit of army pioneers based in Corneşti Târg, Bălţi judeţ, in Bessarabia (today: Corneşti, Ungheni raion, Moldova). Structurally, the Third Roads Battalion belonged to the First Pioneer Regiment of the Putna Territorial Circle (*Cercul Teritorial Putna*).

Shortly after the annexation of Bessarabia to Romania and the rounding up of the Bessarabian Jews after the joint German-Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, hundreds of non-Jewish civilians from the Bălţi judeţ in Bessarabia, along with Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and other ethnic minorities, were requisitioned to work on rebuilding roads. They worked alongside soldiers (pioneers) in the 3rd Roads Battalion. Gradually, Jewish forced laborers brought from the Regat replaced the non-Jewish workers (with the exception of the retained Soviet POWs). A group of 500 Jews from Romania first arrived under escort to the 3rd Roads Battalion in May 1942.[1] By November 1942, the total number of Jews in that battalion was 400, with additional groups arriving in February 1943. New arrivals replaced those who finished their work period or went missing. In March 1943, the total number of Jews increased to 493.[2] These Jews were enlisted for exterior forced labor by the Putna, Iaşi, and Bacău army recruitment centers (*Cercuri de Recrutare*).[3]

The 3rd Roads Battalion was divided into four companies (*companii*). Each was placed in a different location around the main center in Corneşti. The 1st Roads Company, the largest of the four, was based in Făleşti, Bălţi judeţ, and was commanded by Căpitan Sergiu Volosievici. The 2nd Roads Company was stationed at Pârliţi Târg, Bălţi judeţ, and was commanded by

Locotenent Lazăr D. Lazăr. Commanded by Căpitan N. V. Petrenciu, the 3rd Roads Company was based in Călăraşi Târg, Lăpuşna judeţ. Finally, the Quarry Company was stationed at Grinăuţi, Bălţi judeţ, and was commanded by Locotenent Ion Ştefănescu (followed by Locotenent Mircea Gagiu).

The Jews allocated to the 1st Roads Company were housed in a former synagogue situated on the outskirts of town. The Jews of the 2nd Roads Company were similarly housed in a synagogue, whereas those in the 3rd Roads Company were housed in a large building that had held Soviet POWs the previous year. Lastly, the Jews from the Quarry Company were placed in a large vacant house that had been abandoned by a German family. Military guards were posted at each of the four subcamps. The guard staff included an officer or a noncommissioned officer (NCO) accompanied by a small group of soldiers drawn from the First Pioneer Regiment. Except for the Grinăuţi subcamp, which was located inside the village, encircling the subcamps with barbed wire was not deemed necessary.[4]

On arrival, the Jews were asked to give their money to the company bank, "to prevent bribery" in the camp. Every one was required to wear a yellow armband (*bransardă*) on the left arm as a distinctive sign.[5] A typical workday consisted of nine hours spent extracting sand or breaking and transporting stone; in winter, there was also the task of removing snow from the main roads. A quota of breaking 2 cubic meters (almost 71 cubic feet) of stone per day was set for each group of three Jews, along with instructions that productivity be carefully checked and maintained by force, if necessary.[6] The Jewish prisoners worked six days a week.

Housing was poor, and the inmates slept directly on the floor or on makeshift beds in overcrowded rooms. There were rudimentary infirmaries for Jews, always staffed by Jewish doctors. Regarding food, the Army General Staff (Report No. 1871, July 1, 1942) required that the same amount of money (*alocaţie*) be spent on food for Jewish workers as for regular soldiers (35 lei), but it went without saying that the soldiers' well-being was prioritized over every one else's. The commander's report also indicated that the number of meals containing meat increased from four to eight per week and that, in addition to the daily morning cup of coffee,

Jewish workers also received "50–100 grams [1.8 to 3.6 ounces] of pork lard."[7] Unskilled labor fetched a meager 2 lei/day (a soldier's pay). Receiving money or food in the camp through intermediaries soon became illegal, as did bartering with the local population, who were instructed to avoid all contact with the Jews or risk deportation to Transnistria.[8] Mail was usually censored. Eventually receiving a sum of money (less than 3,000 lei per month) through the post office was permitted, but not packages.[9]

In November 1942, forced labor productivity decreased substantially due to the lack of warm clothing and shoes, which had deteriorated after months of hard work. Many Jews had not brought winter clothes with them. Telegrams and reports sent between company commanders and the military centers described the Jewish workers as "barefooted and without clothes" and that "the majority of them are not equipped for winter and are therefore unproductive."[10] The appearance in the city of 65 Jews returning from forced labor for a two-week rest was described by the authorities who recruited them as "entirely deplorable, being dressed for the most part in recycled clothing, and for some the clothing is reduced to rags hanging on the body; likewise the footwear."[11]

Debate ensued over who was responsible for providing adequate clothing for the Jewish prisoners. The Army General Staff solicited the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) to provide winter clothes for the Jewish laborers. CER replied that it was unable to help the Jews in the labor brigades because the use of "animal skins is blocked." The National Defense Ministry further denied the General Staff's request to sell used military clothes to the Jews, stating that "everything is recycled for the army." When Marshal Ion Antonescu was asked whether Jews in forced labor units should be released from duties in winter, he replied that the Jews were "not to be released; the matter concerns the Central Bureau."[12] The General Staff's final decision, in the words of Colonel I. Lovinescu to the 3rd Roads Battalion, was that "Jews will be taken out to work regardless of the condition of their equipment, since it is the responsibility of every Jew to be adequately dressed."[13]

Accidents were common, as was the aggravation of existing illnesses due to the demanding, stressful labor. Army medical

teams periodically inspected the battalion members, selecting those unable to work due to illness. Those needing immediate medical attention were sent to the nearest military hospital for (re)diagnosis. To minimize state spending, Jewish hospitals took in Jewish patients for treatment.[14]

Dozens of Jewish workers in the 3rd Roads Battalion were declared "deserters" after failing to report back from the rest period. Some had good reasons for delaying their return (illness) or reported to the wrong unit, but once labeled as such in the scripts, they faced severe punishment. According to Decree Law 59 of February 2, 1943, a Jewish "deserter" was tried by a military court and could expect to spend between three months and two years in prison. In war time, execution and confiscation of private property were legislated.[15] Most commonly, however, Jewish "deserters" were deported to camps in Transnistria, as was the case for a group of 11 Jews from the 3rd Roads Battalion.[16] Various companies of the battalion continued to exist and hold Jewish laborers until early 1944.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews conscripted as forced laborers in the 3rd Roads Battalion are available at AMAN, and at USHMMA in microform as RG-25.011M, microfiche *01 to *14*19. For statistical figures and graphic illustrations concerning forced labor for Jews in the eastern part of Romania, see RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, pp. 252–255. VHA holds testimonies in Russian and Hebrew from surviving Jews deported to Transnistria from the communes where the 3rd Roads Battalion later established its subcamps. An outline of the 3rd Roads Battalion's equipment, personnel (military as well as requisitioned), and forced laborers (Jews, Soviet POWs) is available at RG-54.00M (ANRM), reel 10, fond 706, opis 1, delo 520, pp. 34–35; and RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 45, file 7257.

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NOTES

1. For their age, names, profession, and address, see these tables: USHMMA, RG-25.011*13*02 (AMAN), pp. 25–35 (and verso); and see pp. 14–15, on the same microfiche, for the

arrival of the first group of Jews.

2. Report No. 3698, December 17, 1942, and the subsequent tables showing the camp distributions, USHMMA, RG-20.011M*04, pp. 128–130. The arrival of 100 Jews from Bacău is stated in telegram No. 949593, February 28, 1943, of the V Territorial Corps, USHMMA, RG-25.011*09M, p. 363. Statistical figures for March 1943 can be found at RG-25.011*10M, pp. 400–411.

3. For the names of the Jews undertaking forced labor in the 3rd Roads Battalion see various name lists in USHMMA, RG-25.011*08M, p. 325; RG-25.011*09, p. 381; RG-25.011*11M, pp. 450–452, 459–467, 471–489; and RG-25.011*12M, pp. 491–498.

4. See Maior Radu Spânu's confidential report No. 272 to the Army General Staff (Transportation Section), February 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.011M*05, pp. 162–163.

5. Correspondence sent by the second commandant of the IV Army Corps, General de divizie Hugo Schwab, November 15, 1942, to the 3rd Roads Battalion, USHMMA, RG-25.011M*02M, p. 29; for depositing money, see RG-25.011 *13*05, p. 33.

6. Note No. 12.979, January 13, 1943, informing 3rd Roads Company of these instructions for the 50 Jews sent them from the 1st Roads Company, USHMMA, RG-25.011M*05, p. 191.

7. Commandant Radu Spânu's confidential report No. 269 to the IV Territorial Command, January 29, 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.011M*05, pp. 160–161.

8. Public announcements distributed in the local press, USHMMA, RG-25.011*13*02M, pp. 60–61.

9. The Army General Staff approved the sending of money to Jews in exterior forced labor units on November 23, 1942, Order No. 513392 of Colonel I. Antonescu, chief of V Territorial Corps, USHMMA, RG-25.011M*03M, n.p.; instructions for holding food sent to the Jews: RG-25.011M*04, p. 118.

10. See telegrams and ensuing correspondence: USHMMA, RG-25.011M*05, pp. 171–176, in addition to Maior Radu Spânu's report No. 269, in the same collection, p. 162.

11. See report of the Putna Recruitment Center, transmitted by the 3rd Roads Battalion, USHMMA, RG-25.011M *04M, pp. 148–149.

12. Report of the Army General Staff, Section I, No. 936609, USHMMA, RG-25.011*06M, p. 204.

13. USHMMA, RG-25.011*06M, p. 203.

14. Order "Nr. 73.093," September 22, 1942, Army General Staff, USHMMA, RG-25.011*06M, p. 244; see also RG-25.011*13*02, pp. 238, 241, 246.

15. Articles 4–8, Decree-Law No. 59, February 2, 1943, *MonOf*, No. 28, part I, February 3, 1943. A copy of this law is found at USHMMA, RG-25.011*08M, pp. 340–341.

16. USHMMA, RG-25.011*13*05M, p. 98.

COŞARINŢI

Coşarinţi, a village in the Copaigorod raion in the Moghilev judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Kosharyntsi, Ukraine), is situated along the Nemiya River. It is located 51 kilometers (32 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. This village should not be confused with Kosharyntsy (Romanian: Coşarinţa) on the Pivdennyi Bug River in the Berşad raion, Balta judeţ. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,903 Jews in the Copaigorod raion, most of whom lived in the town of Copaigorod. It is unknown whether any Jews lived in Coşarinţi (census data for the village are not available).

The German and Romanian armies overran Coşarinţi and its surroundings in the second part of July 1941. After a short German military occupation, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The praetor in the Copaigorod raion was Ion Vodă. The village's name was romanianized from Kosharintsy to Coşarinţi (occasionally spelled Coşarineţi or Cozarinţi).

Little is known about the Coşarinţi ghetto. What is certain is that the Jews deported to Coşarinţi were originally from Bukovina (especially from Hotin, Lipcani, Briceni, and NouaSuliţă in the Hotin district) and northern Bessarabia. Local Ukrainian Jews from Transnistria do not appear to have been held in the Coşarinţi ghetto. According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, 277 Jews were deported from Romania and were living in Coşarinţi as of October 1942.[1] According to an estimate by Siegfried Jä-gendorf, president of the Jewish Council of Moghilev (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM), 50 percent of the deported Jews living in Moghilev towns and districts perished during the winter of 1941 from cold, hunger, and disease, primarily typhus.[2] It can be assumed, then, that the number of Jews sent to Coşarinţi in the deportations before that winter was significantly higher. In 1945, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (*Chrezvychainaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissiia*,

ChGK) found that, out of 800 Jews deported to Coşarinţi, more than 700 perished there during 1941 and 1942.[3]

Relief in the form of medicines arrived for the Jews held in Coşarinţi in the fall of 1942; the medicines were sent by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews in Bucharest (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER). The same institution sent additional aid in the summer of 1943.[4] Although these supplies were insufficient to meet the community's real needs, they did provide for some of its many necessities. Barter and begging were essential means of survival in the ghetto, in addition to what ever work opportunities the deportees could find with the locals in the village (provided they remained undetected by the guards). The Romanian administration in Copaigorod selected Jews from the camp for forced labor in agriculture and forestry.[5] It also sent a handful of men to Varvarovca in the Oceacov judeţ, in the southern part of Transnistria, as forced laborers for the bridge-building operation at Nicolaev (today: Varvarivka, Ukraine). The Organisation Todt-Einsatzgruppe Russland Süd ran the operation and controlled the forced laborers. Conditions in Varvarovca were extremely rough: some workers were shot for attempting to escape, others fell ill soon after their arrival, and a few died of exhaustion.[6]

By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Coşarinţi was 170, most likely not counting the Ukrainian Jews; on September 1, 1943, also without including the Ukrainian Jews, 168 Jews (167 from Bessarabia, 1 from Bukovina) were counted.[7] In February 1944, the number of Jews who had been deported from Romania in the entire Copaigorod raion was 2,339, of which some (probably the same number as in September 1943) had been held in the Coşarinţi ghetto.[8]

The Red Army recaptured Coşarinţi at the end of March 1944, liberating the ghetto. Some of the Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, but most made their way back to Romania amid great challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Coşarinţi can be found in the following publications: "Kosharintsy," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii*

SSSR: Entsiklopediia (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 470; "Kosharintsy," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 169; "Kosharintsy," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 177; and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2: 8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Coşarinţi can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and GARF (RG-22.002M). VHA holds 12 survivor testimonies in two languages (Russian and Hebrew) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10, Problem 33, vol. 20, p. 281.

2. Jägendorf memorandum, September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289 (esp. p. 265).

3. USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1239, p. 17.

4. See CER package sending receipt for Coşarinţi, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1565, p. 148.

5. VHA #43973, Simah Dagan testimony, May 6, 1998; VHA #18078, Bruryah Farber testimony, July 29, 1996; and VHA #12840, Israel' Lerner testimony, March 27, 1996.

6. See September 1943 report by the OT-Einsatzgruppe Russland Süd to the Government of Transnistria, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1502, pp. 152–153.

7. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345, and for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

8. See population figures according to nationalities in the raions of the Moghilev judeţ, USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, p. 5 (see also p. 6 for population figures according to confessions).

COSĂUŢI

Cosăuţi, a village in Soroca judeţ, in Bessarabia province, Romania (today: Republic of Moldova), is located 142 kilometers (88 miles) northeast of Chişinău and is situated alongside the right bank (Moldavian side) of the Dniester River. Cosăuţi forest, located a few hundred meters away from the village itself, served as the site for a short-term transit camp for Jewish deportees entering Transnistria via Iampol. Army barges were assembled to transport people and luggage across the Dniester River at a crossing point near Cosăuţi.

The Cosăuţi camp site had no amenities of any kind, except an obsolete brick-firing facility. Small tents of bed sheets, blankets, or tree branches were temporarily erected to provide shelter from rain and cold, but most deportees simply rested and slept on the ground under open sky. The little stream running nearby became a dumping ground for dead bodies, so its water was soon polluted. The site was not encircled with barbed wire, but gendarmes as well as military and civilian personnel based in the village and near the crossing point guarded the camp's prisoners.

The administration of the site fell into the hands of officers from Soroca's Gendarmes Legion. Colonel Teodor Meculescu, Bessarabia's Inspector General of Gendarmes (based in Chişinău), temporarily appointed Căpitan Victor Ramadan to be in charge of receiving Jewish convoys arriving by foot from the Bessarabian and Bukovinian ghettos and to oversee their quick transfer across the Dniester River. Meculescu gave Ramadan a free hand to shoot any Jew who did not comply with his orders or was too tired to keep marching.

Thousands of Jews marched in convoys through the Cosăuţi-Iampol crossing point between September 1941 and May 1942. In addition, more than 12,000 Jews from Bessarabia, who had entered Transnistria earlier via the Atachi-Moghilev crossing point (66 kilometers [41 miles] northeast of Cosăuţi), were returned by the Germans to the Romanian side through Cosăuţi on August 16,

1941.[1] They were immediately interned at the Vertujeni camp (today: Vertiujeni, 29 kilometers [18 miles] southeast of Cosăuţi) and were rede-ported six weeks later. The usual destinations for those entering Transnistria via the Cosăuţi-Iampol crossing point were the camps at Obodovca and Balanovca in the Balta judeţ, but the deportees were sent to other places along that route as well.[2]

The first to be deported through Cosăuţi were the 12,000 or so Jews from the Vertujeni ghetto. As instructed by Colonel Meculescu, the Vertujeni camp commandant—Colonel Vasile Agapie—sent these Jews away in groups of 1,600.[3] A group of 1,500 Jews from Rădăuţi (and surroundings) marched through Cosăuţi to the Cosăuţi-Iampol crossing point on their way to the Tzibulovca ghetto, near Berşad on October 15, 1941. Edineţi's Jews, some 2,500 people, also made a short stop in the Cosăuţi forest before crossing into Transnistria on October 18, 1941. Marculeşti's Jews marched in convoys of 1,000 to 2,000 people to Cosăuţi at the end of October 1941, where they made a short stop. The last deportees to pass through Cosăuţi were the remaining Jews of Chişinău, numbering around 500, in May 1942.

In addition to regulating the flow of the transfer of Jews into Transnistria, the short period of time (a few days) spent in the Cosăuţi forest was intended to provide the Romanian administration time to extract any remaining valuables from the Jews and to erase their individual identities. In the transit camp, the adult population had to undergo body searches. Heads of families had to declare and deposit their family valuables with representatives of the Romanian National Bank (*Banca Naţională a României*) who were on site, as well as to exchange their remaining money (Romanian currency, *lei*) for Transnistrian rubles. Identity cards were then confiscated and burned.

Great brutalities were inflicted on the Jews interned in the Cosăuţi camp. The gendarmes took advantage of the peoples' exhaustion and desperation, inflicting cruel beatings and even shooting any individual resisting the confiscation of private valuables. Anyone caught hiding valuables or money that was needed to barter in exchange for food or to purchase services or to bribe local authorities risked severe punishment. Unprovoked beatings occurred regularly at night. Rabbis were particularly

maltreated. Virgins and young married women were raped in the camp, sometimes in sight of their parents or husbands. Occasionally, higher officers brought Jewish women back to their rooms in the village and raped them before sending them back to their families. Refusing to live with the shame, some of these victims committed suicide. Rainy and cold nights made many people ill, especially those already weakened by sickness, the elderly, and the young. The dead were unceremoniously and superficially buried in nearby ditches. The stench of decomposing bodies and the sight of corpses lying on both sides of the small road leading into the forest horrified subsequent convoys. All in all, thousands of Jews perished in the Cosăuţi transit camp. The camp was closed at the end of 1942.

Colonel Teodor Meculescu was prosecuted by Romania's People's Tribunal on February 13, 1946. The court found Meculescu guilty of "exterminating the civilian population out of political reasons and racial hatred," which was a crime punishable by death or hard labor, according to Decree Law 312/1945 and Decree Law 81/1946. He received a term of imprisonment.[4]

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of Romanian Jews held at Cosăuţi may be found in the following publications: Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival*, and vol. 6: *War Crimes Trials* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago:

Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască*, vol. 1, part 2 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003).

Primary sources attesting to the fate of Romanian Jews held at Cosăuţi are available at USHMMA, in records of the DAOO (RG-31.004M), ANR (RG-25.002M), and WJC (RG-25.051). For an outline of crossing points and destinations, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, delo 5, pp. 1–5 (especially p. 3). For a secret service police report attesting to the return to Bessarabia of formerly deported Jews to Transnistria and their crossing back at Cosăuţi, see RG-25.002M, reel 17, file 86/1941, p. 91. For a survivor's testimony, see Herman Vexner's account in RG-25.051 (Locality Vaslui, file 2D).

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86/1941, p. 91.

2. See crossing points and destinations outlined in "Dare de Seamă asupra Organizarei şi Funcţionarei Serviciului Jandarmeriei în Transnistria," December 3, 1941, signed by Transnistria's Gendarmes Inspector, Colonel Marcel Petală, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, delo 5, pp. 1–5 (especially p. 3).

3. See a reprint of these instructions, including a hand-drawn map indicating the crossing point, "Instrucţiuni relative la evacuarea evreilor din lagărul Vertujeni-Soroca," Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 85–87.

4. See "Act de Acuzare," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 6: 210–111.

COVALIOVCA

Covaliovca (pre-1941: Kovaliovka; today: Kovalivka, Ukraine) is a town in Varvarovca raion, Ochacov judeţ, in the southeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. After December 1942, it became part of the Berezovca judeţ, Landau raion. Covaliovca is located 116 kilometers (72 miles) northeast of Odessa, bordering the Bug River to the east.

According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 275 Jews living in the Varvarovca raion, representing 0.71 percent of its population (census data were not collected for Covaliovca). A June 1943 counting of Landau's population (Covaliovca's administrative center at that time) puts the total number at 9,959 people.[1] Of these, 1,811 lived in Covaliovca. This number, amounting to 441 families, was divided according to the inhabitants' ethnic identity—26 Romanians, 1,768 Ukrainians, 13 Russians, 2 Germans, and 2 Bulgarians—but did not count any "temporary" inhabitants, namely Poles, Jews, or Roma.[2]

The German and Romanian armies occupied the area around Covaliovca in August 1941. After a short period of German control, during which time Covaliovca was cleansed of its Jews, the Romanian civil administration assumed authority. Under Romanian administration, the spelling of the township's name was romanianized as Covaliovca (also appearing in documents as Covalevca or Covaleovca). Until December 1942, chief responsibility for Covaliovca belonged to Locotenent-colonel Vasile Gorsky, Ochacov's prefect; from January 1943, as part of Berezovca judeţ, its affairs were the responsibility of Berezovca's prefects: Colonel Constantin Loghin, who was succeeded by Sergent TR Victor Petrenciu. The praetor in Landau raion, who was also responsible for Covaliovca, was Sergent TR Nicolae Albu.

In the summer of 1942, the Romanian government deported Roma (Gypsies) from its territories to the Ochacov and Berezovca judeţe in Transnistria. Roma deportees lived in colonies scattered

throughout Berezovca's raions, including in Covaliovca. In October 1942, some 1,100 Roma were interned in Covaliovca; 54 indigenous house holds were evacuated from their homes to accommodate the Roma (an average of 20 Roma were placed in each house).

Even though only itinerant Roma and those accused of criminal acts were to be deported, in reality many settled, up-standing Roma citizens ended up being expelled. Among them were decorated veterans from World War I, active soldiers on leave, and families of solders enrolled in the Romanian Army.[3] Repatriation efforts were made to correct the error, but for many they came too late; after the ordeal of deportation, many Roma simply did not have any documents left to prove their sedentary-life status, military past, or relationship to active soldiers. In his confidential report, Colonel Sandu Moldoveanu, the inspector in charge of examining Roma claims in the Covaliovca area and the head of the third of three commissions investigating the Roma situation in Transnistria, expressed great consternation that categories of Roma other than traveler and criminal Roma were deported.[4] He condemned authorities in Old Romania for utter negligence in this matter and criticized local Transnistrian authorities for mistreating the deportees.[5]

The conditions in which the Roma lived in Transnistria were essentially unsurvivable, in line with Marshal Antonescu's tacit extermination policy. For Covaliovca's Roma, food allocations of 400 grams (14 ounces) of corn flour, 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of potatoes, and salt were provided only occasionally. Medical assistance was nonexistent in the early months following their resettlement. In desperation, the deportees resorted to theft and destruction of gardens and properties to procure food and warm their houses, infuriating the local population. Ukrainian villagers brutally beat Roma when caught stealing. Hundreds of Roma died of starvation and illness, especially from an epidemic of typhus, typhoid fever, and cold in the winter of 1942. In these circumstances, many Roma fled back to Romania or to other villages in the region in search of work and food; fugitives were hunted down, rearrested, deported again, and sometimes simply shot by the gendarmes.

In the spring of 1943, Covaliovca's Roma were put to work in

agriculture and riverbank maintenance, but their presence was unwelcome everywhere. This was due to the general perception that Roma carried lice and that their presence contributed to local outbreaks of typhus. Food or payment for work was not regularly given, and many accumulated workdays for which they never saw any payment or food during harvest time.

After substantial efforts made by Dr. Aurel Juga, chief doctor in charge of Berezovca's medical services, the overall health of Landau's residents improved somewhat by October 1943. Medical supplies were made available to Covaliovca's medical office.[6] A doctor was appointed by the name of Sergei Tumarchin.[7] The displaced Roma fell within the medical office's sphere of responsibility, but locals and soldiers were given priority. A Jewish doctor as part of his forced labor duties was sent to assist Dr. Tumarchin.

A level of skepticism is required when reading district-level medical reports, because these accounts rarely reflect the situation among the deportees or reflect it only obliquely. The November 1943 health report claims that no new cases of typhus or typhoid fever were recorded in Landau.[8] According to a different report, 7,960 vaccines were administered by November 1, 1943 (whether the Roma were also counted as immunized is not indicated in the report).[9] Similarly, township-level medical reports for Covaliovca for October and November 1943 claimed zero cases of typhus under the head rubric, "Typhus."[10] This assertion came despite the fact that medicine was in short supply everywhere. Nicolae Aurel, Landau's praetor, requested that basic medical supplies (such as dressing ban dages and medicine) be urgently sent from Berezovca Prefecture's medical service to the Covaliovca medical office, which had run out of them by December 1943.[11]

According to the early 1943 count of displaced Jews in Transnistria, only one Jew lived in Covaliovca.[12] In all likelihood, this is the Jewish doctor who had been sent there earlier.

SOURCES For information about the fate of Roma deported to Covaliovca, see the following secondary sources: Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria:*

Extermination and Survival (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004); for Soviet census data, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 55.

Primary sources depicting the fate of Roma deported to Covaliovca are available at USHMMA, in collections microfilmed from DAOO, DAMO, and SRI (Romanian Information Service). Prefect Vasile Gorsky's account of Roma deportation to Ochacov provides excellent general information about the inhumane conditions in which Romanian Roma were arrested and transported to Transnistria: see "Memoriu," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 34, file 40010, vol. 59, pp. 113–122; for government efforts to remedy deportation mistakes, see USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 67, p. 24 (and verso); for medical notes reporting on the situation in the Berezovca judeţ, Landau raion, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 611, pp. 13, 62, 75, 128, 140, 156–157.

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NOTES

1. See "Situaţia Medico-Sanitară în Judeţul Berezovca de la 1 Ian.-1 Nov. 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 611, p. 62 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/611).

2. See "Tabelul statistic de populaţia comunelor în acest raion pe naţionalităţi şi numărul fântănilor existente în Raion pe data de 26 Iunie 1943," signed by Vihrenco Nicolae, Berezovca hospital's sanitary agent, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/611, p. 1.

3. See the SSI report, "Dare de Seamă din 5 Decembrie 1942. Asupra serviciului executat în judeţul Oceacov de la data de 19 Noembrie la 4 Decembrie 1942," reproduced in Achim, *Documente Privind Istoria Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2: 24–29.

4. See note "Nr. 48407 din 9 Decemvrie 1942," of General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 67, p. 24 (and verso).

5. See Colonel Sandu Moldoveanu's secret memorandum, "Memoriu Nr. 63 din 21 Decembrie 1942," reprinted in Achim, *Documente Privind Istoria Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2: 59–64 (especially pp. 61–62).

6. See communication cosigned by Berezovca's prefect, Victor Petrenciuc, and Dr. Aurel Juga, Berezovca's chief doctor: "Nr. 36064, 16 Oct. 1943 Prefectura Jud. Berezovca Serviciul Sanitar Către Postul de Jandarmi Covaleovca Raion Landau," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/611, p. 13.

7. See "Prefectura Jud. Berezovca, Serviciul Sanitar, Tabel de medicii localnici, repartizaţi pe circumscripţii, precum urmează," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/611, p. 128.

8. See "Prefectura Jud. Berezovca, Serviciul Medical, Dare de Seama," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/611, p. 75.

9. See "Situaţia Medico-Sanitară în Judeţul Berezovca de la 1 Ian.-1 Nov. 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/611, p. 62.

10. See "Pretura Landau, Prefectura Berezovca, Comuna Covalevca, Situatia de mersul boalelor de la 1 Oktombre—31/X-1943 Anul," and "Pretura Landau, Prefectura Berezovca, Comuna Covalevca, Situatia de mersul boalelor de la 1 Noembrie—30/XI-43 Anul," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/611, pp. 156–157.

11. See "Pretura Raionului Landau, Sectia Ad-tiva, Nr. 4110 din 22 Decembrie 1943 Catre Prefectura-Berezovca, Serv. Sanitar," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/611, p. 140.

12. See “Tablou numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347.

CRĂCIUNEŞTI AND VULCAN/LPRS NO. 9

Crăciuneşti is a village near Băiţa commune, in the Hunedoara judeţ, in the southwestern part of Romania. Surrounded by Transylvania's Apuseni Mountains, Crăciuneşti is 15 kilometers (9 miles) north of Deva and 309 kilometers (192 miles) northwest of Bucharest.

After the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) was established at Crăciuneşti in September 1941. The camp was known as LPRS No. 9 (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici*) and was created to house forced laborers working on the Romanian Railways Company (*Căile Ferate Române*, CFR) in Deva. At that time, the CFR was building a new railway connecting Deva to the gold mines around Brad.[1] The construction project up to that point had depended on Jewish forced labor: 700 Jews had been conscripted from localities in the Hunedoara and Timiş judeţe to serve in forced labor brigades assigned to the CFR Brad-Deva construction site.[2] The first transport of Soviet prisoners arrived on September 18, 1941, in a train that stopped at Deva carrying approximately 1,000 POWs in 43 boxcars.[3] After disembarking, the prisoners marched to the camp, 25 kilometers (14 miles) north of Deva. The camp was located on a hill that was 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) outside Crăciuneşti village, and it was surrounded by barbed wire.[4] The camp commandant was Locotenent-colonel Nicolae Stavrescu; the commandant of the Hunedoara Gendarmes Legion was Locotenent-colonel Augustin Popa. The camp was under the direction of the VII Army Corps.

Except for officers, who were better dressed, the Soviet prisoners arrived in shabby clothes and worn boots. The barracks for lodging prisoners had not yet been built at the time of their arrival, so the prisoners dug holes into the hillside to build temporary shelters. A number of prisoners (40, according to one

account) arrived gravely ill with dysentery. These sick prisoners were isolated in an underground room where shovels and pickaxes had been stored, but were removed to make space for the sick. A camp doctor administered some natural remedies, but without proper medicine some did not survive. There was no water source in the camp, so water had to be carried up in buckets from a stream at the bottom of the hill.

A few weeks after the POWs arrived in the camp, wooden barracks were built, but they were insufficient for the growing number of prisoners, as subsequent groups of POWs continued to arrive. The camp authorities, including the guards, lived in rented houses in the village. The lack of warm clothes and shoes was a major problem for the prisoners in the winter of 1941: the villagers remember them wearing paper wrapped around their feet (the so-called paper-shoes) for shoes and putting straw inside their thin clothes as insulation against the cold.

Poor nutrition and living conditions, coupled with the lack of hygiene, soon led to outbreaks of epidemics among the prisoners. The first epidemic was dysentery, caused by drinking contaminated water, and then typhus spread. Delousing and washing facilities arrived later in 1941, by which time the camp was infested with lice and fleas. Jewish doctors were requisitioned from the area to work as medical personnel, in addition to the army doctors (Drs. Titus Turcu and Ion Chirca). But until they received medicine and built a medical center, the doctors could do little to improve the prisoners' health, many of whom also suffered from starvation and tuberculosis. It was only after some of the camp doctors and guardsmen contracted typhus that the 7th Army command center finally allocated several barracks for a small camp hospital and a few mobile bathing cars and delousing ovens. A team of engineers from among the prisoners repaired the mobile bathing cars, and another team of nurses (including some of the prisoners) was created to work at the newly instituted hospital that could care for 100 patients.

Soviet POWs under guard in Crăciuneşti, after June 1941. USHMM WS #10996, COURTESY OF SERVICIUL ROMAN DE INFORMATII.

This notable improvement was substantially diminished by Commandant Stavrescu's inhumane attitude toward the prisoners. He appropriated substantial amounts of food and wood sent especially for the prisoners and halved their bread portions. He misused funds from the camp bud get by refusing to pay for services (like transporting wood) rendered to the camp by hired villagers. In addition, he introduced and applied physical beatings (lashes) of prisoners and soldiers alike. For these and other reasons, he was denounced by officers under his command in a letter sent to the Army General Staff in Bucharest. Subsequently, Stavrescu was disciplined for his actions in April–May 1942 and was removed from office immediately. Almost 800 Soviet POWs died under his watch, their bodies buried unceremoniously in a mass grave.[5]

The new camp commandant showed more compassion to the prisoners. He even allowed the wife of one ill prisoner to come and care for him in the camp. He brought a priest to the camp so the dead could be buried with some honor. A small choir was formed from among the prisoners who were able to learn or improve their Romanian (some of the prisoners were from Bukovina and Bessarabia). On a few occasions, the choir sang in the local Orthodox church.

Work at the railway was physically demanding, because most of it was done only with shovels, pickaxes, and wheelbar-rows. The

construction site stretched for 35 kilometers (22 miles) in mountainous terrain, with the prisoners working all along its route. They were divided into labor companies (*companii de lucru*), which formed subcamps of the main camp at Crăciuneşti. Three subcamps were based in Luncoiu de Jos, one in Vălişoara, and one subcamp for ranked prisoners at Luncoiu de Sus (this last subcamp had fewer restrictions and better food, and it was guarded by unarmed soldiers). The treatment of prisoners in the subcamps was similar to that in the main camp: harsher during Stavrescu's tenure and better thereafter.

In August 1942, LPRS No. 9 relocated from Crăciuneşti to Vulcan, on the Jiu River valley, more than 62 kilometers (39 miles) southeast of Deva. A few old buildings and ware houses, including a few barracks, formerly belonging to a farm, were repurposed as housing for the prisoners. The Vulcan camp could hold up to 1,500 prisoners. At the new locations, most prisoners worked in the coal mines, although some were allocated as manual laborers to area businesses (Creditul Carbonifer, Societatea Petroşani, Societatea Titan-Nădrag-Călan) and factories (tile, steel, wood) throughout the Hunedoara judeţ (in places such as Lupeni, Hunedoara, Brad, Călan, Reşiţa, and Câmpu lui Neag). From its inception, LPRS No. 9 Vulcan had two subcamps—Lupeni (today: Jiu-Paroseni), where ranked Soviet prisoners were also held, and Petroşani (today: Jieţ)—both only a few kilometers away from Vulcan. Smaller contingents of Soviet POWs (up to 300) arrived in the area from other camps in Romania (LPRS No. 3 Independenţa-Galaţi, LPRS No. 7 Bălţi, and LPRS No. 2 Vaslui); in addition, a group of Soviet POWs was brought from Germany.[6] Estimates regarding the number of prisoners held in LPRS No. 9 Vulcan and its subcamps vary, but a number between 2,600 and 3,000 is probably correct.

In the new location, prisoner treatment improved especially from 1943 onward, but not everywhere. Although some prisoners received meals containing meat (four times a week) and fruit and enjoyed certain privileges (leaving the camp with guards for social events), many continued to live in filthy conditions, resulting in illnesses and death. A few hundred more prisoners died from November 1942 to April 1944, their bodies buried (usually with military honors) in local church cemeteries. Some prisoners

attempted to escape from their work places, but were usually caught sooner or later.[7]

Even after August 23, 1944, when Romania switched sides and entered the war against Germany and its allies, the Soviet POWs in the Vulcan camp and subcamps continued to work as before until mid-October of that year. On October 16, 1944, all Soviet POWs throughout the Hunedoara judeţ were gathered at the Deva train station, with cold food for five days. They were then transported to Craiova to begin the (difficult) process of repatriation under the command of Soviet authorities.

In January 1945, the Bucharest People's Tribunal issued an arrest order for Stavrescu for war crimes, eventually convicting and sentencing him to many years of hard labor for inhumane treatment applied to the Soviet POWs in the Crăciuneşti camp.[8]

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Soviet POWs held in LPRS No. 9 can be found in the following publications: Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internaţională şi Romania, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997) (Şiperco's volume includes a group photo displaying Soviet POWs from Crăciuneşti camp at work, guarded by Romanian authorities); Dan-Simion Grecu, "Lagăre pentru prizonieri sovietici în judeţul Hunedoara (1941–1944)," *Buletinul Cercului de Studii al Istoriei Poştale din Ardeal, Banat şi Bucovina*, 13/3 (2010), available at http://hunedoara.omgforum.net/t765-detasamentele-de-munca-pentru-evrei-din-judetul-hunedoara-1941-1943; and Ion Chirca, "Lagărul de prizonieri Nr. 9 Crăciuneşti," *Magazin Istoric* 2 (1997).

Primary sources documenting the experience of Soviet POWs in Crăciuneşti are available at ANR-H, available in microform at USHMMA as RG-25.063M. Archival records can also be found at TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, including in the same fond and opis, delo 1636, 1637, 1638; additional documents are available in the same collection and fond, opis 18004, delo 918 and delo 921. RGVA, fond 1512, opis 1, delo 17 and delo 18 also contain files of Soviet POWs transferred to Camp No. 9 from other Soviet POW camps in Romania. Regarding forced labor brigades for Jews in the area of LPRS No. 9 for Soviet POWs, see

RG-25.063M (ANR-H), particularly reel 2, file 3; reel 3, files 106, 125; reel 5, files 89, 113; and reel 6, file 12.

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NOTES

1. Note, USHMMA, RG-25.063M (ANR-H), reel 3, file 125, n.p.
2. See map of forced labor brigades for Jews, assigned to the area Brad-Deva: USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, pp. 254–255.
3. Deva Police information report, USHMMA, RG-25.063M, reel 3, file 125, n.p.
4. "Crăciuneşti," USHMMPA, WS #10995.
5. The victims' names, along with dates and places of their burials, appear in TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, pp. 415–498.
6. Deva Police reports, USHHMA, RG-25.063M, reel 4, file 28, 1942, pp. 133, 204, 229.
7. See reports from local authorities for the Hunedoara Gendarmes Legion, USHMMA, RG-25.063M, reel 11, file 24, pp. 35, 44, 111.
8. Arrest order, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 5, p. 5.

CRAIOVA

The city of Craiova, in Dolj judeţ in southwestern Romania, is located more than 183 kilometers (almost 114 miles) west of Bucharest. According to the 1930 census Craiova had 2,274 Jewish residents comprising 4 percent of the city's population.

After the German and Romanian military offensive against the Soviet Union started on June 22, 1941, thousands of Jews in Bucharest, Bukovina, Dorohoi, and Moldava were put on trains and sent to camps in Romania, including in Craiova and Târgu Jiu. The Jews deported from Dorohoi were all males ranging in age from 18 and 60 years old.[1] According to survivor Lorentz Flitman, there were also some women and children in the camp.[2]

The internment camp at Craiova consisted of a local high school (lyceum) guarded by the gendarmerie.[3] From Craiova most of the deportees were returned to their districts of origin by the fall of 1941, where the Romanian authorities required that they live in the urban center closest to their original homes. The property of Jews living in rural areas was "romanianized" effective June 21, 1941, according to an order issued by Marshal Ion Antonescu. By the summer of 1942, some of the Jews who had been interned in Craiova were deported to Transnistria.[4]

SOURCES Further information about the Craiova camp and Jewish life can be found in Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and "Craiova," Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 281.

Primary source material documenting the Craiova internment camp can be found at FUCER, available at USHMMA as

RG-25.021M (reel 97). VHA holds two testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Craiova camp: Lorentz Flitman (#50000) and Emmanuel-Paul Cleinerman (#32404). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Craiova camp; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. ITS, 1.2.7.24, folder 55, Doc. No. 82207255.
2. VHA #50000, Lorentz Flitman testimony, August 5, 1999.
3. VHA #32404, Emmanuel-Paul Cleinerman testimony, June 11, 1997.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Bracha Moscovici, Doc. No. 53668875.

CRASNA

Crasna, the center of the Krasnoe raion in the Moghilev judeţ in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Krasne, Ukraine), lies 67 kilometers (42 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk.

The German and Romanian armies captured the village on July 18, 1941, four weeks after Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During those weeks, some of the Jews managed to evacuate eastward, and men liable for military service were drafted into the Red Army. Approximately 350 Jews stayed in place. The Romanian civil administration assumed control of the area at the beginning of September 1941. The praetor in the Krasnoe raion was Nicolae Coman. The name of the village and raion was romanianized from Krasnoe to Crasna (occasionally spelled Crasnoe).

In the fall of 1941, a ghetto was established in Crasna. In September 1942, some of the Jews from the liquidated camp in the village of Scazineţ (Skazinets) near Moghilev-Podolsk were placed in this ghetto.[1] Life inside the ghetto was characterized by endless restrictions (including on physical movement), overcrowding, and forced labor. The Jews survived by bartering, begging, and doing jobs for the villagers; a few villagers went even further to help the persecuted Jews by hiding them in their houses and looking after them.[2]

In January 1943, the leader of the Crasna ghetto, Salo Bayer, met with representatives of the Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER), which visited Transnistria with the permission of the Romanian government. The delegation learned of the presence of 995 Jews in the ghetto: 665 Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romania (100 of whom were from Dorohoi) and 330 local Ukrainian Jews. The following information was also reported at that time: there

was one hospital in the ghetto, with a capacity of 14 beds, and a defunct bath house; typhus had already struck ghetto residents; 8 to 15 people were crowded into one room in the houses of the local Jews; state-owned workshops (*ateliere*) had been created in the ghetto for the following trades: tailors, shoe makers, hairdressers, carpenters, smiths, and mechanics; and those working in the workshops were being fed adequately. The delegation donated the sum of 1,500 RKKS (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, German-issued scrip) to set up a cafeteria large enough to feed at least 350 people each day and to repair the bath house.[3]

By March 1943, the number of Jews in the Crasna ghetto was 274, not counting the Ukrainian Jews. On September 1, 1943, even after some of the Jews had been sent away to work in June 1943, the number still increased to 282 Jews (10 from Bessarabia and 272 from Bukovina) in the ghetto, not counting the Ukrainian Jews.[4]

The repatriation of the Jews deported from Romania began in December 1943, beginning with the Jews from the Dorohoi district, orphaned children, and a few other categories. A number of Jews from the Crasna ghetto left at that time; most, however, returned home only after the Red Army recaptured the village in March 1944, freeing those still there.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Crasna ghetto during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Crasnoie (Krasnoye)," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem: 1969), 1: 507; "Krasnoye (I)," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 674; I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/Handbuch der*

Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944) (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Crasna ghetto are available at USHMMA, collections RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1252; RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 23, fond 2966, opis 2, delo 691: lists of specialist prisoners of the ghetto; RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 10, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1180 (and in the following delos: 1359, 1362–1366, 1369, 1370, 1179, 1400, 1403, 1407, 1412: lists of prisoners of a ghetto). VHA holds 125 testimonies in seven languages from survivors who spent various periods of time in the ghetto.

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NOTES

1. Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 283.

2. VHA #41100, Petro Bachek testimony, February 19, 1998; VHA #16137, Moritz Horn testimony, June 4, 1996.

3. Cf. postvisit report of delegation leader, Fred Şaraga, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 115–116.

4. For the March 1943 census, see Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; for the September 1943 census, see Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

CRASNEANCA

Crasneanca, a village in the Crivoi Ozero raion, Golta judeţ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Krasnen'ke, Ukraine), is located near the Bug River. It lies 41 kilometers (26 miles) northwest of Golta (today: Pervomais'k) and 188 kilometers (117 miles) northwest of Odessa.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the area in August 1941, and the Romanian civil administration took control of it a month later. Under this administration the village's name was romanianized from Krasnenkoe to Crasneanca (also Cransnencoe, Krasnenchi, and Crasnei). The Golta judeţ prefect was Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, and Aristide Pădure was the deputy prefect. The commandant of the Golta Gendarmes Legion was Maior Romulus Ambrus. The praetor in the Crivoi Ozero raion was Elizeu Rozorea.

The regime of Ion Antonescu deported Roma (Gypsies) from Romania to Transnistria between June and September 1942. Antonescu began with the "nomadic," as opposed to "sedentary," and the "delinquent" (convicted) Roma, but also included those without stable employment from any category. The Antonescu regime routinely characterized the Roma as "parasitic and unruly elements" and painted their deportation as an act of cleansing the nation of its "anti-social" factions. Great secrecy surrounded the murderous intent of the Roma deportation, which only the highest authorities knew about.[1] The mayors, prefects, and police, unaware of the destructive plan, deceived the Roma by telling them that they were being "resettled" to Transnistria where they would receive houses with farmland.[2]

Nomadic (but also some sedentary) Roma were gathered from all over Romania and concentrated in larger towns in June 1942, forming convoys (or caravans) heading to Transnistria. The Roma, traveling in their horse-drawn wagons, journeyed for weeks to their assigned "settlement" (deportation) area in the Golta judeţ. During this journey they received little or no food and so were

forced to buy provisions with their own money. One of the main crossing points into Transnistria regularly used by the Roma was at Tighina, sometimes spoken of today as Bender, near Tiraspol.

After a three-month ordeal in the Moldavca transit camp, located in the Domanovca raion (today: Kozubivka, near Domanivka, Ukraine), 4,200 Roma were marched to Crasneanca, in the northern part of the Golta judeţ (90 kilometers [56 miles] northwest of Moldavca). Because Golta's prefect confiscated horses and carts from the Roma, the local Romanian authorities recruited wagons from the area to transport some of the luggage, but most people went on foot, carrying by hand what ever possessions they could take with them. The forced march lasted several days.

The camp in Crasneanca, also called a "colony," was based in a small forest in a field halfway between Crasneanca and the village of Oniscova (today: Onyskove), both near the Bug River. It consisted of 500 huts (*bordeie*) that were fully or partly underground and covered with branches. A barbed-wire fence surrounded the camp.[3] The huts, fewer than needed to accommodate the Roma, were rudimentary and totally unfit for winter habitation, lacking windows, chimneys, electricity, running water, and furniture. To these poor conditions others were added, namely the absence of medical care and the rarity of small rations of food (cornmeal and potatoes) that the Roma received.

The conditions inside the camp were thus quite inadequate, especially when taking into account the frigid temperatures of the winter of 1942. As a result, countless died of cold and disease, primarily typhus. Hundreds of frozen bodies that lay scattered all over the field were collected in the spring of 1943 and buried in mass graves, in preparation for planting season and to prevent the local populace from becoming exposed to disease. Extreme hunger drove the destitute Roma to cannibalism, feeding on the corpses of deceased family members.[4] Those who still had money hidden away were cheated by Romanian gendarmes, who exchanged their Romanian currency at inflated rates or sold them illegally obtained salt and meat at excessive prices.[5]

In the summer of 1943, the Roma colony was divided into smaller groups; about half went to cut wood in Sluserevo forest,

and others were dispersed to five villages for agricultural work—Sirova (831), Secretarca (130), Stanislavcic (325), Burilova (399), and Oniscova (263)—all in the Crivoi Ozero raion. They lived in huts and barns, feeding on small fish and clams caught in the Bug River and its tributaries, or any animal they could find, including cows, horses, and dogs—living or dead. Women went through the villages bartering their goods down to their last shred of clothing and begging for food. Those few who worked received a little food for themselves in exchange for their labor.

The workers and their families returned to Crasneanca in November 1943. They were housed in a large cowshed in the Crasneanca *kolkhoz* (state collective farm), again in primitive, filthy, and crowded conditions. In the depth of winter in 1943, the Roma remained without food, some partly naked, succumbing to another round of epidemics. Cases of cannibalism were reported once more.[6]

In March 1944, the Golta administration left the area, abandoning the Roma. The retreating German soldiers marched the Roma from Crasneanca westward, in the direction of the Dniester River, and shot those unable to keep up. The deportees were driven to Crivoi Ozero and from there to the Liubaşevca (today: Lyubashivca) train station, amid Soviet aerial bombing and artillery fire. More Roma died along the shore of the Dniester River, succumbing to cold temperatures as they waited to cross over in fishing boats.

The Red Army captured Crasneanca at the beginning of April 1944. The Bucharest People's Court tried and sentenced Isopescu, Pădure, and Ambrus to life in prison for mistreating the Roma in Golta.[7]

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Romanian Roma deported to Crasneanca can be found in Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Roma from the Crasneanca camp are available at USHMMA, collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). For a film documenting the deportation of the Roma from Romania to Transnistria, as well as their ordeal and return, see *Valea Plângerii* (*The Valley of Sighs*), DVD, directed by Mihai Andrei Leaha, Andrei Crişan, and Iulia-Elena Hossu (Cluj: Institutul Pentru Studierea Minorităţilor Naţionale, in collaboration with Triba Film, 2013). Under RG-50, USHMMA holds oral history interviews about the deportation to Transnistria of the Roma from Romania.

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NOTES

1. See General Inspector of Gendarmes, Colonel C. Tobescu's deportation plan of the nomadic Roma from Romania, May 31, 1942, reprinted in Achim, ed., *Documente*, 1: 19–22.

2. For an account of deception of the Roma, see USHMMA, RG-50.421*0003, Vasile Gheorghe, oral history interview, August 28, 1995; USHMMA, RG-50.421*0001, Ion Caldarar, oral history interview, August 15, 1995.

3. See Praetor Rozorea's report, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 57, p. 234.

4. Various Roma survivors attest to participating in such acts or witnessing others taking part: *Valea Plângerii* (*The Valley of Sighs*), chapter "1942 The Deportation of Nomadic Roma," minutes 12–13.

5. Praetor Rozorea's camp inspection report on November 26, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M, microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 67, p. 29.

6. See a survivor attesting to eating her dead brother, in *Valea Plângerii*, chapter "1942 The Deportation of Nomadic Roma," minute 31.

7. See USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol.

2, pp. 116–117, 119, 136–137, 140.

CRIJOPOL

Crijopol (pre-1941: Kryzhopol'; today: Kryzhopil'), a raion center in the Jugastru (pre-1941: Zhugastru) judeţ, in the northeastern part of Transnistria, is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) east-northeast of Iampol. Jugastru lies between the Moghilev and Râbniţa judeţe. The 1939 Soviet census registered 1,400 Jews living in the town, representing 37.1 percent of the town's population. According to the 1939 census, there were a total of 1,704 Jews in the entire raion.

German and Romanian forces occupied Crijopol on July 22, 1941. In the weeks preceding their arrival, a few Jews had evacuated eastward into the Soviet Union, and men eligible for military service had been conscripted into the Red Army.

From July to August 1941, a German military commandant's office controlled the town. In September 1941, the Romanian civil administration took over and romanianized its name to Crijopol and the name of the judeţ to Jugastru. Ivan Paraşciuc was appointed Crijopol's prefect, and the raion's praetor was Teodor Haidauţu. The prefect warned the Jews about the deportation plans of the occupying authorities and was dismissed after six months. Colonel Ştefan S. Gheorghiade and N. Ciugureanu served jointly as prefects of Jugastru in 1943.

During the first few days of occupation, German soldiers killed 14 Jews and burned down some Jewish homes. In the autumn of 1941, all the remaining Jews in the town were moved into a separate district, an area between Budgos and Bath Streets, with several families assigned to each house. This area constituted the Crijopol ghetto, which was formally created in the summer of 1942 when some Jews from Romania were deported there as well.

While in the ghetto, Jews were used for various kinds of forced labor, from cleaning the cesspit and sweeping the streets to loading wood onto freight trains. On October 2, 1942, 700 Jews selected from the city of Moghilev and its judeţ were sent to the forest of

Crijopol to cut down trees. They were housed in miserable conditions and were not given food. Poorly dressed for winter, many became very ill. They worked in temperatures reaching 35° C (22° F) and faced the constant danger of freezing to death.[1] By December 27, 1942, 14 men had died of exhaustion and cold, and many more were battling diseases, including typhus, jaundice, and dysentery. When the work detachment returned to Moghilev from Crijopol, 15 workers were unable to walk, their bellies bloated as a result of starvation.[2]

In February 1943, Simeon Frestecico was appointed a member of the Jewish Labor Bureau for Crijopol. In March 1943, two groups of 27 Jews from Crijopol were assigned to work on a military air base in Tiraspol, helping to build a runway.[3] Others worked in workshops (*ateliere*) that were set up by Jugastru's prefecture on May 15, 1943. Azriel Brestecico presided over Crijopol's workshop, Tania Stucinscaia was the accountant, and Idasia Gherman worked as a cashier.[4]

With payment rarely consisting of more than a small daily ration of food or its monetary equivalent, money sent by friends and family members sustained the deportees. Such private funds reached a few Jews from Romania in the Crijopol ghetto.[5] Material support also arrived from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (CER) in the early months of 1943.[6]

Various censuses of Crijopol's Jews in 1943 gave similar results: around 1,200 local Ukrainian Jews and 74 Bessarabian and Bukovinian Jews. The March 1943 count of deported Jews in Transnistrian ghettos, requested by the delegation of the Relief Commission of CER (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare*) that visited Transnistria in January 1943, listed 1,300 people, including the local Ukrainian Jews.[7] A subsequent count of Jews deported from Romania on September 1, 1943, listed 74 Jews in Crijopol's ghetto. Of those, 23 Jews were from Bessarabia and 51 from Bukovina.[8] The Red Army recaptured Crijopol in March 1944 and freed the Jews.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Crijopol during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Kryzhopol," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas hakehilot:*

Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam hasheniyah (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 409–410; "Kryzhopol," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 216–217; "Kryzhopol," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 684; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986). For Soviet census information, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), pp. 23, 48.

Primary sources documenting the experience of Crijopol's Jews can be gleaned from the reports of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the extermination of the Jews of Crijopol. They are in GARF, file 7021-54-1265; DAVINO (files r2988-2-1, r2988-3-81, 84, 86); in DAOO (file r2255-1-1156, 1360, 1365, 1370); and YVA. At USHMMA, records of DAOO may be consulted for receipts of private funds sent to Romanian Jews held at Crijopol in RG-31.004M, reel 8, fond 2255, opis 1c, delo 1310, p. 202. For a list of Jews from the Crijopol raion sent to the military air base in Tiraspol, see RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 32, file 23, p. 111. For a survivor's testimony, see Georgiy Tabachnikov, *Vestnik: Vypusk 4. Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi; Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev* (Chernovtsy: Prut, 1995), pp. 61–63.

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NOTES

1. See note “2 October 1942,” Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 284.

2. See note “27 December 1942,” ibid., 3b: 289.

3. See “Tabel de evreii din Raionul Crijopol Jud. Jugastru care urmează să fie trimişi în conformitate cu ord. Direcţiunii Muncii din Guvernământul Transnistriei Nr. 82900/1943, în Corpul Aierian Tiraspol,” USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 32, file 23, p. 111, but see also the accompanying correspondence, pp. 105–111 (USHMMA, RG-31.001M/32/23).

4. See the letter, “Pretura Raionului Crijopol, 28 Iulie 1943, Deciziunea Nr. 11,” USHMMA, RG-31.011M/32/23, p. 632.

5. See “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Jabocrici (gara Crijopol, Jud. Jugastru),” USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 8, fond 2255, opis 1c, delo 1310, p. 202.

6. See the letter addressed by the Bureau’s president Dr. N. Gingold to the Crijopol’s prefect, February 20, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.011M/32/23, p. 91.

7. See “Tablou numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe,” Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348.

8. See “Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

CRIVOI OZERO

Crivoi Ozero (pre-1941: Krivoye-Ozero) is located some 152 kilometers (94 miles) northeast of Chişinău. According to the 1926 Soviet census, there were 3,917 Jews in the town, representing about 94 percent of the total population. In 1939, the Jewish community decreased to 1,447 (about 16 percent of the population). The decline in the number of Jews by almost 2,500 from 1927 to 1938 was due primarily to the resettlement of Jews in other cities and regions. Before World War II, many Jews worked in cooperatives or workshops and in a butter factory. There was a Yiddish school with 300 pupils, a library with a large Yiddish collection, and a Jewish *kolkhoz* (state collective farm) with 180 members.

The Germans occupied Crivoi Ozero on August 3, 1941. In the weeks preceding their arrival, a few Jews evacuated eastward farther into the Soviet Union, and men eligible for military service were conscripted into the Red Army. From October 1941 to March 1944, the town was a raion center in the Golta judeţ of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, having previously been a county seat. The Romanian administration romanianized the spelling to Crivoi Ozero (also spelled Crivoi-Oziero). Crivoi Ozero's military praetor was Elizeu Rozorea, and the local Gendarmes Legion commander was N. Constantinescu.

The first anti-Jewish German-perpetrated "Aktion" in Crivoi Ozero took place on September 5, 1941, when 42 Jews were arrested and shot.[1] Soon after that, those Jews remaining in the village were placed in a ghetto. In early November 1941, 1,500 Jews from Bessarabia were brought to Crivoi Ozero at the order of Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, the prefect of the Golta judeţ.[2] Isopescu retained some of the craftsmen among them to rebuild and renovate public buildings in Golta, but the rest were soon transferred to the Bogdanovca death camp where, alongside thousands of Ukrainian Jews, all were murdered through starvation, shooting, and being burnt alive.[3] The Crivoi Ozero

ghetto was liquidated on January 1, 1942, when 186 Jews were shot in the cemetery,[4] but it reopened as Bessarabian and Moldovan Jews arrived in 1942. Jews from Romania's Old Kingdom (Regat), from Bucharest and Piteşti, were among them.

Deportees worked on farms; in tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, tinsmithing, rope making, and hairdressing workshops—the so-called *ateliere*—and in a medical office, at restaurants, in the local hospital, and in various local Romanian administrative offices.[5] On July 8, 1943, there were 120 Jews working in these places.[6] Generally, they were paid in food, although there were cases when monetary payment was made.[7] In February 1942, 16 Jewish craftsmen were requested from the Bogdanovca camp to restore and renovate public buildings in Crivoi Ozero.

Typhus outbreaks in the ghetto threatened to infect the local population and the army. A Jewish physician, Samuil Herşcovici, who served in the Crivoi Ozero hospital, treated the Ukrainian population in the area from the autumn of 1942 onward. Ana Zaidel, a local Jew, was also a doctor in Crivoi Ozero.

On September 1, 1943, there were 106 Bessarabian Jews in the ghetto, in addition to local Jews.[8]

In October 1942, some 4,000 Roma (Gypsies) deportees from Romania were sent to the Crivoi Ozero raion. The same month, Prefect Isopescu ordered them to be dispersed in small groups throughout the Golta judeţ and to be fed half the regular amount of food that other people received, until work was found for them. Three hundred forty-two Roma were listed as being 20 to 40 years old and were slated to be used as agricultural workers.[9] However, finding work for them appeared to be an insurmountable problem for local authorities. Very few were employed in agriculture, so many Roma, lacking food, shelter, and clothes (especially winter clothes), resorted to thieving, robbery, and even killing. This greatly disturbed the locals, who saw them as a social plague brought on by the Romanians.[10] Infested with lice and typhus, marginalized Roma posed a health risk to the local communities as well. Occasionally, medical staff from the Crivoi Ozero hospital were dispatched to various villages in the judeţ where nomadic Roma were settled, such as Krasmenca village, to disinfect against lice.[11] The effort was inadequate to the scale of the problem, so

their suffering and death rates increased as a result of typhus and related illness.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Crivoi Ozero during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Crivoje-Ozero," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem:Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 507; "Krivoe Ozero," in Herman Branover et al., eds., *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2005), 5: 204–205; "Krivoye Ozero," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 684; "Krivoye Ozero," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 2006); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003). For a study of Romanian Gypsies during the Holocaust, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, vols. 1–2 (Bucharest: Editura Eciclopedică, 2004).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Crivoi Ozero can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-69-80), DAOO, DAMO, and YVA. At USHMMA, records of the DAMO contain correspondence about Jews and Roma between Prefect Isopescu and the Government of Transnistria, as well as between Isopescu and the military prosecutors in charge of Golta's raions: for example, RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 66 and opis 1, delo 77. Lists and tables of Jews employed in various workshops in Crivoi Ozero may also be found in the same collection, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 460, pp. 192–194; opis 1, delo 373, pp. 19–22. For a table of payments owed to Jews

in Crivoi Ozero, see in the same collection fond 2178, opis 1, delo 460, pp. 298–299. For a table of the names of Roma, aged 20 to 40, placed in Crivoi Ozero to work, see in the same collection fond 2178, opis 1, delo 374, pp. 74–79. Additional material on Crivoi Ozero may be found in DAOO, copied to USHMMA as RG-31.004M. Published primary sources may be found in Ancel, "The Romanian Campaigns of Mass Murder in Transnistria, 1941–1942," in Randolph L. Braham ed., *The Destruction of Romanian and Ukrainian Jews during the Antonescu Era* (Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1997), pp. 87–133.

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1. GARF, 7021-69-80, p. 74.

2. Personal report from Prefect Isopescu of Golta to the administration, concerning the Bogdanovca camp, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 66, p. 151 (USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/66, p. 151), reprinted in Ancel, *Transnistria*, 1: 588.

3. Report of Golta's Prefect, LTC Modest Isopescu, to Governor of Transnistria, Prof. Alexianu on November 13, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/66, p. 151 (and verso), republished in Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942, The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, p. 113.

4. GARF, 7021-69-80, p. 76.

5. See "Tabel I al evreilor pe categorii de profesii," March 23, 1943, issued by praetor Elizeu Rozorea, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/460, pp. 192–194.

6. See "Tabel nominal model Nr. 1 de utilizarea evreilor din Transnistria, Crivoi-Ozero," July 8, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2179/1/373, pp. 19–22.

7. See "Tabel nominal de evreii din Ghettourile Raionului Crivoi-Ozera încadraţi pentru salarizare în condiţiunile

localnicilor," USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/460, pp. 298–299 (but see also p. 297).

8. "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

9. See "Tabel nominal de Ţiganii plasaţi în raza Sectorului de Jandarmi Crivoi-Ozero în vârstă de 20-40 ani," USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/374, pp. 74–79.

10. See letter "Guvernământul Civil al Transnistriei, Prefectura Jud. Golta, Serviciul Administrativ, Către Guvernământul Transnistriei, Dir. Ad-ţiei şi Personalului, Odessa, 23 Iunie 1943, Golta," USHMMA, RG-31.008M /2178/1/77, p. 111, reprinted in Achim ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor*, 2: 217–218.

11. See the correspondence between the medical chief of Crivoi Ozero hospital and the medical bureau in Golta, December 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO) /2178 /1/460, p. 2.

CRUŞINOVCA

Cruşinovca (today: Krushynivka, Ukraine) is a township in Berşad raion, Balta judeţ, in Romanian-controlled Transnistria, located 60 kilometers (37 miles) north of Balta on the banks of the Bug River. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 274 Jews lived in the Berşad raion; some evacuated with the retreating Red Army in July 1941. A Romanian census from April 1943 put the total population of Cruşinovca at 2,008 persons, of whom there were 1,639 Ukrainians, 67 Jews, and 302 Roma.[1] A subsequent count, in January 1944, listed the resident population of Cruşinovca without deportees at 1,658 people (728 men and 930 women), consisting of 1,651 Ukrainians and 7 Russians.[2]

The German and Romanian armies occupied Berşad in August 1941. The Romanian administration took control of the Berşad area in September 1941, after a short period of German rule during which the local Jews were rounded up and placed in a building on a *kolkhoz* (state collective farm) used for a camp (*lagăr*). The new administration romanianized the town's name from Krushynovka to Cruşinovca and placed its affairs under the directorate of the Balta Prefecture. The prefect in the Balta judeţ was Colonel Vasile Nica, and his deputy prefect was Alex-andru Cojocaru. The praetor in Berşad raion was Constantin Alexandrescu, who was succeeded by Florin Bunea. The successive acting chiefs of Berşad's gendarmes post (*post de jandarmi*) were Plutonier Dumitru Bulatu, Plutonier Ion Năstase, and Subofiţer (noncommissioned officer) Covila Covata Serghie.

In addition to the local Jewish population, Bessarabian and Bukovinian deportees arriving in convoys in Berşad and Obodovca were also redirected and held at Cruşinovca (27 kilometers, or 17 miles, northeast of Obodovca) from the winter of 1941 to the spring of 1944. Of the 350 persons imprisoned in the camp, 275 died of hunger and disease (mostly typhus) in the bitterly cold winter of 1941. A census taken between July 1942 and April 1943 put the number of Jews in Cruşinovca at 60—13 men, 26 women,

and 21 children.[3]

Evidence is too scant to allow even a basic reconstruction of the prisoners' daily lives in the Cruşinovca camp. The chief of the Cruşinovca Jewish colony (*colonie*) was Mendel Finştein.[4] The doctor for the Cruşinovca area was Vladimir Borisov, a 24-year-old medical student at the Nalchik College of Medicine.[5]

The late November 1941 typhus outbreak in the area is well documented. Spreading from the Berşad and Obodovca raions to Balta, it affected the local population and gendarmes. In his letter to the Transnistrian Government's Health Service, Prefect Nica explained that the epidemic resulted from the "cruel fate [*soarta crudă*] that has befallen my county [*judeţul meu*] to have been chosen to shelter in the northern districts [*raioane*] around 30,000 Jews (20,000 in Berşad, and 10,000 in Obodovca), our enemies who in the beginning fought us with arms and now spread illness and death through typhus."[6] In the same report he requested that Balta's Jews be sent farther north and that the 2,500 prisoners of war (POWs) slated for Balta be sent elsewhere, so as to avoid spreading the disease.

Nica repeatedly blamed the Jews for what happened to "his" county. Following an inspection visit to Berşad on December 7, 1941—where 275 cases of typhus (11 in Cruşinovca) were recorded among the local Ukrainian population—the prefect wrote that "the bringing of Kikes [in Romanian, *Jidani*, a pejorative term for Jew] from Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Transnistria in these raions without prior delousing [*deparazitaţi şi desinfectaţi*]" caused the typhus outbreak.[7] Maior Dr. Gheorghe Filipaş and Dr. Vera Decuseară, chiefs of Balta's Medical Service, accompanied the prefect during his visit. Together, they laid out strict orders for combating the epidemic. Isolating Jews from the rest of the population, separating the infected from the healthy population, setting up communal showers, and closing down markets and schools were among the instructions given.

In March 1943, 302 deported Roma were transferred to Cruşinovca and were situated on the outskirts of town. They were sent there to work as skilled and unskilled laborers in agriculture and as gatherers of recyclable materials (paper, metal, and animal products). However, many lacked shoes and warm clothes for

outside work. In addition, there were no food provisions for them. Lacking basic necessities, they were destined to perish. Seeing that the Roma were not useful to the Berşad raion's economy, Praetor Florin Bunea characterized them as a "burden too heavy to bear" and asked the prefect for further instructions, meanwhile leaving them completely on their own.[8] The praetor's failed attempts to keep the Roma working in the spring and summer months of 1943 led to onerous measures imposed by the Romanians, and some Roma resorted to running away or thievery to survive. He blamed the Roma for being fugitives, bandits, and lazy, refusing to work the land allotted them and preferring instead to steal from the raion's fields of corn, cabbage, and potatoes.[9]

The reality differed from such stereotypes. Although some Roma resorted to theft and deserted their workplaces, most tried to make a living in Cruşinovca. By the autumn of 1943, seeing that their living conditions were likely to remain extremely harsh and their food insufficient, especially over the approaching winter months, and deprived of their traditional carts and horses (which had been stolen on their arrival in Transnistria) that could offer some hope of employment, Roma sought independent work in other raions. Risking their lives, many tried to reenter Romania or at least to move farther inland to enjoy a better life, only to be rearrested and redeported.

On life in Cruşinovca under the occupation, a Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report concluded as follows:

> While the Romanian authorities were in the village of Krushinovka, from 25 July 1941 to 14 March 1944, severe, inhumane conditions for civilians were created by representatives of the Romanian government; 275 innocent people died from systematic torture, with those suspected of something being isolated in a special room [camp]. For the camps there have been set aside temporary premises [pigsties] without windows and doors and no heating. Persons in the detention centers [in the camp] were absolutely not allowed any food, [and] not allowed any contact with the surrounding population who tried to help them. People of Jewish nationality were in these camps/prisons.[10]

SOURCES Information about the fate of Cruşinovca's Jews during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: "Krushinovka," in A. Kruglov, *The Catastrophe of Ukrainian Jews, 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 176; "Krushinovka," in *Rossiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 216; and "Krushinovka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moskow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 482; for the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 49; for general discussions, see Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască 1933–1944*, vol. 2 (pt. 1) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); for Roma during the Holocaust, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Archival sources documenting the fate of Cruşinovca's Jews and Roma during the Holocaust are available at USHMMA, in the records of DAOO (RG-31.004) and GARF (RG-22.002M). For population figures in the Berşad raion, including the Jewish population, see RG-31.004, reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, pp. 11, 23–26, 42; reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 675, p. 17; and reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 695, p. 144 (and verso); for members of Balta's Jewish Labor Bureau and local Jewish committees, see in the same collection reel 16, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 72 (and verso); for the Romanian authorities' formal correspondence regarding the situation of Roma in Cruşinovca, see in the same collection reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 672, pp. 20 (and verso), 27 (and verso), and 28 (and verso). A fragmentary

ChGK report can be found in RG-22.002M, reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 43.

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NOTES

1. "Tabel de numărul populaţiei ce compune raionul Berşad," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, p. 11 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/17/2358/1/711, with page).

2. "Situaţia populaţiei din Raionul Berşad pe naţionalităţi şi categorii," RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/675, n.p.

3. See "Numărul evreilor din Jud. Balta pe raioane," RG-31.004M/17/2358/1/717, p. 42.

4. See "Tabel de membrii Biroului de organiz. a Muncii Evreilor din Jud. Balta şi a Comitetelor evreieşti din Jud. Balta pe data de 1 Septembrie 1943," RG-31.004M/16/2242/1/1562, p. 72 (and verso).

5. See "Serviciul Sanitar al Judeţului Balta, Tabel Nominal al Medicilor Incadraţi in Organizarea Sanitară a Judeţului Balta," RG-31.004M/17/2358/1/717, pp. 23–26 (esp. p. 25).

6. See "Prefectura Judeţului Balta Către Guvernământul Transnistriei, Dir. Sanitară," December 5, 1941, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/695, p. 144 (and verso).

7. See "Proces Verbal, Astăzi 7 Decembrie 1941," RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/695, pp. 142–143.

8. See "Pretura Raionului Berşad Nr. 1293 Către Prefectura Judeţului Balta, Biroul Muncii," March 18, 1943, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/672, p. 28, reproduced in Achim, *Documente Privind Istoria Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2: 151–152.

9. See "Pretura Raionului Berşad Nr. 5762 Către Prefectura Judeţului Balta," January 18, 1944, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/672, p. 27, reproduced in Achim,

Documente Privind Istoria Ţiganilor în Transnistria, 2: 425–426 (but see also 2: 402–403).

10. ChGK report, April 13, 1945, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 43.

CUCAVCA

Cucavca (pre-1941 and today: Kukavka) is located in the Moghilev-Podolsk raion, Moghilev judeţ, as part of the Romanian governorship of Transnistria. Cucavca is about 16 kilometers (10 miles) northwest of Moghilev-Podolsk. German forces occupied the village on July 19, 1941. From September 1941 to March 1944, Romanian authorities administered the village after renaming it Cucavca.

A ghetto was created in Cucavca in late 1941 to hold several hundred Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina who had been deported to Transnistria by the Romanian authorities. The ghetto's conditions are difficult to reconstruct in the absence of survivors' testimonies or other evidence, but it can be safely assumed that extreme cold, hunger, and typhus epidemics, which ravaged the Moghilev-Podolsk raion in the winter of 1941–1942, took their toll on the Cucavca ghetto as well. It is also highly probable that Jews detained in this ghetto undertook forced labor, as was common in most, if not all, of the Jewish ghettos in Transnistria. Financial records (lists and receipts of money transfers and collections) indicate that money from relatives and friends in Romania reached the ghetto from as early as December 1942.[1] Private funds for deportees continued to arrive well into the spring of 1943.[2] The funds for deportees in Cucavca were managed by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER). Once sent to Transnistria, it was the responsibility of local Jewish officials to oversee the distribution of these funds. Both the president of the Jewish Council for the Moghilev judeţ, Ingeneer Siegfried Jägendorf, and the Chief of Payments Bureau, Max Schulsinger, closely monitored money allocation for the Cucavca ghetto in 1942–1943.

The ghetto appears in various lists created by the Romanian administration and CER. In addition to sending out private funds, CER sent financial and material aid in the spring of 1943 to the Jews housed in Cucavca. The number of survivors in the spring of

1943, when life in the ghettos throughout Transnistria improved, was 238 Jews. This figure probably also includes members of the local Ukrainian Jewish population.[3] On September 1, 1943, there remained 184 Jews in the ghetto, most likely excluding local Jews.[4]

SOURCES General information about the ghetto of Cucavca can be found in the following publications: "Cucavca," in Jean Ancel et al., eds. *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah,* vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969); and "Kykabka," in *Rossiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 230. Statistical information can be found in Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucureşti: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources at the USHMM archive contain mostly financial information. For receipts of money transfers, dated 1943, see the following records in USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO): reel 12, fond 2255, opis 1, 1400, n.p.; and opis 1, 1403, n.p.; for a list of financial transfers to Cucavca from late 1942, see reel 10, fond 2253, opis 1, 1179, n.p.

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1. See "Borderou Nr. 259 asupra plăţilor efectuate în Judeţul Moghilev în ziua de 22 Decemvrie 1942 în oraşul Moghilev," USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 10, fond 2252, opis 1, 1179, n.p.; USHMMA, RG-31.004M/10/2252/1, 1179, n.p.

2. See “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Kukavka (Jud. Moghilev),” dated January 27, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/12/2255/1, 1400, n.p.; “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Cucavca (Jud. Moghilev),” March 8, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/12/2255/1, 1400, n.p.; and, finally, “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Kukavca (Jud. Moghilev),” April 17, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/12/2255/1, 1403, n.p.

3. See “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.

4. See “Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

CUZMINŢI

Cuzminţi, a village in the Balki raion in the Moghilev judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Kuz'myntsi, Ukraine), is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) north-northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. A handful of Jews lived in Cuzminţi in 1939 (census data for this village were not available).

The German and Romanian armies overran Cuzminţi in the second part of July 1941. After a short period of German military occupation, during which time the local Jews were persecuted, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. However, the presence of German authorities in and around Cuzminţi continued well after the transfer of authority.[1] The praetor in the Balki raion was Ştefan Tăutu. The village's name was romanianized from Kuzmintsy to Cuzminţi (also occasionally spelled Cuzminţ or Cuzmineţ), and the raion became known as Balchi.

The Jews deported from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia in the summer of 1941 arrived in Cuzminţi in October and November 1941. The majority of them entered Transnistria via the Atachi crossing point over the Dniester River and made a short stop in Moghilev-Podolsk, before being marched farther northeast toward the Bug River. The convoys of deportees were robbed of many of their possessions at the entry point into Transnistria, as well as en route to the deportation site, adding substantially to their misery. Once in Cuzminţi, the deportees were placed on the grounds of the local *kolkhoz* (state collective farm) in its dilapidated structures. It was there that they spent the first winter, which proved deadly for many. In the spring of 1942, the survivors were allowed to move into the village and rent rooms, located along a few streets in an area designated as a ghetto. Multiple families shared a single room.[2]

According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, 175 Jews deported from Romania were living in Cuzminţi in October 1942.[3] According to an estimate by

Siegfried Jägendorf, president of the Moghilev Jewish Council, 50 percent of the deported Jews in the Moghilev district perished during the winter of 1941 from cold, hunger, and typhus. It can be assumed, then, that the number of Jews in Cuzminţi at the end of the 1941 deportations was probably close to 350 or more.[4] Indeed, it is claimed that, because of extreme cold and hunger, some 250 Jews perished in the ghetto.[5]

Life in the guarded ghetto was filled with restrictions. Leaving the ghetto without permission was severely punished. Wearing the yellow star became obligatory. All able-bodied men were taken to forced labor, in agriculture as well as providing personal services to authorities. Bribery and barter became essential means of survival. The Romanian local administration, which was their employer, owed them payment for their work, but such payment was delayed (if paid at all).[6]

The Cuzminţi ghetto housed both Ukrainian Jews deported from other parts of Transnistria and Jews deported from Romania. On September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 128 (80 from Bessarabia and 48 from Bukovina) Jews in the ghetto.[7] The repatriation of Jews deported from Romania began at the end of 1943, first with the Jews originally from Dorohoi and the Regat, along with orphaned children and a few other special categories of Jews (for example, former state functionaries, World War I veterans, and widows). A few adult Jews and a few orphaned children from the Cuzminţi ghetto qualified for this early return. The rest remained in place. The ghetto was liberated by the Red Army at the end of March 1944. Some Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, whereas others made the dangerous journey back to Romania.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Cuzminţi can be found in the following publications: "Cuzminti," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 499; "Kuzmintsy," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 491;

"Kuzmintsy," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 178; "Kuzmintsy," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 229; and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2:8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Cuzminţi can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). Of special interest is collection GARF (RG-22.002M), reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1273, which covers atrocities committed against the Jews in the Bar region of Ukraine. Lists containing the names of some of the Jews held in the Cuzminţi ghetto are available at YVA, as DAVINO, fond 2988, opis 3, delo 84, pp. 183–189. VHA holds eight survivor testimonies in three languages (Spanish, Russian, and Hebrew)

from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

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NOTES

1. VHA #50033, Aleksei Brik testimony, October 10, 1998.
2. VHA #17037, Nunia Coga testimony, July 9, 1996.
3. USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10, Problem 33, vol. 20, p. 281.
4. Jägendorf memorandum, September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289 (esp. p. 265). The deaths of many due to typhus are also attested by the VHA #39976, 'Evgenyah Grosman testimony, January 13, 1998; and VHA #45991, Sarah Shapir'a testimony, July 6, 1998.
5. "Kuzmintsy," in Altman, *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR*, p. 491.
6. VHA #39976.
7. For the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

DEREBCIN

Derebcin (pre-1941, Derebchin; today: Derebchyn, Ukraine) is located some 58 kilometers (36 miles) north of Iampol in the Şargorod raion, Moghilev judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. German and Romanian forces occupied the village on July 22, 1941. In the weeks preceding their arrival, some Jews were able to relocate eastward, and others were drafted into the Red Army. After a brief period of German rule, the village's administration was handed over to the Romanian army, which governed from September 1941 to March 1944 and romanianized its name to Derebcin.

A ghetto was established in the village in the summer of 1941 before the local Jewish population was shot by the German soldiers. On June 30, 1942, some Jews from Bukovina and Bessarabia, who had been deported to Şargorod by the Romanian authorities as early as November 1941, were resettled in Derebcin.[1] Among the Jewish women moved to the Derebcin ghetto were widows of fallen Jewish soldiers who had served in the Romanian Amy in World War I.[2] Marcus Hofer was the chief of the ghetto.

Most of the Jews in Derebcin worked in a local factory before it was shut down. After the factory's closure, there was no work left for them to do. Private sums of money sent by family and friends that reached those deported to Derebcin were extremely vital to survival, in the absence of work earnings.[3] However, only a few received money from home, so most endured long periods of hunger, which led to various illnesses.

According to the records of Fred Şaraga, a key member of the delegation from the Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER), which visited Transnistria with the permission of the Romanian government in January 1943, there were 200 Jews in the ghetto at that time. (A figure of 285 Jews

appeared in the March 1943 count.[4]) The delegation left a sum of 500 RKKS (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, German-issued scrip) to start a ghetto canteen where free food was offered to the poorest, the sick, children, and the elderly.[5]

On September 1, 1943, there were 307 people living in the ghetto (3 from Bessarabia and 304 from Bukovina).[6] On January 20, 1944, the Germans murdered nine Jewish deportees and two local Jews; others were robbed and tortured.[7] On March 11, another 11 Jews were shot dead.[8] Later that month, the ghetto was closed.

SOURCES Information about the life and persecution of Jews in Derebcin may be found in the following publications: "Derebchin," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 378; "Derebchin," in Gary Mokotoff et al., eds., *Where We Once Walked: A Guide to the Jewish Communities Destroyed in the Holocaust* (Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu, 2002), p. 77; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee; published in association with USHMM, 2000). Information about the massacre of Derebcin's Jews in the summer of 1941 is available at www.iajgsjewishcemeteryproject.org/ukraine/derebchin.html. This information needs further corroboration.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Derebcin can be found in the following archive: GARF (7021-54-1256). USHMMA holds the records of DAOO with dispositions of payments for Jews from the government's account:

RG-31.004M, reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1504, n.p; in the same records, a list of Jewish widows of Romania's battles during World War I deported to Derebcin may also be found in reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 15, p. 292. Fred Şaraga's report on Derebcin may be consulted at USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 131–132.

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NOTES

1. See entry "30 Iunie 1942," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră,* 3b: 276.

2. See "Tabel nominal de evreicele, care sunt văduve de războiu, aflate în ghetourile din raza acestei legiuni," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 15, p. 292 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/15, p. 292).

3. See list "Cu onoare vă rugăm să binevoiţi a dispune să se plătească în contul Guvernământului, următoarele sume în R.K.K.S, evreilor indicaţi mai jos şi să ni se trimită chitanţele de predarea sumelor, pentru a se ordonanţa sumele pe seama acelei Prefecturi şi da descărcare," dated May 25, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/5/2242/1/1504, n.p.

4. See "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents,* 5: 345.

5. See Fred Şaraga's final report, "Raportul Oficial al Comisiunii Evreieşti care a fost în Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 131–132.

6. "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

7. See entry "20 Ianuarie 1944," in ibid., 3b: 305.

8. GARF, 7021-54-1256, p. 111.

DJURIN

Djurin (today: Dzhuryn, Ukraine), a village in Şargorod raion, Moghilev judeţ, in the northwestern area of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) north of Iampol. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,027 Jews living in Djurin, representing almost 19 percent of the population.

German forces occupied the village on July 22, 1941, one month after the joint German-Romanian invasion of the USSR. During the intervening time, a few Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men eligible for military service had been drafted into the Red Army. Around 800 Jews remained under the occupation.

In the first few days of the war, Djurin was subjected to bombardment, in which about a dozen people were wounded or killed. The synagogue was damaged as well. During this time the village peasants robbed a ware house and Jewish shops in the village. Immediately after the German occupation of the village, the Jews were ordered to mark their homes with the Star of David and to wear a special armband. On the holiday of Rosh Hashanah (or possibly on Yom Kippur)—that is, at some point in late September 1941—the Germans and Romanians, together with members of the Ukrainian police, burst into the synagogue and beat those who were praying.

The Romanian administration took control of Djurin in the fall of 1941, romanianizing the name of the village from Dzhurin to Djurin. It established a ghetto incorporating Jewish-owned houses from the upper part of the village. Around 3,500 Jews were deported to Djurin from Bukovina (from places such as Vizhnitsa, Khotin, Radauts, and Suchava), as well as from small Bessarabian towns near Khotin. Among those deported was Rabbi Barukh Khager of Vizhnitsa. Following local Rabbi Gershel Koralnik's instructions, the Jews of Djurin took the deportees into their homes; around 1,000 people, for whom there were not enough rooms, were housed in the synagogue and in people's barns and

ware houses. Bukovinian Jews were generally more prosperous and well educated than the local Jews. Around 120 of the wealthier Bukovinian families settled outside the ghetto in private homes, after bribing the occupation leadership. The first year in Djurin was very difficult; every one, wealthy or not, fought against hunger, extreme cold in the winter of 1941, and poor sanitary conditions. Some did not survive.

A Jewish Council for Djurin was organized in the spring of 1942. Max Rosenstrauch, an attorney from Suchava (a city in southern Bukovina), was appointed its chairman. His deputy—and the real manager of the ghetto—was Moses Katz. The Council imposed taxes on income derived by Jews from crafts and trade, as well as on private monies received from Romania. A Jewish police force of 20 men was formed, along with a court. The ghetto founded a hospital with 56 beds, a staff of 2 doctors and 3 nurses, a medical center for consultations, and a pharmacy. Resettled Jewish doctors ran the hospital, and their skilled work substantially lowered the mortality rate from the typhus epidemic that broke out in the ghetto in 1942. Still, in the absence of medication, typhus claimed 400 lives.

With the help of bribes, the ghetto leaders softened many restrictions and even avoided further deportations to the Bug. A food kitchen for the poor, started by Rabbi Barukh Hager, functioned in the ghetto, serving one warm meal each day.

The Romanian authorities deployed Djurin's Jews in agriculture and road building. In the summer of 1942, some 500 Jews worked in the fields, for which they were entitled to receive 20 train wagons of grains; instead they received only one wagon. From June to September 1942, they also worked on paving the Murafa-Iaroshinca Road. Until February 1943, they also undertook various public works. Payment received, in the form of barley and peas, represented hardly 20 percent of what they were owed.[1] Some fortunate families received money and packages (clothes, shoes, and other personal items) from friends and family remaining behind in Romania, which aided in their survival.[2] However, packages were occasionally intercepted, and some goods were stolen from them.[3]

Between May and September 1943, four former students who

had been working in the ghetto hospital published a handwritten newspaper, *Courier*, in Romanian (*Curier*) and German (*Kurier*). When the occupation authorities learned about this, the Jewish Council quickly ordered the publication to cease.

In January 1943, a delegation from the Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews in Bucharest (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER) visited the ghetto in Djurin, as well as ghettos in other localities in Transnistria. The delegation found 4,050 Jews in the ghetto: 3,053 Bessarabian and Bukovinian Jews, and 997 Ukrainian Jews. (A smaller number of 2,930 Jews was provided in the March 1943 count; the discrepancy may reflect a change in the number of Bessarabian and Bukovinian deportees only).[4] There were also 249 orphan children, of whom 51 children had lost both parents, 155 were without fathers, and 43 were without mothers. No orphanage was formed; instead the orphans were housed with families that received aid in exchange for caring for them. The delegation donated a sum of 5,000 RKKS (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, German-issued scrip) to support social projects.[5]

In May 1943, 150 Jews from Djurin were sent away to work on the bridge across the Bug River at Trihati.[6] Among them were sick people, suffering from various diseases, such as tuberculosis and epilepsy.[7] They worked 14 to 15 hours per day, receiving only one meal per day and 200 grams of bread as payment.

On September 1, 1943, the ghetto held 2,871 Jews (381 from Bessarabia and 2,490 from Bukovina), not counting the local Jews.[8]

The Red Army liberated Djurin on March 19, 1944.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Djurin during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Martin Hass, "Djurin," in Hugo Gold, ed., *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina* (Tel Aviv: "Olamenu," 1962), p. 76; "Djurin," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 421; Wulf

Rosenstock, "Die Chronik von Dschurin: Aufzeichnungen aus einem rumänischdeutschen Lager," *DH* V (1998): 40–86; "Dzhurin," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 351; and "Dzhurin," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 381; for Soviet census data, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47; for other historical information, see Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Djurin can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1256); DAVINO; DAOO (r2255-1-1180, 1359, 1360, 1362–1366, 1369–1372, 1374–1377, 1400, 1403, 1407, 1408, 1412; r2264-1-8, 15); and YVA. At USHMMA, records of private funds and packages sent from Romania to friends and relatives deported to Djurin can be found in RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1564, p. 118; reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1494, p. 170; and reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 15, p. 130. For a list of ill Jews from Djurin assigned to bridge building in Trihati across the Bug River, see in the same collection reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1502, p. 244. Fred Şaraga's report on Djurin can be found at USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 130–131. Mirjam Korber's diary, reflecting her

experience as a young Romanian Jew deported to Djurin, is available at USHMMA, Acc. No. 2010.93.

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NOTES

1. See "Biroul Muncii Evreeşti al Raionului Şargorod, Situaţia zilelor de muncă prestată de coloniile evreeeşti ale Raionului (oraşului) Şargorod, până la 30 Aprilie 1943 (plătite în alimente la valoarea de 1-2 RKKS de persoană pe zi)," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 381–382.

2. For money, see "Tabel de reminterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Djurin (jud. Moghilev)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1564, p. 118; and "Tabel de reminterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Djurin (jud. Moghilev)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1494, p. 170 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/4/2242/1/1494/170); for parcels, see "Tabel nominal asupra predării efectelor trimise de către Oficiul Judeţean al Evreilor Cernăuţi pentru evreii din Djurin cu borderoul Nr. 4," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 15, p. 130 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M /13/2264/1/15/130).

3. See legal declaration of goods found missing from packages made between the chief of Djurin ghetto and the chief of Gendarme's local office: "Proces Verbal," dated November 19, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/8/108–109.

4. See "Tablou numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.

5. See Fred Şaraga's final report, "Raportul Oficial al Comisiunii Evreieşti care a fost în Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 130–131.

6. See entry "7 Mai 1943," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 294.

7. See "Firma de Constructii in Beton S.A., Podul Bug de la

Trichaty, Lucratorii evrei inapţi pentru lucru," dated August 11, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/4/2242/1/1502/244.

8. "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

DOAGA

Doaga is a village in the Putna judeţ (today: Vrancea judeţ), in the province of Moldavia, in eastern Romania near the Siret River. It is 181 kilometers (113 miles) northeast of Bucharest, 150 kilometers (93 miles) south of Iaşi, and 180 kilometers (112 miles) southwest of Chişinău. Administered by the 5th Pioneer Regiment and later the 6th Roads Battalion, the camp was subsequently incorporated into the 1st Rear Area Command. A complement of 32 officers, 41 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and 501 soldiers was assigned to the camp.[1] The camp's administrative center was originally based near the camp, in Bălţăreţi village (today: this area is near or incorporated into the village of Satu Nou). Officers (and occasionally Jewish medical staff) were quartered in the nearby commune of Cosmeşti.

A labor camp for Jews existed in Doaga from late 1940 or early 1941. The first Jewish forced laborers built the camp from scratch, after digging partially in-ground huts as shelter.[2] Over the next months, a number of large barracks—25 meters (82 feet) long and designed to hold 100 people—were built, in addition to storage halls and lavatories. The barracks were overcrowded, poorly lit, very drafty, and unhygienic. Periodically, new contingents of freshly drafted laborers arrived that exceeded the camp's capacity, and so they had to be placed outside the camp in barracks belonging to other institutions. This situation persisted well into 1944.[3] Workers slept in their own clothes on the ground, atop straw and paper covered with blankets; later on, some slept on wooden, tiered beds. In addition to a barbed-wire fence surrounding the camp, elevated watchtowers marked the camp's corners. Machine guns and mobile searchlights were mounted on each watchtower. A group of armed soldiers guarded the camp and patrolled its fences, preventing anyone from approaching the fence. Near the camp for Jews was another camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). This camp was heavily guarded by Ukrainian soldiers dressed in German uniforms and was run

completely by the German authorities.

The Jews were brought to the Doaga camp from all over the Old Kingdom of Romania. The number of Jews in the camp varied greatly over the course of its existence. Between 1940 and 1941, thousands of Jews stayed temporarily in the camp on their way to labor camps belonging to other military and civilian institutions. Estimates for this period are as high as 20,000 or 25,000 Jews, but much smaller numbers, somewhere in the region of 2,500, were typical for the later period from 1942 to 1944.[4] Because of the hard labor involved, the Doaga camp deployed only able-bodied men between the ages of 20 and 40. According to the Romanian Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM), there were 1,697 Jews in the camp on August 23, 1944, but the number fluctuated, as in previous years. The forced laborers included professionals and both skilled (*meseriaşi*) and unskilled (*salahori*) laborers.[5]

The camp internees worked in a concrete plant in Doaga that exploited the Siret Valley's rich sandy deposits. The association with the factory gave Doaga its alternative camp name, the Concrete Beams Brigade (*Detaşamentul de Grinzi Beton*). Jews and Soviet POWs provided cheap labor, producing prefabricated concrete products needed for the war effort. Freight trains transported raw materials and products to and from Doaga. On these trains' arrivals, the forced laborers were immediately dispatched, day or night, to unload or load them.

The camp had a small infirmary to which several Jews with medical training were assigned. Large ovens existed for delousing, but their effectiveness in combating lice was reduced because most laborers lacked a second change of clothes and the barracks were not disinfected. Fortunately there were no deaths from epidemics. However, fatal work accidents were common.[6]

The labor was rough: mixing, carrying, and pouring cement; loading, unloading, and moving heavy concrete beams and cement bags; and gathering and transporting gravel from the Siret River. Those failing to meet work quotas received lashes with a leather belt on their backs. The Jewish forced laborers were routinely threatened with beating and insulted to make them work faster.[7] A sergeant named Codrescu was notorious for hitting forced laborers

with a shovel. Work began at 6:00 A.M. and lasted nine hours, with extended hours in summer (and occasional night shifts), six days a week. Jewish cooks prepared the forced laborers' rations, which consisted of soup and bread or cornmeal once a day. In 1944, these rations were supplemented by tea and a second slice of bread in the morning and evening. Additional supplies from personal funds, local Jewish relief offices, and, occasionally, friendly villagers eased the usual hunger.

Some cultural life existed in the camp. An orchestra consisting of a few instruments (violin, guitar, accordion, and flute) performed music. The Jews composed songs parodying the forced laborers' experience at Doaga: "In Doaga, in Doaga we have our beating/Yet beating from heaven is broken/The guard lashes your bottom/If you're caught lazing around/[second stanza] Doaga, Doaga what a site!/I work without ceasing, but do not despair/ Should I one day a baron become/The Concrete Beams Brigade/I shall never forget."[8] Other songs spoke of the Jews' resilience: "We are Jewish workers, hoivei, hoivei/And we work like lions, hoivei, hoivei."[9] The Jews also quietly observed the High Holidays.

Escapes occurred, but such attempts always carried the risk of being shot. Often a fugitive would board a freight train at Doaga and hide until reaching the nearest town or city, such as Focşani or Galaţi. After reaching an outside contact and resting a short while, he would sneak back to camp, bringing what he got from the outside, such as money or letters. If caught reentering, the fugitive faced 25 lashes on his naked buttocks. Although painful and humiliating, it was preferable to being listed as a deserter, which brought the risk of court-martial.[10]

In February 1944, the MSM issued recruitment instructions that targeted new groups of Jews for forced labor in the Doaga camp: younger adults (18 to 19 years old), Jews from among those whose permits had been previously canceled by a review commission, and others fit only for light work. Army recruitment centers in Covurlui, Tecuci, Putna, Tutova, Vaslui, and Fălciu, and even as far away as Bucharest, drafted Jews for the Doaga camp. The new Jews were housed in isolated buildings or huts, away from locals, and were instructed to bring with them warm clothes, a blanket, a pillow, a bowl, and a spoon. Regarding compensation, MSM's

order was typically vague: "the rights (payment) of the Jews will be covered through the care of the superior directorate and the Corps Command, according to future orders that will be issued."[11] This practice translated either into nonpayment or payment of an insignificant amount (2 lei per day).

On August 23, 1944, when Romania switched sides and entered the war against Nazi Germany and its allies, the Doaga camp officers fled, leaving a few soldiers at their posts. Some camp authorities had tacitly encouraged their Jewish assistants to escape even earlier, but most of the Jews walked out when the officers fled.[12] A few days later, amid bombing raids, the Red Army freed the remaining forced laborers at Doaga. In the ensuing chaos, some workers seized a low-ranking camp official. In survivor testimony, the identity and fate of that official remain unclear.[13]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Doaga camp are Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jewish forced laborers held in the Doaga camp are available at USHMMA, records AMAN (RG-25.003M). Graphic representation of the national system of forced labor for Jews is available as RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86. VHA contains 12 testimonies (in five languages) from Jewish survivors of the Doaga camp.

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NOTES

1. General overview of labor camps for Jews on August 23, 1944: "Situaţia generală a detaşamentelor de evrei," USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 272, file 4575, p. 376.

2. VHA #16852, Allen Feig testimony, June 30, 1996.

3. See the report following the camp inspection by General de brigadă Gheorge Mosiu, chief of MSM, CGE, July 3, 1944, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 311, file 801, pp. 188 (and verso).

4. VHA #16852.

5. "Situaţia generală a detaşamentelor de evrei," August 23, 1944, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 272, file 4575, p. 376. Additional figures (and name lists) derived from databases assembled by army territorial centers surrounding Doaga are scattered among various archival collections. See, for instance, RG-25.003M, reel 311, file 801, pp. 126; file 1181, pp. 84, 88 (name list); reel 312, file 1188, pp. 201–206, 265; file 1219, p. 46 (name list), 122; file 1223, p. 46.

6. See interview with Doaga camp survivor, Ştefan Arde-lean, November 6, 2008, available at www.inshr-ew.ro/media/interviuri/interviu-ardenean-stefan.

7. VHA #50196, Bica Bercovici testimony, September 22, 1999.

8. VHA #34710, Israel Feldman testimony, October 28, 1997.

9. VHA #50196.

10. VHA #34710; and VHA #16852.

11. See retransmitted excerpts from MSM Order No. 439507, February 18, 1944, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 311, file 801, pp. 149–150.

12. VHA #13075, Hugo Garin testimony, March 12, 1996; and VHA #21884, Lucian Herdan Seuger testimony, November 18, 1996.

13. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0071, William Farkas testimony, April 27, 1990.

DOMANOVCA

Domanovca, the Domanovca raion capital in the Golta judeţ (pre-1941: Domanevka; today: Ukraine), in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is situated near the Bug River. It is located 131 kilometers (81 miles) north of Odessa. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 369 Jews living in Domanovca, representing 16.9 percent of the town-ship's population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Domanovca on August 5, 1941, and the town was then annexed to Romania's part of Transnistria in September 1941. The Romanian civil administration took over in October 1941, with the appointment of gendarme Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu as Golta's prefect. The town's name was romanianized as Domanovca (variously, Domanivca and Domaniovca). Isopescu appointed former Siguranţa (Romanian Secret Police) officer Aristide Pădure as deputy in charge of Jewish affairs; Nicolae S. Ursu succeeded Pădure. Căpitan Romulus Ambruş commanded Golta's Gendarmes Legion. Corneliu Ciureanu headed Golta's labor deployment, and Locotenent Ion Ştefănescu was Golta's police chief. Domanovca's police chief was Mihail Kazachevici. Vasile Mănescu was Domanovca's praetor, whereas Locotenent Petre Găletaru was Domanovca's gendarme commander. The decisions of these functionaries directly affected the treatment of the Jews and Roma (Gypsies) in Golta's raions.

After the mistreatment of the local Ukrainian Jewish population by the German authorities, convoys of deported Jews from Bessarabia (including Chişinău) and southern Transnistria (including Odessa) streamed into Domanovca starting in late October and early November 1941. Many had been robbed and abused en route by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian and German militias. A temporary camp (*lagăr*) was created in Domanovca out of the facilities (cowsheds) of several impoverished *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes* (collective state farms).

In addition, houses on Lenin Street, the local synagogue, and several other buildings held Jews. Although the area was not fenced in, Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian policemen stood guard. By early December 1941, the camp exceeded its capacity many times over. Overcrowding spawned typhus and dysentery that, coupled with severe malnutrition and cold temperatures, killed many Jews and endangered locals and military personnel. On January 10, 1942, on the pretext of containing epidemics and protecting the army against infection, Isopescu ordered the murder of the 18,000 Jews held at the Domanovca camp, an order forwarded by Pădure to Găletaru and Kazachevici for implementation. The victims were first robbed of their valuables. Then they were shot in groups of 200 or more, a process which lasted until March 18, 1942. The bodies were burned and buried in a ravine near the Bug River, a few kilometers from the camp.

Subsequent Jewish convoys from Romania and Transnistria arrived in Domanovca. The Jewish camp's leaders set aside a small building for an orphanage and another for a prison. From mid-1942 to mid-1943, able-bodied and skilled Jews worked on several raion kolkhozes and sovkhozes.[1] There were 261 Jewish heads of house hold in the Domanovca gendarmes sector and 67 Jews "ready for work" (*apţi pentru muncă*) in August 1943.[2]

Isopescu laid down strict "instructions" for Jewish labor deployment, ordering all Jews to display the Star of David on their front and back.[3] Jewish workers received daily rations in exchange for German-issued scrip (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS), according to Ordinance 23 of November 11, 1941.[4] Given the typhus threat, the Romanian administration deployed local and Romanian Jewish medical teams to control the disease.[5] A Domanovca hospital where Jewish doctors worked deloused local non-Jews.[6]

The interests of Golta's Jews were represented by the Jewish Leadership Committee for all Jews in the Golta judeţ (*Comitetul de conducere al tuturor evreilor in Judetul Golta*). Its members were Alfred Follender, Avram Creştinu, Aladar Brauch, Avram Lupescu, and Iţic Cohn. With the exception of Cohn, the same leaders also formed the county's Jewish labor committee (to which Aldred Blumental was added).[7] Some of Domanovca's Jews

received private aid from family members still in Romania.[8] The Romanian Red Cross delivered mail to Domenovca's Jewish committee in November 1943.[9]

In August 1942, more than 8,000 deported Roma from Romania were placed in the Domanovca raion. Of these, 478 were placed in Domanovca township, of which 191 were able-bodied Roma between 20 and 40 years of age.[10] Living conditions and food allocations deteriorated in the summer of 1943, because the Romanian authorities lacked the funds and means to feed the deportees, leading to many deaths from starvation and disease. Although some Roma worked as unskilled agricultural laborers, unemployment was rampant. Without a constant source of income (even those working waited months for pay), many Roma fled or resorted to theft and fraud. Among Domanovca's Jewish and Roma deportees were decorated and/or wounded veterans of World War I; in some cases, family members of Roma deportees were active and decorated soldiers fighting at that time on the Eastern Front.[11]

According to the September 1943 count, there were 124 Jews in Domanovca (120 from Bessarabia and 4 from Bukovina), not counting local Jews.[12] Domanovca was liberated in March 1944.

In April and May 1945, the People's Tribunal in Bucharest tried Isopescu, Pădure, Mănescu, Ambruş, and Golta's Jewish leader Creştinu for crimes against Jews, Roma, and the local population. All were sentenced to many years of hard labor.[13]

SOURCES Information about the fate of Domanovca's Jews and Roma can be found in the following publications: "Domanevka," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 321; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld

Foundation, 1986); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004). For the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), 53.

Primary sources documenting the fate of Domanovca's Jews and Roma can be found in microform at USHMMA, from collections at DAOO (RG-31.004M), SRI (RG-25.004M), and DAMO (RG-31.008M). For lists of deported Jews living and working in Domanovca, see RG-31.008M, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 374, pp. 32, 41–42, 111–113; for Isopescu's instructions regarding the treatment of Jews in Golta, see in the same collection fond 2178, opis 1, delo 77, p. 12; for names of Jewish leaders in Golta, see in the same collection fond 2178, opis 1, delo 77, p. 103, and delo 368, p. 4; for deported Roma living and working in Domanovca, see in the same collection fond 2178, opis 1, delo 374, pp. 1–4, 80–83; for decorated and veteran Jews and Roma interned in Domanovca camp, see in the same collection, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 368, pp. 188, 210; and in RG-31.004M, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1921, pp. 294–295. For the indictment and sentencing of members of the Romanian administration and their collaborators in Golta, see RG-25.004M, reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 95, 115–119; and in the same collection reel 95, file 20372, vol. 1, pp. 2–3.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. "Tabel de evreii între vîrsta de 20 şi 40 de ani—Domaniovca,"

USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 374, pp. 111–113 (USHMMA, RG-31.008M /2178 /1/374, pp. 111–113).

2. "Tabel nominal de evreii pe cap de familie de pe raza sectorului Jand. Domanovca," USHMMA, RG-31.008M /2178/1/374, pp. 41–42 (and verso; see also p. 40); and "Tabel nominal de evreii apţi pentru muncă din Transnistria, Basarabia şi Bucovina din raza Sect. Jand. Domanovca," USH MMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/374, p. 32 (and verso).

3. "Instrucţiuni referitor la reglementarea muncii, locuinţei şi circulaţiei jidanilor din ghetourile oraşului Golta," secret communication, March 29, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 77, p. 12 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/2178/1/77, p. 12).

4. "Pretura Raionului Domanovca către Prefectura Jud. Golta, Serviciul Finanţe," April–May 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/10/2255/1/1150, pp. 46, 61; for pay increases, see the official exchange between Golta's City Hall and Golta's Prefecture office, September 3, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008 M/2178/1/368, p. 73.

5. "Tabel [de] Medici Evrei Disponibili în Judeţul Golta," USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/368, p. 184 (and verso, document page).

6. USHMMA, RG-31.004M/2178/1/423, p. 3.

7. "Tabel nominal al evreilor specialişti repartizaţi la Comitetul de conducere al tuturor evreilor în Jud. Golta," USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/77, p. 103; and Avram Creştinu's and Alfred Follender's joint letter addressed to Golta's Gendarmes' Commandant, USHMMA, RG-31.008M /2178/1/368, p. 4.

8. "Tabel de remiterile făcute Evreilor din Romania evacuaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Dominiovca," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1/1359, p. 503; see also RG-31.008M /2178/1/457, pp. 245, 246, 251.

9. USHMMA, "Comitetul Evreesc Domenovca,"

RG-31.008M/2178/1/368, pp. 171–172.

10. "Tabel nominal de ţiganii pe familii de pe raza sector-ului Domanovca," USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/374, pp. 1–4; "Tabel nominal de ţiganii plasaţi în raza Sectorului Jandarmi Domanovca în vârstă de 20-40 ani," USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/374, pp. 80–83.

11. "Evrei invalizi şi decoraţi din războaiele, pensionarii şi funcţionari de Stat," USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/368, p. 188, and "Tabel nominal de evreii invalizi, văduve, clasaţi pentru merite speciale sau fapte de arme din războiul României," USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/368, p. 210 (also p. 137); for Roma, see Caporal Dumitru Neagu's letter, reprinted in Achim, *Documente Privind Istoria Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 1: 264–265, and "Tablou de tiganii mobilizati si invalizi de razboi, a caror familii au fost evacuate in Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1921, pp. 294–295.

12. "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina—Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

13. "Actul de Acuzare," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 95, 115–119 (USHMMA, RG-25.004M/19/40011/2, pp. 115–119); and USHMMA, RG-25.004M/95/20372/1, pp. 2–3.

DORNEŞTI AND CALAFAT/LPRS NO. 6

Dorneşti, a small town in the Radăuţi judeţ, in northeastern Romania (today: Dorneşti, Suceava judeţ), is located 47 kilometers (29 miles) south of Cernăuţi and 143 kilometers (89 miles) northwest of Iaşi.

After the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Jewish population of Dorneşti, numbering between 100 and 120 people, was moved to Radăuţi and deported to Transnistria in July 1941. A camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) was established in Dorneşti at the beginning of August 1941 or shortly thereafter. It was formally known as prisoner camp LPRS No. 6 Dorneşti (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici Nr. 6, Dorneşti*). The camp fell under the authority of the IV Territorial Command and was run by the Romanian Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM).

Little information has survived about the camp conditions. It can be estimated that very soon after it was established, the number of Soviet POWs in the Dorneşti camp reached 1,000 people, although by the late spring of 1942, it held close to 3,752 prisoners.[1] In August 1941, some 680 prisoners were transported from the camp by train to the POW camp at Ţăndărei near Giurgeni (Ialomiţa judeţ), in the southern part of Romania, the forerunner of LPRS No. 1 Slobozia. Forty soldiers escorted the prisoners, commanded by Sublocotenent Aristide Cocarla from the Dorneşti camp. The prisoners were sent to Ţăndărei for rail work.[2]

Some of the remaining prisoners in the Dorneşti camp performed seasonal work in various localities in the region. A typhus epidemic erupted at the Dorneşti camp in November 1941, causing multiple fatalities over the next few months. The epidemic was eventually controlled when the prisoners were deloused on a steambath train that arrived at the Dornesti train station. Also in November 1941, Căpitan Zaharie Fărtăi, an Orthodox military priest attached to the Radăuţi military garrison, visited the camp

offering religious services and spiritual assistance to the prisoners.[3]

By the fall of 1942 the entire camp was moved to Calafat in the Dolj judeţ, in the southern part of Romania. Calafat is on the Danube River, 490 kilometers (305 miles) southwest of Dorneşti and 250 kilometers (155 miles) southwest of Bucharest. The move was part of MSM's strategic plan in March 1942 to amass large numbers of Soviet prisoners, some 13,500 of the 20,000 held in camps at that point, in the fertile regions of the Regat to provide cheap agricultural labor for state-owned and private farms and estates; the remaining prisoners were to be allocated for rail and road building, forestry, and mining.[4] After the move to Calafat, the Dorneşti camp shut down, and LPRS No. 6 Calafat was created. Colonel Popovici commanded the Calafat camp, which fell within the jurisdiction of the I Territorial Command.

The living conditions inside the Calafat camp were difficult for the Soviet POWs, particularly in 1942 and 1943. The lack of hygiene, adequate food, and appropriate shelter, as well as the absence of real medical attention, including treatment for battle wounds, all led to the death of 397 prisoners (3 officers, 3 NCOs, and 391 troops).[5] Especially difficult were the winter months of 1942, when the mortality rate peaked. The dead were buried in the Calafat cemetery (as they had been in the Dorneşti cemetery earlier). A simple Orthodox chapel was built inside the camp, where religious services were organized periodically by a priest who spoke Russian. Soviet officers (colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants) from among the prisoners, who were already housed apart from regular troops, were later moved from the Calafat camp to LPRS No. 17 Timişoara, probably because of the latter camp's better facilities.

According to MSM's regulations, all hired prisoners were to be fed and provided with soap within a bud get allocation similar to that provided to an active soldier in the Romanian Army. The responsibility for these provisions and for paying a small sum for each day of work rested with employers, whether they were state-owned companies or factories, the army, or a private enterprise. Whether and how much was paid to the Soviet POWs from the Calafat camp working in agriculture in the Dolj judeţ is unknown.

At the request of the governors of Bessarabia and Bukovina, the

prisoners originally from those provinces were released from the camp beginning in 1942; their numbers in the Calafat camp reached into the hundreds.[6] In smaller numbers, additional groups of prisoners were released from the camp (as well as from all other camps for Soviet POWs in Romania), namely the terminally ill, those unable to work, or officers originally from Romanian-occupied Transnistria. In 1944, among the medical staff allocated to the Calafat camp were two Jewish doctors.[7]

After August 23, 1944, when Romania switched sides in the war, the prisoners were transported to the Slobozia Camp No. 1 for Soviet POWs. This move was done to prevent the prisoners from falling into the hands of the Wehrmacht. The prisoners were handed over to the Soviet authorities in the High Allied Command (*Înaltul Comandament Aliat*) in September 1944. According to a statistical report prepared by the Prisoner Section in the Romanian War Ministry for the Allied Control Commission in November 1944, the number of prisoners in the Calafat camp in August 1944 was 4,635. These prisoners were handed over without formalities, the Soviet authorities apparently refusing to sign for them. The Calafat camp was closed in September 1944.

SOURCES For further information about the fate of the Soviet POWs held in the Dorneşti and Calafat camps (LPRS No. 6), see Alesandru Duţu, Florica Dobre, and Leonida Loghin, *Armata Română în al Doilea Război Mondial (1941–1945): Dicţionar Enciclopedic* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999), especially pp. 329–341; Gheorghe Nicolescu et al., *Preoţi în Tranşee, 1941–1944* (Bucharest: Europa Nova, 1998); Vasile Popa, "Prizonierii Sovietici în România (1941–1945)," available at www.once.ro/sesiuni/sesiune_2007/9%20prizonieri_popa.pdf; and Alesandru Duţu, Florica Dobre, and Andrei Şiperco, "1941–1945: Prizonieri de Război în România … şi Crucea Roşie Internaţională," *MagIs* 2 (1997): 7–16; on prisoner repatriation, see Constantin Dedu, "Repatrierea Prizonierilor Aparţinând Naţiunilor Unite, După 23 August 1944," available at www.centrul-cultural-pitesti.ro/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=833:file-de-istorie&catid=254:restituiri-3-2007&Itemid=118. For the involvement of the ICRC and CRR in assisting Soviet POWs in

Romania, see Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internaţională şi România în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război mondial (1 septembrie 1939–23 august 1944): prizonierii de război anglo-americani şi sovietici, deportaţii evrei din Transnistria şi emigrarea evreilor* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources documenting the Dorneşti and Calafat camps (LPRS No. 6) are available at USHMMA, collection AMAN (RG-25.003M). Collection RG-38.001M (Sss, fond 6), contains the postwar trial and conviction of a former Soviet POW held in the Calafat camp (as well as in other camps in Romania, such as Independenţa, Slobozia, and Timişoara). Further evidence about the two camps can be found in TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003 and opis 977528; and in RGVA, fond 1512, opis 1, which contains prisoner registration forms or death certificates. VHA contains one testimony by Semen Shpits (in Russian), a former Soviet POW from the Calafat camp.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. The names of 3,752 Soviet prisoners in the Dorneşti camp appear in a searchable database based on Soviet archives (RGVA, TsAMO) at www.obd-memorial.ru/.

2. Telegram, August 11, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), Fond Command Railway Detachments, file 21, pp. 31–32.

3. See his report to ICM, reprinted in Nicolescu et al., *Preoţi în Tranşee*, p. 1 (doc. 1).

4. See MSM's prisoner distribution plan for labor, March 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.013M (PCMMC), reel 6, file 174, p. 99.

5. List of deceased Soviet soldiers in Romanian camps, TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, p. 2. Because the list does not appear to distinguish between Dorneşti and Calafat, it is possible that the figure given includes the prisoners who died in Dorneşti.

6. See the name lists of camp prisoners released, TsAMO, fond 58, opis 977528, delo 129, pp. 2105, 2162, 2166.

7. List of Jews allocated to forced labor in exterior detachments, May 1944, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 312, file 1223, p. 46.

DOROHOI

The seat of the Dorohoi judeţ, the city of Dorohoi is in the northeastern part of Romania (today: Botoşani judeţ). Located along the Jijia River, it is 126 kilometers (78 miles) northwest of Iaşi and 50 kilometers (31 miles) southeast of Cernăuţi. According to the Romanian census of April 6, 1941, the Dorohoi judeţ had a Jewish population of 12,764 (of a total population of 239,999), whereas the city itself had 5,389 Jews (of a total population of 15,555). From 1941 to 1944, the city and judeţ were the site of small, temporary detention centers for Jews in preparation for their deportation to Transnistria.

In 1938, the Dorohoi judeţ was attached to the Bukovina province, having historically belonged to the Old Kingdom of Romania. The governor of Bukovina was General de divizie Corneliu Calotescu (1941–1942), who was succeeded by General de corp de armată Cornel Drăgălina (1943–1944). The Dorohoi prefect was Colonel Ion Barcan, and Dorohoi's mayor was Ion Pascu. The commandant of the Dorohoi Legion of Gendarmes was Maior Victor Isăceanu. The chiefs of the Dorohoi police were Gheorghe Pamfil and Mircea Luţă, both commissars.

Following the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, the withdrawal of the Romanian armies from Bessarabia and Bukovina in June 1940 triggered a pogrom against the Jews of Dorohoi. The Jews were accused of allegedly harassing and even shooting at the retreating Romanian garrisons. The first set of reprisals occurred on July 1, 1940, a day after the arrival of Romanian troops in the city's vicinity. Fifty-three dead bodies were counted, in addition to many wounded civilians and those whose bodies were buried immediately after being murdered; many Jewish properties and business were plundered by soldiers and civilians alike.[1]

In June 1941, just days before the German-Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, the Romanian Interior Ministry transmitted General Ion Antonescu's order that all Jewish men

aged 16 to 60 living in rural localities between the Siret and Prut Rivers be interned in the Târgu Jiu concentration camp; the elderly, women, and children were to be relocated to the main city in the judeţ. This dire measure was applied, and even surpassed, in the Dorohoi judeţ. Consequently, and contrary to the ministerial ordinance, almost all the men (ages 18 to 60) from Dorohoi city, including their Jewish leaders, were deported to the concentration camps in Târgu Jiu and Craiova. Furthermore, all the Jews (men, women, and children) from the smaller towns of Darabani and Siret in Dorohoi judeţ, approximately 3,800 Jews in total, were deported to the same camps: men went to Târgu Jiu and Craiova, whereas women and children were sent to the Calafat camp. This, too, was done in breach of the named ordinance. Finally, all the Jews from the smaller towns of Săveni, Mihăileni, and Rădăuţi-Prut in the Dorohoi judeţ, approximately 4,000 people, were deported as follows: most of the men were transported to the Târgu Jiu camp, whereas some men and all the women and children were taken to the city of Dorohoi. The transports to the camps in southern Romania, as well as the treatment of the Jews interned therein, were heartless, involving poor and crowded living conditions, inadequate meals, and, when introduced, demanding labor quotas.[2]

The Jews concentrated in the city of Dorohoi—local residents as well as others from the judeţ's rural communities—in late June and early July 1941 were not placed in a camp or a ghetto as such. Instead they were crammed into a few buildings (the synagogue, school, hospital, and elderly home) belonging to the local Jewish community. In addition, some Jews moved in with their relatives, whereas others occupied what ever vacated apartments they could find.[3]

A strict regime was imposed on all the Jews living in the city, the old as well as the new residents. They were not permitted to leave their houses except for only one hour (from 8 to 9 A.M.) during daylight hours. At night, a curfew between 8 P.M. to 7 A.M. forbade the Jews to be out between those hours. A month later, in August 1941, the Romanian Army General Headquarters (*Marele Cartier General*, MCG) relayed the presidency of the Council of Ministers' decision that all Jews in Moldavia, Bessarabia, and Bukovina had to wear a yellow star.[4] The Dorohoi Jewish

community took on itself the responsibility to provide some relief for the displaced Jews. This gesture was done at great sacrifice, because most of the newly arrived Jews had very few possessions with them, having left their own homes in a rush and being permitted to take with them only a rucksack.

Some of the Jewish men who were sent to the Târgu Jiu and Craiova camps returned to Dorohoi city in late August or early September 1941; others were retained for forced labor in other districts until late November or early December. In November 1941, while these workers were away, deportations to Transnistria from Dorohoi began. The first to be deported were the rural Jews from the judeţ. Numbering somewhere between 2,000 and 3,000 people, they left on November 7. Subsequent transports on November 10 and 14 (two transports on the latter day) carried off the city's Jews and those remaining from other localities. In all, 9,367 Jews were deported that November.[5] All transports left from the Dorohoi railroad station, in the direction of Atachi-Moghilev-Podolsk, the main crossing point into Transnistria. Before their departure, the Jews were searched for valuables and forced to exchange money into Transnistria's valueless currency, the *Reichskreditkassenschein* (RKKS). Some Jews managed to remain in the Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto, whereas many others were pushed deeper into the Moghilev and Balta judeţe.

For various reasons, 2,256 Jews from Dorohoi city were not deported. Among them were 820 men who at the time of the deportation were working on forced labor detachments in the Brăila judeţ. Their families (wives, children, and parents), however, were deported in their absence. Of the remaining population at the end of 1941, an additional 450 (mostly men) were deported to Transnistria on June 14, 1942. Most members of the new group were the forced laborers who had been working in other locations than in Dorohoi during the 1941 deportations. After being collected at night from their homes by gendarmes and deposited in a transit camp set up in the Dorohoi synagogue, they too were transported in freight cars, in humiliating, crowded, and unsanitary conditions. This transport passed through Cernăuţi, picking up other, allegedly unproductive and subversive Jews, on its way to Moghilev-Podolsk. Another 45 Jews from Dorohoi suspected of communist activity were sent to the Târgu Jiu camp

in July 1942 and then to the Vapniarca concentration camp in September 1942. After each deportation, Jewish homes and property were ransacked and/or became state property.

Before, in between, and after the waves of deportation, many Jewish residents were conscripted into forced (day) labor. The October 1941 survey of forced labor for Jews shows that, in Dorohoi, 1,580 Jews were "at work." The same survey indicates that 1,721 Jews were "exempt and/or pending clarification," whereas an additional 53 Jewish intellectuals were also "available" for work.[6]

The Jews of Dorohoi were among the first to be repatriated from Transnistria. A first group of 1,500 people were repatriated on December 20, 1943, via Moghilev-Podolsk, after being deloused and cared for by the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER). Another 4,500 were gradually repatriated by late January 1944. Of the total number of Jews deported (9,862), some 3,800 perished in Transnistria.

The Red Army occupied Dorohoi in April 1944, and although some Jewish returnees remained under Soviet occupation, others retreated farther inside Romania.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Dorohoi can be found in "Dorohoi," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 323–324; "Dorohoi," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah*. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 104–110; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 3: *The Regat and Southern Transylvania, 1941–1942*, and vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria:*

Extermination and Survival (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 1 (part 2) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Felicia Carmelly, *Shattered! 50 Years of Silence: History and Voices of the Tragedy in Romania and Transnistria* (Scarborough: Abbeyfield Publishers, 1997); Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bucovina şi Dorohoi* (Bucharest: Glob, 1945); Marcu Rozen, *Evreii din Dorohoi în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial* (Bucharest: Matrix, 2000); and Alex M. Stoenescu, *Armata, Mareşalul şi Evreii: cazurile Dorohoi, Bucureşti, Iaşi, Odessa* (Bucharest: RAO International, 1998). For a memorial book, see Shlomo David, ed., *Generaţii de iudaism şi sionism: Dorohoi, Săveni, Mihăileni, Darabani, Herţa, Rădăuţi-Prut*, 5 vols. (Jerusalem: Kiryat Bialik, 1992–2000). For a collection of documents regarding the forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews of Dorohoi are available at USHMMA, records ANR (RG-25.002M), SRI (RG-25.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), AMAN (RG-25.003M), and DAOO (RG-31.004M). A list containing the names of those Jews whose families were deported to Transnistria while they were undertaking forced labor in exterior detachments is available in CER (RG-25.016M, reel 17, file 308). VHA holds 81 video testimonies (in seven languages) from Dorohoi survivors of the Holocaust. The ITS archive contains information about Dorohoi's Jews and their fate during the Holocaust in the CNI cards. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

NOTES

1. See, for example, the testimony of Constantin Romanescu, April 13, 2004, USHMMA, RG-50.573*0012.

2. Confidential report for the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Information Service, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, pp. 18–19.

3. See David Wasserman testimony, December 15, 1993, USHMMA, RG-50.030*0276, and the testimony of Simon Meer, July 7, 2008, available online at http://www.inshr-ew.ro/media/interviuri/interviu-simon-meer.

4. Order 3303, August 7, 1941, MCG, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 35, file 40010, vol. 114, p. 202. Testimony of Constantin Romanescu, April 13, 2004, USHMMA, RG-50.573*0012.

5. Calotescu's report to the Military Cabinet of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, April 9, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, pp. 130–131.

6. The survey is shown graphically in "Schiţa cu situaţia evreilor din fiecare judeţ la 1 Oct. 1941," USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, p. 254.

DUBĂSARI

Dubăsari (pre-1941: Dubossary), the capital of the Dubossary judeţ, is located some 34 kilometers (21 miles) northeast of Chişinău. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 2,198 Jews in the town, a decline of 1,432 from the 1926 census that was caused primarily by resettlement to other areas.

German forces occupied Dubăsari on July 27, 1941. In the wake of the German advance, some Jews managed to evacuate eastward, and men liable for military service were drafted into the Red Army. Around 1,500 Jews remained at the beginning of the occupation.

In August 1941, a German military commandant assumed charge of the town.

In September 1941, the Romanian administration took over control of the town and romanianized its name to Dubăsari. The headquarters of the Romanian Gendarmes Legion, in charge of guarding the border between Romania (Bessarabia) and Transnistria, was established in the town. Aleksandr Demenchuk became the mayor (*primar*), and Fedor Kontsevich his deputy. The police chief was Ivan Vitez. Demenchuk ordered Vitez to round up all of the Jews remaining in the town and to place them in a ghetto, for which two streets were allocated. Jews from surrounding localities were also placed in this ghetto. They were required to wear the yellow star and forbidden to leave the boundaries of the ghetto.[1] The ghetto was guarded by Romanian soldiers.

At the end of August 1941, 25 troops from Einsatzkommando 12, part of Einsatzgruppe D, arrived in Dubăsari.[2] In the course of its month-long stay, the detachment shot Jews almost daily. With the support of the Romanian authorities, in mid-September 1941, SS-Obersturmführer Max Drexel ordered the shooting of at least 1,500 Jewish men, women, and children, who at that time were concentrated in a ghetto. The victims consisted of local Jewish

families, as well as some Jews who had come voluntarily or had been brought forcibly from the nearby villages.

In preparation for the massacre, Ukrainian militia and laborers from surrounding villages dug seven burial pits in a field near a former tobacco factory on the outskirts of town. On the eve of the shooting, Drexel, through Mayor Demenchuk, misled the Jews, claiming that they would be resettled the following day. Shootings started early in the morning and concluded around 1 P.M. Standing on the embankment, the firing squad shot the victims in the back.[3] Mayor Demenchuk described these events in his trial testimony in 1944:

> On September 12, 1941, at 5:00 A.M., about 2,500 Jews were herded by the punitive detachment, the Romanian Gendarmerie, and the local police into the courtyard of the tobacco factory in Dubossary. Among them were men, women, old people, and even many infants …. When I came into the courtyard of the tobacco factory, where the Jews were, the punitive detachment was separating the men from the women and children, and there was terrible shouting and weeping. After the men were taken aside, the women were left in the courtyard of the tobacco factory, under heavy police guard, while all the men were led to the east edge of town toward the vineyards, where graves had been prepared in advance. About 100 meters [328 feet] from the graves where the shooting was to take place, all the Jews were ordered to sit down. Then the commandant, V. Kelleer [Walter Kehrer], and the police counted off 20 people, led them to the ditches, made them undress and kneel in front of the pit, and in the presence of all the others shot them.[4]

Soon after the mass shooting, around September 20, 1941, at least 1,000 other Jewish men, women, and children were shot and buried in four other pits dug in the same field. Members of Einsatzkommando 12 and their civilian assistants had brought the Jews on foot to Dubăsari from Krasnye Okna and Kotovsk. On arrival, they were locked up in the barracks of the former tobacco factory. The shootings were carried out in the same way as the first mass shooting.[5] Other shootings took place in other locations in

Dubăsari, such as near the central hospital.[6] In total, around 5,000 Jews were shot in September and early October 1941. Other reports suggested a much higher figure of from 6,000 to 8,000.[7]

A Jewish underground organization, led by Yankl Guzanyatskiy, was active in Dubăsari between late August and early September 1941. Guzanyatskiy's organization was credited with damaging the bridge across the Dniester River in Dubăsari, blowing up an arms depot, hanging a Ukrainian traitor of Jews, and assassinating the German town commandant named Kraft.

Due to Dubăsari's logistical importance because of its proximity to the Dniester River, Romanian authorities tried to contain epidemics that spread in the town and its surroundings. Jewish doctors and pharmacists were brought to town to care for the local population and the Romanian administration.[8] Funds distributed by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor in România*, CER) to deportees in Transnistria were sent to Dubăsari in July 1942 to be allocated among county ghettos. Dubăsari did not figure in the aid list from March 1943, probably because its Jewish ghetto was liquidated, or its Jewish population was dispersed elsewhere, or both.[9]

In September 1, 1943, there were only 11 Jews from Bukovina in Dubăsari.[10] However, in that same month, a large number of Jews from various places in Transnistria were brought to the town to repair the strategically important road from Dubăsari to Grigoriopol.[11] They worked 14 to 16 hours a day. Anyone trying to run away was killed on the spot. The food received was a mixture of corn flour and straw. Owing to the inhumane working and living conditions, many died of illness, especially typhus.

The town was liberated on April 12, 1944.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Dubăsari during the Holocaust may be found in the following publications: Moshe ben Yaakov Feldman, *In Memory of the 18,500 Martyrs Who Died for the Sanctification of G-d's Name at the Hands of the Murderous Nazis in the Town of Dubassar by the Dniester, near Bessarabia, Transnistria. 1943–44* (New York: N.P., 1946); Y. Rubin, ed., *Sefer Zikaron;*

Dubossary Memorial Book (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Dubossary in Argentina and Israel, 1965); "Dubasari," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 418–419; A. M. Moskaleva, *Dubossarskaia tragediia* (Dubossary: N.P., 1996); "Dubesar," in *Rossiiskaya Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 412; "Dubossary," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 1 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 26; Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003). For an account of Jewish resistance in Dubăsari, see R. Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe* (London: Paul Elek, 1974), p. 272.

Primary documentation regarding the Dubăsari ghetto and the extermination of Jews in the town may be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-96-96), ANRM, and YVA. For lists of Jewish doctors and forced laborers used in Dubăsari, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1561, n.p., and opis 1, 1562, n.p.

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NOTES

1. Concluding argument in Demenchuk's prosecution in April 14, 1944, ANRM, "O zverstvakh fashistov v gody vremennoi nemetsko-rumynskoi okkupatsii 1941–1944 gg. po Dubossarskomu raionu Moldavskoi SSR."

2. StA-Münc, Signatur Sta. 35280. For the verdict, see *JuNS-V*, vol. 40, Verfahren 816.

3. "Members of an Einsatzkommando shoot Jews in a field in Dubossary, Moldova," USHMMPA, WS #58605 (Courtesy of IWM).

4. Concluding argument in Demenchuk's prosecution in April 14, 1944, GARF, 7021-148-32, pp. 8–10; published in *V-IZ* 8 (1991): 70–71.

5. GARF, 7021-69-84, p. 363.

6. Testimony of Dr. Nuta Feldman of Iassy, reprinted in Ancel, *Transnistria*, 1: 425–426.

7. A ChGK document, March 22, 1945, reprinted in I. E. Levit et al., eds., *Moldavskaia SSR v Velikoi Otechestvennoi voine Sovetskogo Soiuza 1941–1945. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov v dvukh tomakh. Tom 2. V tylu vraga* (Kishinev: Ştiinţa, 1975), pp. 75–76.

8. "Tabel nominal de medicii evrei aflaţi în Judeţul Dubăsari," signed by Dubăsari prefect, Colonel Alexandru Batcu, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1562, n.p. (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1, 1562, n.p.). See also Ancel, *Transnistria*, 1: 426.

9. "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.

10. "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în

Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439.

11. See documents dated October 3, 1943: "Tabel nominal Nr. 1 de utilizare a evreilor din Transnistria (Jud. Dubăsari)," and "Situatia Md.2 Utilizarea evreilor in Transnistria (Jud. Dubăsari)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1, 1561, n.p.

EDINEŢI

Edineţi, a town in the Hotin judeţ, in Bukovina province, in the northeastern part of Romania (today: Edineţ, Edineţ raion, Moldova), is 102 kilometers (63 miles) east of Cernăuţi. In 1930 there were 5,341 Jews in Edineţi, representing 90 percent of the town's total population. The town came under Soviet administration from June 1940 to June 1941. During that time, some of Edineţi's wealthiest Jews were robbed of their possessions and deported to Siberia, along with some Zionists.[1] After the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, some Jews retreated with the Red Army and others fled to larger towns, but most stayed in place.

The Romanian Army occupied Edineţi (Ediniţi, Edinit, Edineţ) on July 6, 1941. Maior Traian Drăgulescu was the commandant of the Hotin Gendarmes Legion, whereas the praetor in Edineţi was Panait Margoş. The prefect of Hotin judeţ was Joe Gherman, who was succeeded by Colonel Virgil Popovici. The first Romanian soldiers to enter Edineţi denigrated the Jews and incited the local population to mistreat them. The locals ransacked Jewish homes, injuring some people, and killing 500 Jews (including alleged communist sympathizers). The corpses were buried in three communal graves. Other shootings of Jews from nearby villages occurred over the next few days. Shortly after the Romanian occupation began, the Jews who remained were ordered to assemble in one place, taking what ever they could carry, for deportation to Transnistria.[2] The crowd was divided into convoys, which marched in several directions (Atachi, Rezina, and Secureni). The members of each convoy paid for a few wagons in which to carry the elderly, the young, and some luggage.

In early August 1941, the Germans temporarily suspended the deportations of Jews from Romania into Transnistria and returned thousands who had already crossed into that area. The German decision set off a domino effect that resulted in massive overcrowding at the crossing points on the western shore of the

Dniester River. On August 8, 1941, some 27,849 Jews were held in an open field between Secureni and Atachi, where they were not given any provisions. These Jews came from villages and small towns near Cernăuţi, Storojineţ, Rădăuţi, and Briceni. On August 11, 1941, a transit camp was established at Edineţi. Half the Jews held in the Secureni camp (some 20,852 people) were transferred to the Edineţi camp to relieve the overcrowding in the former camp.[3] On August 25, there were 11,762 Jews held in the Edineţi camp; on September 1, there were 12,248.

The commandant of the Edineţi camp was Locotenent Victor Popovici, assisted by two officers, Valerian Bâlea and Cocuz Andrei. The first camp guards consisted of 6 gendarmes and 50 pre-military recruits. The recruits committed numerous thefts, rapes, and other violent deeds. Later three platoons of gendarmes from the 60th Police Company (commanded by Căpitan Augustin Roşca) arrived to replace the recruits.[4] The camp encompassed an area of five streets, encircled by barbed wire. Houses inside the camp, which had belonged to local Jews, had been bombed and looted earlier in the war, so most people lived outdoors among ruins. The deportees lived in crowded conditions, deprived of access to food and water. Bribery permitted a few of them to leave the site for a few hours in search for food. Leaving the camp without permission brought severe punishment, if caught.[5]

The first few weeks of internment were extremely difficult. The deportees lived in abject misery and poverty. An effort to delouse the camp was made at one point, but its effect was insignificant. A majority of the deportees had been on the road for weeks and had bartered many of their possessions along the way. Additional muggings and extortions occurred while in the camp. The Hotin prefecture provided 1,500 loaves of bread free of charge, while also selling an additional 1,500 loaves for money. The bread that was for sale became stale in the bakery because people did not have money to buy it. Gherman allotted 1,600 kilograms of sugar, 550 liters of oil, 550 kilograms of flour, and 120 kilograms of salt for camp needs. These staples were distributed free of charge, but hardly improved conditions.[6]

The camp was organized according to the regions where the deportees came from, and groups elected their own representatives. Ion Frankel became the chief camp representative.

Scarlet fever, dysentery, and typhoid fever erupted in the camp. One house was transformed into an infirmary, staffed by 15 prisoner doctors; however, without any medicine, the infirmary was little more than a space to die in.[7] Four to five people died daily from illnesses, exhaustion, and malnutrition. The camp had serious problems with drinking water. Accessible water was not clean, so in the first days of the camp's existence approximately 85 percent of the children died of thirst.[8] About 600 Jewish men, some in poor health and others without shoes, worked for a few weeks on a road connecting Lăpuşna to Cernăuţi. They received two bowls of vegetable soup per day and a small payment.[9] A few deportees received small sums of money from relatives who had not been deported. The Federation of Jewish Communities also sent sums of money for food and other necessities in the camp.[10]

In early October 1941, Popovici was ordered to evacuate the camp; he also was given an oral order from his superiors decreeing that anyone unable to keep up and complete the march was to be shot and buried along the way. Holes were dug in advance of the deportations, which began on October 10 and concluded on October 18. The very sick from the infirmary were shot as soon as they reached the first hole outside Edineţi. Four convoys left the camp in the direction of Cosăuţi and Atachi on the Dniester River, which are 75 kilometers (46 miles) and 48 kilometers (30 miles), respectively, from the camp. Plutonier Amarandei led the first convoy, Plutonier Victor Panait the second, Andrei Cocuz the third, and Valerian Bâlea the fourth. Wagons to transport the luggage, along with the elderly and the young, were provided. Each convoy journeyed for almost a week or longer in agonizing conditions to reach the Dniester.

After it was relocated into a theological seminary, the Edineţi camp became a penal camp from 1942 to 1943. Hundreds of undeported Jews from Bukovina were interned in the camp for alleged violations of civil orders, acts of corruption, and evasion from forced labor. The Jewish community in Cernăuţi funded the prisoners' care.[11] Forty-five Soviet citizens from Romania (spouses of Romanian citizens from the Soviet Union, their children, or workers brought by the Soviets to Bukovina) were interned in Edineţi, being considered suspect.[12]

In May 1942 a forced labor detachment for Jews was formed.

Called the "Edineţi Work Detachment" (*Detaşamentul de lucru Edineţi*), the Jewish labor unit was attached to the 7th Roads Battalion stationed in Edineţi.[13] Some of the Dorohoi Jews from the work detachment were deported to Transnistria shortly after being drafted, whereas others were moved to another labor detachment in Bârlad (Tutova judeţ).[14] The remaining Jews undertook manual labor for an extensive period of time, surpassing the legal requirement; they faced many hardships.[15]

The Red Army recaptured the town of Edineţi in the spring of 1944. Some of Transnistria's survivors from Edineţi were repatriated at that time. In 1945, the People's Courts in Bucharest and Cluj tried former officers who ordered and carried out the deportations from Edienţi. After years of imprisonment awaiting trial, Victor Popovici, along with his two aides, were acquitted of any criminal charges. Their superiors, however, received prison sentences.[16]

SOURCES More information on the fate of Jews imprisoned in the Edineţi camp can be found in the following publications: "Edineti," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 354–355; "Edintsy," in I. A. Altman, ed. *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 295–296; "Edinet'," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 4: 425; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie

Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For information on the forced labor detachment, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013), pp. 224–226.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews held in the Edineţi camp are available at USHMMA, in collections DACkO (RG-31.006M); SRI (RG-25.004M); AMAN (RG-25.003M); AJDC (RG-68.066M, reel 57, GIV/27-1B, List 66); and ANR-PCMCM (RG-25.013M). A report of the Military Cabinet for Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Transnistria regarding the situation in the Edineţi camp is available at RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 9, fond 325, opis 1, delo 246. Trial records pertaining to the Edineţi camp personnel can be found at USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 15, file 9614, vol. 1; and reel 123, file 21227, vol. 1. VHA holds 98 testimonies, in seven languages, from Jewish survivors who were held in the Edineţi camp or who passed through the town on the way to other camps.

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NOTES

1. VHA #00523, Freda Rosenblatt testimony, January 10, 1995.
2. VHA #17148, Brana ("Baka") Sternberg testimony, July 16, 1996.
3. Reports "Nr. 528," "Nr. 862," "Nr. 619," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 36, 40, 46, respectively.
4. Report on the situation of camps and ghettos in Bessarabia and Bukovina prepared for General de divizie Ioan Topor, the Great Praetor of Romania, September 4, 1941, "Situaţia de numărul lagărelor de evrei aflate în Bessarabia şi Bucovina," reproduced in ibid., 5: 74.
5. VHA #47707, Liviu Beris testimony, November 29, 1998.
6. See schedule of fund allocations and other assistance from the

prefect's office, USHMMA, RG-25.004 (SRI), reel 15, file 9614, vol. 1, pp. 142, 163, 190, 192.

7. Report of the Hotin Gendarmes Legion, August 28, 1941, retransmitted by Colonel I. Mânecuţă, Bukovina's chief gendarmes inspector, to the office of the Great Praetor. Document reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 70.

8. Ibid., 6: 157.

9. Mânecuţă's report to the office of the Great Praetor, reproduced in ibid., 5: 70.

10. See W. Filderman's letter addressed to the president of the Council of Ministers in Bucharest, August 28, 1941, document Nr. 68, reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 116–117. See also receipts of remittances sent to individual Jews in the camp, USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 9, fond 325, opis 1, delo 242.

11. See lists of names and accompanying correspondence requiring the judeţ-level Jewish Office to pay the camp for their care: USHMMA, RG-31.006M, reel 2, fond 307, opis 1, delo 13, pp. 286–291, 544–547, 795–814; reel 27, fond 307, opis 3, delo 76.

12. For a list of their names and place of origin, see "Tabel nominal de supuşii U.R.S.S. ce urmează a fi trimişi în lagărul Ediniţ conform ordinului Guvernământului No. 507 din 6 Septembrie 1942," USHMMA, RG-31.006M, reel 22, fond 38, opis 6, delo 79, pp. 1–2.

13. Instructions from MSM to the Head of State's Military Cabinet, May 2, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.013M (ANR, PCMCM), reel 22, file 1, pp. 396–398.

14. "Tabel nominal de evreii ce sunt lipsă la Detaşamentul de lucru Edineţi," USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 84, file 87, pp. 33–34 (and verso).

15. See letter addressed by Tina Rottenberg, mother of one of the Jews enlisted in the 7th Roads Battalion, to the Commandant of the IV Territorial Corps (Corpul IV Teritorial), USHMMA,

RG-25.003M, reel 53, file 7267, p. 335; see also other requests, p. 421.

16. See court depositions and declarations, USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 123, file 21227, vol. 1, condemnation verdict on p. 292; reel 15, file 9614, vol. 1, pp. 1–8; for Gherman's file, see pp. 139–167 in the same file and volume.

GALAŢI

Galaţi, the central city of the Covurlui judeţ, in southeastern Romania (today: Galaţi, Galaţi judeţ), is located at the confluence of the Siret and Danube Rivers. The city lies 188 kilometers (117 miles) northeast of Bucharest and 196 kilometers (122 miles) south of Iaşi. According to the 1941 census, there were 13,511 Jews in Galaţi, representing 14 percent of the city's total population; in May 1942, the total number of Jews stood at 12,946.

A pogrom occurred in Galaţi at the end of June 1940, just days after the Soviet annexation of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. Some 300 Jews, wishing to return to Bessarabia via Galaţi, were shot near the train station and buried in a mass grave by Romanian authorities. Shortly after the German and Romanian invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Jewish men between 18 and 60 years of age from Galaţi and nearby villages were gathered together to do forced labor. Their number reached approximately 3,700. Held for two days in the city's movie theater, they were then marched to Fileşti, a Galaţi suburb, where a holding camp was created. Gendarmes guarded the camp. Later, a number of the internees suspected of being communists were sent to the camp for political prisoners in Târgu Jiu.

On July 2, 1941, 3,305 internees were moved from the holding camp in Fileşti and placed in 19 makeshift camps in the city, ranging from synagogues and Jewish schools to private Jewish houses. Although each holding site carried the name "camp" (*lagăr*), each was actually a subcamp of the Galaţi camp. The Galaţi Command of Jewish Internment Camps (*Comandamentul Lagărelor de Internaţi Evrei Galaţi*) was created to coordinate them. Locotenent-colonel Mihai Popişti, who was succeeded by Maior Constantin Ştefănescu Drăgăneşti, headed the command post. The Covurlui Prefecture, headed by Colonel Dumitru Goţescu, had authority over the camp until August 21, 1941, after which time it went to the III Territorial Command (*Comandamentul III Teritorial*).

A few categories of Jews were released from the camp—men over age 50, foreign nationals and those who were stateless, and those already requisitioned by the state—totaling 781 people. The following subcamps held the remaining 2,706 Jews at the beginning of September 1941: Jewish Community High School (268 Jews); Max Nordau Cultural Society (141); Gottesman School (252); Light School (176); Vocational School (127); Schmierer School (413); Great Synagogue (182); Craftsmen's Synagogue (329); Blacksmiths' Synagogue (175); Dorian House (133); Schachter House (45); and the following private houses: Cohn (79); Rosemberg (58); Bercivici (36); Rothstein (58); Secuianu (64); Schteinberg (31); Brandes (48); and Deleanu (91). A contingent of 178 gendarmes guarded the camp.[1]

Living conditions varied in each subcamp, although overcrowding, strict supervision, and scarce food supplies characterized all of them. A subcamp chief, appointed among the Jews, was assigned to each site. Each day, teams of approximately 50 internees were escorted under guard to various public institutions (including those doing work for the army) for forced labor. Work began at 6 A.M. and concluded at 6 P.M. The Galaţi Jewish community was tasked with feeding and caring for the internees. The internees' families brought additional food and clothing according to their means.

Maior Drăgăneşti, the camp commandant, permitted a number of "exemplary" internees with skills in demand (smiths, painters, plumbers, electricians) to return home after work (i.e., a "day camp"). The measure was implemented in the middle of September 1941. Some 192 Jews, allocated to 30 institutions (especially military institutions and hospitals) inside the city, benefited from this measure. They reported to the command in the morning and in the evening for the roll call. Another 120 Jewish tradesmen and industrialists were released at that time because of exemption permits. The internees' release from captivity came in response to the Romanian Army's and the city's demand for some of the buildings in which the internees were held. Although the measure improved the circumstances for those selected, the strict supervision of all Jews continued as before. A detention center for "suspect" Jews existed in the Galaţi camp, perhaps in the Bercivici house. The Romanian Security Services (*Siguranţa*) determined

who was confined in this center: anyone not doing his or her part of forced labor was also placed there. Thirty-six Jews were being held in this detention center on September 21, 1941; they were deported to Transnistria in September 1942.

In addition to interior brigades that worked within the city, a number of brigades were deployed outside the city. While deployed, the Jews in these exterior brigades lived in substandard accommodations (huts, barracks, and isolated buildings) provided by the employing authorities; were fed mostly from their own money and/or the food provided by the Galaţi Jewish community; and were usually guarded by gendarmes. The Jews of Galaţi in the exterior brigades worked for the Romanian Railways Company (*Căile Ferate Române*, or CFR), repairing or maintaining tracks in places such as Focşani, Făurei, and Folteşti; they also worked for military units and war factories.[2] On September 21, 1941, the situation of Jewish forced labor in Galaţi looked as follows: 720 Jews in exterior brigades; 412 "intellectual" Jews (accountants, graphic designers, dentists, and engineers) not yet assigned and held in the subcamps; 526 Jews retained for unskilled local needs (of them 247 were skilled workers but were not in demand); and 715 "unfit" Jews (i.e., sick, disabled, or unable to work).[3]

The Galaţi camp closed in December 1941, when all the forced laborers were released from the subcamps. The measure was counteracted by the arrest every 15 days of 20 well-to-do Jews, who were then held hostage by the police. The hostages were to be shot if the Jews fled the city or obstructed forced labor plans. Forced labor in the interior (sleeping at home) and exterior brigades began again in the spring of 1942 and continued until August 1944. Many of Galaţi's Jews were sent to work in the Embankment Detachment No. 100 (*Detasamentul Evrei Nr. 100, Diguri*), a forced labor unit fortifying the Siret River banks in villages such as Vadul-Roşca, Suraia, Ciuşlea, and Străjescu (all in the Putna judeţ), as well as in Cotul-Lung, Vădeni, and Voineşti (Brăila judeţ). Attempts to house the Jews in private homes of those towns met fierce opposition on the part of the local (civilian) authorities, leading in most cases to the holding of the Jews in makeshift, unhygienic barracks.[4]

In December 1942, the regime of Ion Antonescu outlawed all

Christian religious minorities in Romania. Throughout 1943, a number of Pentecostals, Brethren, Inochentists (millenarians deemed heretical by the Orthodox Church), and Old Calendar Believers (*Stilişti*) from the Covurlui judeţ were arrested and tried for their faith by the Galaţi Military Tribunal. Those sentenced to prison were held in the Galaţi Central Penitentiary (*Penitenciarul Central Galaţi*).

Repatriation from Transnistria of Jews originally from Galaţi took place at the end of 1943. On August 23, 1944, Romania switched sides in the war. Contingents of the German Army and Einsatzgruppe G arriving from the east burned Galaţi, including the Jewish buildings, during their retreat.[5]

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of the Jews of Galaţi can be found in the following publications: "Galati," in Shmu el Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 414–415; "Galati," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 90–99; Laura Ioana Degeratu, "Documente inedite cu privire la situaţia evreilor din oraşul Galaţi în timpul celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial," *SfePo* 177:1 (2014): 96–107; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5 (New York: Beate Klars-feld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. I (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie

Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). Additional information about the persecution of Christian religious minorities under the Antonescu regime can be found in Viorel Achim, ed., *Political Regimului Antonescu Faţă de Cultele Neoprotestante: Documente* (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews of Galaţi are available at USHMMA, in collections ANR (RG-25.002M and RG-25.022M), ANR-G (RG-25.030M), AMAN (RG-25.003M), SRI (RG-25.004M), ACMEOR (RG-68.029M), WJC-R (RG-25.051), and CNSAS (RG-25.084M). German prosecution records from BA-L, collection B 162, concerning the activities of the Einsatzgruppe G in southern Transnistria and Romania are available in digital form at USHMMA, RG-14.101M. Germanized as Galatz, the Galaţi investigation can be found in file AR 3.077/64 1964–1966. Under RG-50, USHMMA also holds oral history interviews by witnesses and victims of the Galaţi forced labor camps. VHA holds 53 testimonies (in 10 languages) by Jewish survivors from Galaţi.

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 326, file 931, p. 404.
2. For a list of locations where exterior brigades of Jews worked, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 64, file 18844.
3. Maior Ştefănescu-Drăgăneşti's report, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 326, file 931, p. 288 (and verso).
4. See two such complaints, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 209, file 3724, p. 777; and reel 103, file 4190, p. 509 (and verso).
5. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0125, Beatrice Leibovich Lazar, oral history interview, November 16, 1990.

GOLTA

Golta (today: Pervomais'k, Ukraine), the center of the Golta raion and judeţ, is located along the western banks of the Bug River in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. It lies approximately 76 kilometers (47 miles) northeast of Ananiev. In 1919, Golta merged with the towns of Olviopol and Bogopol on the left bank of the Bug River to form Pervomaysk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 6,087 Jews living in the town.

German forces occupied Pervomaysk on August 3, 1941. From August to October 1941, a German military commandant's office governed the town. On October 28, 1941, it was divided into two parts, one German and one Romanian. Romanian authorities administered the part of Pervomaysk located on the right, western bank of the Bug River and restored its old name, Golta. In November 1941, Golta became the administrative center of the Golta judeţ, which had previously been at Crivoi Ozero. From October 1941 until February 1944 Golta judeţ's prefect was Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu. Isopescu's deputy was Aristide Pădure, and Maior Romulus Ambrus commanded the Gendarme Legion. Under Romanian rule, the city of Golta had three Jewish ghettos, a Jewish forced labor camp, and at least two camps for Roma (Gypsies).

Jews on the German side of Pervomaysk (left bank of the Bug River) were shot in late 1941. Convoys of Ukrainian and Bessarabian Jews streamed toward various districts in Golta about the same time. A few hundred skilled Jews were recruited to rebuild Golta and were concentrated in a ghetto, but most deportees were directed toward Bogdanovca and Domanevca, in the Golta judeţ, where they were murdered. In mid-1942, several hundred Jews from Romania's Old Kingdom, Bessarabia, and Bukovina were deported to Golta. On arrival, those Jews deemed unfit for work (the elderly, women, and children) were sent to Acmecetca, where most starved to death, while unskilled Jews fit for work were assigned to agricultural tasks in Golta. Skilled

craftsmen of various trades, along with intellectuals, were moved into the newly created ghettos and used as cheap labor in Golta's factories, workshops, administration offices, and the hospital.[1] Alfred Follender and his deputy Avram Creştinu, both Romanian Jews from Bucharest, headed the ghetto committee.

In late 1942 and early 1943, there were 488 Jews in Golta's two ghettos (the third was created later) and in the forced labor camp (sometimes called Ghetto III, even though it was more like a detention center for Jews accused of various infractions than a ghetto). In March 1943, more Jews were transferred to other camps in the Golta judeţ, including the infamous Acmecetca and Bogdanovca ghettos.[2] The latter was the site where thousands of Ukrainian Jews had been burned alive or shot a year earlier by German, Ukrainian, and Romanian soldiers. Some were sent to work in Ovidiopol, near Odessa.[3] By October 1943 there were 299 Jews in Golta. These people were distributed among Golta's ghettos and the labor camp as follows: 105 Jews were in Ghetto I, 68 Jews were in Ghetto II, 17 Jews were in the newly created Ghetto III, and 109 Jews were detained in the forced labor camp. Of that total number, as of September 1, 1943, there were 54 Jews from Bukovina and 18 from Bessarabia; the rest were probably Ukrainian Jews.[4]

According to Prefect Isopescu's instructions, the movement of Jews outside the ghetto, even for work reasons, was possible only with his written permission, and every Jew was required to wear two white Stars of David (one pinned to the chest, the other on the back). In addition, only those who worked received food, and those needing medical treatment for more than eight days were considered unfit to work and were to be sent to Acmecetca, where living conditions were much worse.[5]

Unskilled workers received one German scrip mark (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS) per day and skilled laborers received two marks, but they mostly got food for the amount earned. The Central Bureau of Romanian Jews, through its Aid Department (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Ajutorare*, CER) listed Golta among its distribution sites, later sending money and material aid there.[6] Money sent by deportees' family members or friends also reached Golta's ghettos via CER.[7]

Food distribution to the Jewish inmates (*arestaţii*) in the labor camp was erratic. Sometimes weeks passed before food supplies were given out; other times, supplies of potatoes, beans, peas, salt, and oil were distributed almost daily.[8] Not being allowed to receive parcels, many Jews had nothing to wear but rags, their clothes having been worn off under heavy labor. Although some Jews died of hunger and disease, most of the deportees miraculously survived.

Roma deportees from Romania were also placed in a labor camp in Golta. There were some 9,000 Roma in Golta judeţ by mid-1943. By and large, their living conditions and food allocations were significantly worse than in the Jewish ghettos. Starvation, unemployment, and lack of clothing forced many Roma to escape the camp and resort to theft and fraud, causing great consternation among the local population. A camp for Roma fugitives was set up in Golta in late November 1943, where more than 400 Roma were interned.[9] The Red Army liberated Golta in March 1944.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Golta during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 21; "Pervomaysk (III)," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 2 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); Dennis Deletant, "Ghetto Experience in Golta, Transnistria, 1942–1944," *HGS* 18-1 (Spring 2004), pp. 1–26; and Matatias Carp (ed.), *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947). For more in-depth studies of life in Golta, see Dennis Deletant, "Aspects of the Ghetto Experience in Eastern Transnistria: The Ghettos and Labor Camp in the Town of Golta," in *Ghettos 1939–1945: New Research and Perspectives on Definition, Daily Life, and Survival; Symposium*

Presentations (Washington, DC: CAHS, USHMM, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For a study of Romanian Gypsies during the Holocaust, see Viorel Achim, *The Roma in Romanian History* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1998), and Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Eciclopedică, 2004).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Golta can be found at USHMMA in the following collections: GARF (7021-69-82); DAOO (files r2388-1-16, 1150, 1360, 1368, 1400, 1403, 1407, 1408: lists of prisoners of the ghettos); and YVA. At USHMMA, records of the DAOO and DAMO may be consulted for lists of Jewish deportees (skilled, unskilled, women, children), food allocations, and rules governing Golta's ghettos and camps: for instance, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 15, fond 2357, opis 1, 49a, n.p.; and reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, 1501, n.p.; RG-31.008 (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 77, pp. 7–8, 16, 18, and delo 369, p. 95; fond 2084, opis 2, delo 728, n.p., and in the same record group, Acc. No. 1996.A.0155. For a survivor's testimony, see David Cervinschi ("I Saw the Acmecetca Death Camp"), available at www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/c/carmelly-felicia/cervinski-david.html.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See "Tabel nominal de meseriaşi din Lagărul No. 1 Golta, fără familie" and "Tabel nominal al evreilor meseriaşi din Ghettoul No. 2, Golta, fără familie," USHMMA, RG-31.008 (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 77, pp. 7–8 (USHMMA,

RG-31.008/2178/1/77/7–8). See also "Tabel nominal de toţii Evreii aflaţi în Ghetoul No. 1 repartizaţi după categorii," RG-31.008/2178/1/77/18, and "Tabel nominal al evreilor din Ghettoul No. 2, Golta," USHMMA, RG-31.008/2178/1/77/16.

2. See "Tabel de evreii din lagărul şi ghetourile din oraşul Golta care pleacă la Ahmecetca," USHMMA, RG-31.008, Acc. No. 1996.A.0155.

3. See "Tabel nominal de evreii trimişi la Leg. Jd. Ovidiopol de Leg. Jd. Golta cu ordin Nr. 1053 din 4-V-1943 pe baza ord. Guvernământului Transnistria Nr. 390 30-I-1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 15, fond 2357, opis 1, 49a, n.p. (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/15/2357/1, 49a, n.p.).

4. See "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

5. See "Instrucţiuni referitor la reglementarea muncii, locuinţei şi circulaţiei jidanilor din ghetourile oraşului Golta," dated March 29, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M /2178 /1/77/13.

6. "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347–348.

7. See "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Golta (Jud. Golta)," USHMMA, RG-31.004/4/2242/1, 1501, n.p.

8. See "Extras de alimente şi productele cunsumate de arestaţii din acest lagăr în cursul lunei Martie 1943," and "Tabel nominal după livretul de ord. al arestaţilor din acest lagăr pe luna Ianuarie 1943. Zilele în care au fost hrăniţi arestaţii," USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2084/2/728, n.p.

9. See "Legiunea de Jandarmi Golta către Prefectura Judeţului Golta. Raport în legătură cu ţiganii internaţi în lagărul de muncă Golta, aflaţi în situaţia de a muri de foame," dated November 22, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M /2178 /1/369/95, reproduced in Achim, *Documente Privind*

Deportarea Ţiganilor, 2: 379.

GOLTA/LPRS AND LABOR CAMPS

Golta (today: Pervomais'k, Ukraine), the center of the Golta raion and judeţ, is located along the western banks of the Bug River in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. It lies approximately 76 kilometers (47 miles) northeast of Ananiev. Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu was the Golta prefect, assisted by Aristide Pădure. The commandant of the Golta Gendarmes Legion was Maior Ambrus Romulus. The praetor in Golta raion was Liviu Bica. The director of the Agricultural Office (*Serviciul Agricol*) for the Golta judeţ was an engineer, Grigore Andonianţ.

Throughout 1942 and into 1943, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) from the Tiraspol camp, LPRS No. 5, were brought to Golta to work on the state's farms (*sovkhozes*) and forests. The Golta subcamp was initially formed inside the Golta gendarmes garrison, where a ware house was transformed into a temporary holding place before being subdivided into smaller camps (*secţii*) where prisoners went to work. The buildings where prisoners lived were supposed to be encircled by a barbed-wire fence, but not all were. The employment of prisoners was contractual, and the contracts were made between the camp commandant and a judeţ prefect (or a representative from the prefect's office).[1] The contracts usually indicated the type of work involved, the number of prisoners required, the number of gendarmes allocated to guard the prisoners, and the labor remuneration. In addition, they also stipulated each party's responsibility regarding the prisoners' food, maintenance, and transport.

On July 15, 1942, Golta's prefect, Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, in conjunction with the Golta Agricultural Office, hired 800 Soviet POWs, who also came from the Tiraspol camp. A group of 80 gendarmes, supervised by 1 officer and 2 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), guarded the prisoners. Of these POWs, 250 prisoners, guarded by 22 gendarmes and 1 NCO, were sent to the Bukovina farm, and the same number of prisoners,

guarded by 23 gendarmes and 1 NCO, to the Marshal Antonescu farm (both farms were in the Domanovca raion, Golta judeţ). Three hundred prisoners, guarded by 35 gendarmes and 1 officer, were sent to the Savrani forest (in the Balta judeţ) and were employed there until March 1943. A subsequent group of 185 Soviet POWs, consisting of 167 regular workers and 18 specialist workers, was hired from November 1942 to March 1943, and again from March to May 1943, to work in Golta's other sovkhozes, as follows: 76, guarded by 16 gendarmes, worked on the Bukovina farm; 54, guarded by 7 gendarmes and 1 NCO, worked on the Ardeal farm; and 52, guarded by 10 gendarmes and 1 NCO, worked on the Bessarabia farm.[2]

Payment was established at 120 lei (or 2 *Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS [German-issued scrip]) per day, but the rate went up in March 1943 and covered labor (a charge known as "work indemnity"), meals ("food indemnity"), tobacco, and soap ("tobacco and cleaning indemnity") expenses. In addition, working prisoners were entitled to 150 lei (or 2.25 RKKS) per month as a form of payment for basic necessities (hardly enough to buy two loaves of bread), while the earned income was to be received at the end of the month or at the termination of the contract. Due to delays in payments from employers to the main Tiraspol camp, the prisoners rarely received their salary. Working hours were set from 6 A.M. to 7 P.M. in summer (with a shorter workday in winter), including a one-hour lunch break and some additional free time on Wednesdays and Sundays for personal hygiene (such as laundry). Workdays were Monday to Saturday (or on Sunday as well, during harvest time, for example). In a rare gesture of kindness, the hiring authorities ordered that each prisoner be given a half-roll of sponge cake (*cozonac*) for Easter in April 1943.[3] The return of contracted Soviet POWs from the Golta sub-camp to the main camp in Tiraspol occurred in May 1943. The farms where prisoners worked provided bread and sheep cheese as cold rations during this transport, which were distributed in small portions to each prisoner.[4]

Cases of mistreatment of prisoners at the hands of their employers or guards were common, partly because the Tiraspol camp provided new healthier prisoners to replace ill prisoners (a

practice that was eventually stopped by the Army General Staff).[5] The commandant of all prisoner camps in Romania, Colonel Ion Stănculescu, reported on his early 1943 visit to Transnistria, when he found 285 Soviet POWs in the Golta subcamp, that "all war prisoners … are dressed acceptably and are helped a great deal by the locals with food."[6] This remark belied the fact that prisoners were poorly dressed and hungry.

In addition to the Golta subcamp for Soviet POWs, there existed in Golta a labor camp (*Lagărul de Muncă*) for civilians. This camp was under the direct administration of the Golta Praetor's Office (*Pretura*). It was located near the rail bridge in Golta in the building of a former munitions factory that had briefly become a prison camp under the Soviet administration. In March 1943, the camp had 133 Ukrainian detainees (118 from Bukovina and 15 from Bessarabia) who were interned for illegally crossing the border. A group of 13 gendarmes from the Golta Gendarmes Legion, under the supervision of one sergeant and one sergeant-in-training, guarded the camp. On days when menu instructions were followed, prisoners received 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread, 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of beans, and 400 grams (14.1 ounces) of potatoes per day.[7]

The Red Army liberated Golta in March 1944.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the fate of Soviet POWs in the Golta subcamp are available at USHMMA, in collection DAMO (RG-31.008M). For statistical figures for the largest Soviet POW camps in Transnistria, see Ion Stănculescu's report, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 599; for a more detailed account of camps, see Iliescu's report, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 33, file 79/1943, pp. 408–419; and for a report on the capture of Soviet POWs in the Odessa oblast' who were subsequently escorted to Tiraspol and other camps inside Romania, see YVA, M-33/325, p. 9.

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NOTES

1. See correspondence No. 1511/May 15, 1943, of the

commandant of Tiraspol LPRS No. 5 requesting that the Golta prefecture not use Soviet POWs without first signing a contract with the camp. The letter also stipulates that a minimum of eight prisoners must be employed for a contract to be issued, USHMMA, RG-68.130M (OOYV), reel 4, file M-39 /85, p. 303.

2. See "Contract," August 16, 1942, signed by Tiraspol LPRS No. 5 commandant Maior Nicolae Grosu, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 20, pp. 5–7; (USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20, pp. 5–7); see another contract, "Contract," November 1, 1942, signed by Tiraspol LPRS No. 5 commandant Maior Ioan Lăzăroiu, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20; and also "Contract," March 1, 1943, signed by Tiraspol LPRS No. 5 commandant Locotenent-colonel Constantin Manoliu, RG-31.008M /2178 /1/20, p. 32 (and verso).

3. See communication "Nr. 677," USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20, p. 33.

4. See "Prefectura Judeţului Golta către fermele Bucovina, Ardealul, Basarabia," May 17, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20, p. 41, and "Sublagarul Prizonieri Ferma Bucovina către Prefectura Judeţului Golta," May 15, 1943, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20, p. 42 (and verso).

5. Army General Staff, Prisoner Section, Decision No. 659.466/ March 12, 1943, concerning Tiraspol Camp LPRS No. 5, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20, p. 24.

6. Stănculescu report, "Raport în legătură cu situaţia prizonierilor de război aflaţi în Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 599.

7. See camp description, "Lagărul de muncă din Golta," USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 33, file 79/1943, pp. 413, 419.

GORAI

Gorai (today: Horai, Ukraine), a village in Copaigorod raion in the Moghilev judeţ in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, lies 33 kilometers (21 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, the Copaigorod raion had 1,903 Jews, representing 4.8 percent of its total population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Gorai on July 29, 1941. After a brief period of German rule, the Romanian authorities administered the village until March 1944. In October 1941, the Romanian authorities established a ghetto in the village for Bessarabian and Bukovinian Jews deported to Transnistria. Around 200 Jews were placed in the ghetto, about half of whom died in the frigid winter of 1941, primarily due to hunger, cold, and illness. The most devastating illness was typhus, which spread easily given the crowded and squalid living conditions. In addition to dying from these causes, there were also shootings. Three Jews from Bessarabia were shot.[1]

Not much is known about the operation of the Gorai ghetto, particularly in the year 1942. A few documents attest to private funds being sent to a few Jews in the ghetto in May 1943. Such support, which came from deportees' friends and family in Romania, was channeled through the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) and distributed by the Jewish Council of Moghilev (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM) to named recipients throughout the ghettos in the Moghilev judeţ.[2] Similar Jewish Councils served each of Transnistria's eight judeţe.

The March 1943 census of deported Jews in Transnistrian ghettos, which was requested by the delegation of the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (CER, *Secţiunea de Asistenţă*) that visited Transnistria in January 1943, listed 83 Jews in Gorai. It is not clear if Ukrainian Jews were

included in this figure.[3] A subsequent count, on September 1, 1943, again lists 83 Jews (all from Bukovina) remaining in the ghetto.[4] The Red Army recaptured Gorai in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information on Jews deported to Gorai can be found in the following sources: Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986). For census information, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47.

Primary sources regarding the extermination of the Jews of Gorai can be found in the following collections at USHMMA: GARF (7021-54-1244), DAVINO, and YVA. At USHMMA, payment receipts indicating the names of senders and recipients can be consulted in the DAOO collection, at RG-31.004M, reel 8, fond 2255, opis 1s, 1177, p. 202.

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1. GARF, 7021-54-1239, p. 25.
2. See "Borderou Nr. 151 asupra plăţilor ce s-au efectuat la data de 13.V. 1943 la Gorai," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 8, fond 2255, opis 1s, 1177, p. 202.
3. See "Tablou numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.
4. See "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost

evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

GORDIEVCA

Gordievca (pre-1941: Gordievka; today: Hordiivka), a town in the Trostineţ raion, Tulcin judeţ in the far eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is situated near the Bug River. It is located 32 kilometers (24 miles) southeast of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,731 Jews in the Trostineţ raion, representing 4.06 percent of the population (census data are not available for Gordievca).

The German and Romanian armies captured Gordievca and its surroundings in late July/early August 1941. After a short period of German rule, authority was turned over to the Romanian civil administration in September 1941. The authorities romanianized the village's name as Gordievca and placed its affairs under the rule of Colonel Ion Lazăr, the first prefect of the Tulcin judeţ, and of the Trostineţ raion's praetor, Constantin Alexandrescu. The commandant of Tulcin's Gendarmes Legion was Maior Victor Mihailovici, and the chief of Tulcin's Security Bureau (*Biroul de Siguranţă*) was Locotenent Mircea Heroiu.

Immediately after his installation as prefect, Lazăr issued an ordinance, "Ordonanţa Nr. 3," on September 22, 1941, calling for the establishment of ghettos and camps in the Tulcin judeţ for local Jews as well as for those arriving from Bessarabia. Two hundred and thirty Jews from Bessarabia were held in the Gordievca camp. Records do not specify what facility was used to hold these Jews, but most likely they were dilapidated *kolkhoz* (state farm) buildings. On November 17, 1941, Lazăr issued a new ordinance, "Ordonanţa Nr. 6," severely restricting Jewish movement. It forbade any Jew from leaving the ghetto or camp without a permit. Depending on the distance needed to travel, permits were either issued by local authorities (for destinations within 20 kilometers [12.4 miles] from the ghetto) or by the judeţ prefecture (for distances exceeding 20 kilometers from the ghetto). Any Jew found elsewhere without a leave permit and identity documents was considered a "communist courier" or a "spy" and

subject to the laws of war. Moreover, police chiefs who did not report unauthorized residents were considered accessories to plotting against the Romanian state, which brought with it severe punishment.[1] Lazăr's actions reflected a wider practice regarding the "Jewish regime" that was eventually formalized in the 10 articles of the important ordinance, "Ordonanţa Nr. 23," that Marshal Ion Antonescu issued through Transnistria's governor, Gheorghe Alexianu, on November 11, 1941.[2]

Extreme cold, combined with overcrowding, poor hygiene, and severe malnutrition, led to a typhus epidemic by December 1941. By January 1942, according to a Siguranţa report, only 209 Jews remained in Gordievca. The extent of the typhus epidemic was so great that, according to the same report, Gordievca's Jews were not evacuated to the Pecioara-Rogozna area (on the Bug River) for deportation to the German side of Transnistria, as all other Jews in Tulcin judeţ were at that time. This was done as a precaution against the spread of disease to the local population and the troops stationed in the area, rather than for the benefit of the sick.[3]

Gordievca did not figure in the two general deportee counts that took place in 1943. According to the early count that followed the arranged visit to Transnistria's ghettos by a Romanian delegation of the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, *Secţiunea de Asistenţă,* CER) in January 1943, no Jews resided in the Trostineţ raion.[4] The September 1943 count, however, lists Trostineţ as having 95 Bukovinian Jews, but does not mention Gordievca.[5] The camp may have closed down at some point in 1942, after which its Jewish population was either transferred across the Bug, moved to other ghettos in Transnistria, or both.

SOURCES Information about the fate of Jews deported to Gordievca can be found in the following publications: "Gordievka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 329; "Gordievka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 228; M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii*

teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944) (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), pp. 46–47; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); for the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), 48.

Primary sources attesting to the mistreatment of deported Jews in Gordievca can be located at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and ANR (RG-25.002M). For Lazar's "Ordinance 6," see RG-31.004M, reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 76, n.p.; for Alexianu's "Ordinance 23," see in the same collection, reel 20, fond 2361, opis 15, delo 1, p. 268 (and verso); for a January 1942 information report issued by Tulcin's Security Bureau, see RG-25.002M, reel 15, file 134/1942, pp. 56 and 61.

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1. See "Ordonanţa Nr. 6," November 17, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 76, n.p. (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/20/2361/15/1).

2. See "Ordonanţa Nr. 23," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/20/2361/15/1, p. 268 (and verso).

3. See “Sinteza informativă pe luna Ianuarie 1942,” composed February 2, 1942, by the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, Siguranţa Bureau, Tulcin, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 15, file 134/1942, pp. 56, 61.

4. “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347.

5. “Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

GRABIVŢI

The village of Grabivţi (pre-1941: Chervona, not to be confused with Chervonnoye), a part of the Copaigorod raion in the Moghilev judeţ, in the northern region of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is some 47 kilometers (29 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. Occupied by German troops on July 20, 1941, it came under Romanian administration in September 1941. The village continued to be administered by Romanian authorities until March 1944.

It is unclear when, if ever, Jews settled in Grabivţi before 1941. However, in November 1941, a ghetto (camp) was established in the village for Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina. According to some sources, it is unlikely that these Jews were initially intended to be placed there. The destination of convoys of Jews passing through the area was in the area of Şmerinca, near the border with the *Reichskommissariat* of Ukraine, and the village of Cazaciovca, which was even closer to the border. When en route to the latter village, many deportees were deposited in various small localities, including Grabivţi.

Makeshift wooden barracks near a large forest at the outskirts of the village were designated as the ghetto. Approximately 500 Jews were placed there. Their condition was deplorable after their long and tiring march from Bessarabia to Moghilev, and then from Moghilev to Grabivţi (the distance alone from Moghilev to Grabivţi is approximately 50 kilometers [30 miles]). Crowded into these poorly fitted barracks, without food and warm clothes, around 300 of them died of typhus and cold in the harsh winter of 1941–1942.[1] Scarce information about the ghetto prevents an accurate description of the activities of those kept in Grabivţi. The ghetto figures in various lists were composed by, and in collaboration with, the Romanian administration and the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER). CER sent aid to the Jews of Grabivţi. There were 294 Jews there in the spring of 1943, when life in the ghettos improved

every-where in Transnistria.[2] On September 1, 1943, some 198 Jews from Bukovina still remained in the ghetto.[3] The Red Army recaptured the area in the spring of 1944, freeing the remaining Jews.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Grabivţi can be gleaned from these secondary sources: Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942,* vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003), pp. 71–73.

For primary sources, the following collections at USHMMA should be consulted: GARF (7021-54-1239), DAVINO, and YVA. One published testimony is found in *Vest-nik: Vypusk 4 (chast' pervaia); Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi; Sviditel'stva uznikov fashistskikh lagerei-getto* (Chernivtsi, 1995).

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1. Testimony of Sarah Bidnaia, in *Vestnik*, pp. 114–115.

2. See "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.

3. See "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

GROSDOVCA

Grosdovca (pre-1941: Grozdovka; today: Gvozdovka Vtoraya), a village in the Liubaşevca raion, Golta judeţ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is about 133 kilometers (83 miles) northeast of Chişinău. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,021 Jews in the raion, representing a little over 3 percent of its population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the village in August 1941. The Romanian authorities took over the administration of the village and romanianized its name as Grosdovca, although it also appeared in Romanian documents as Gvozdovca, Vazdovca, or Vasdovka. From November 1941, the prefect in the Golta judeţ was Locotenet-colonel Modest Isopescu, and the deputy prefect was Aristide S. Pădure. The commandant of the Golta Gendarmes Legion was Locotenent I. Ştefănescu. The Liubaşevca (Ukrainian: Lyubashivka) raion's first praetor was Gheorghe Bobei, and his deputy was Dumitru Lupaşcu.

Convoys of Romanian Jews deported from all over Bessarabia, including Chişinău and Bălţi, that entered Transnistria via the Rezina-Rybnitsa crossing point were marched to Grosdovca in October 1941. Convoys of Ukrainian Jews from the Balta and Ananiev judeţe were also directed to Grosdovca later that month. The locality fell within the Crivoi Ozero area, which was one of the designated places for the deportation of Jews.[1] Having been mistreated along the way by their guards, the Jews were placed in a camp—the village's collective farm, or *kolkhoz*—under the command of a brutal, low-ranking (corporal) army soldier. Given the farm's small size and the convoys' large numbers, many Jews did not find a place inside its rooms and instead took shelter in basements, attics, and stables; some, not finding even that much shelter, stayed outside in the rain and cold. The number of deportees swelled to about 15,000 by late November, although by that time more than one-third had already died or were dying from cold, hunger, and illness.

A major typhus epidemic ensued. In a letter to Transnistria's government, dated November 13, 1941, the newly installed prefect Isopescu reported, "In Gvozdovka township, a Romanian-speaking township in Liubashevka raion, some 15,000 Jews were gathered, while in Krivoye-Ozero and Bogdanovka approximately 1,500. Typhus erupted among the Jews from Gvozdovka and some 8,000 perished, including those who died from hunger."[2] The acquiring of lice-infested clothes from detained Jews, bartered in exchange for food, also contributed to the spread of disease among villagers. Concern for the health of the local population and for the Romanian 20th Infantry Regiment (commanded by Colonel Ion Georgescu) that was stationed in Liubaşevca and headquartered at Grosdovca prompted the prefect to relocate the Jews away from the area.

In November 1941, basic hygiene measures, including the burial of corpses, were implemented to disinfect Grosdovca and other villages in the Liubaşevca raion. Local farmers and Romanian infantrymen under the command of Locotenent Gheorghe Moşoiu assisted in the cleanup operation, but the effort brought little lasting results because new convoys arrived in the area in January and February 1942. By January 31, 1942, the sanitary situation in Grosdovca alarmed Isopescu. He urged that "immediate measures be taken to combat and isolate the typhus disease" and requested that available mobile delousing units and sanitary agents from neighboring areas be recruited and deployed there immediately.[3]

The Jews held temporarily in the Grosdovca transit camp could not work and survived entirely on barter. In addition, many detainees were robbed of their money and precious items, such as jewelry, foreign banknotes, and gold coins, by a band of Romanian deserters that operated for some weeks in an area unhindered by local authorities. The culprits were eventually apprehended and court-martialed.[4] Local Jews trained in various professions were drafted into the Liubaşevca camp where, as of January 1943, they worked as ironsmiths and tailors.[5]

The Grosdovca camp was closed in the early spring of 1942 after all the Jews who were kept there were sent to the Bogdanovca camp for further deportation across the Bug River (although most perished in Bogdanovca). In the March, June, and September 1943 counts of deported Jews to Transnistria,

Grosdovca was no longer listed as a detention site.[6]

In May 1945, Bucharest's People's Tribunal tried Isopescu, Pădure, and Bobei for crimes committed against deported and local Jewish populations. All were convicted and sentenced to many years of hard labor.[7]

SOURCES More information about the fate of Jews deported to Grosdovca can be found in the following publications: "Gvozdovka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 201; "Gvozdovka," *Where We Once Walked-Revised Edition; A Guide to the Jewish Communities Destroyed in the Holocaust* (Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu, 2002), p. 123; Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* and vol. 2: *Documents 1–558* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); for the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53.

Primary sources about the fate of Grosdovca's Jews are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO, DAMO, and SRI. For assigned crossing points into Transnistria, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 45, delo 5, pp. 1–5; for Isopescu's letter to Transnistria's government, see RG-31.008 (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 66, pp. 151–151b; and for trial records and verdicts, see RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011,

vol. 2, pp. 115–118, 136–137, 139.

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1. Cf. "Dare de seamă asupra organizarei şi funcţionarei serviciului Jandarmeriei în Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 45, delo 5, pp. 1–5 (esp. p. 5) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/1/2242/45/5).

2. "Către Guvernământul Transnistriei, Tiraspol," USHMMA, RG-31.008 (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 66, pp. 151–151b (USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/66). Letter reprinted in Ancel, *Transnistria*, 2: 316–317.

3. "Către echipa volantă sanitară," USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/5, p. 176, reprinted in Ancel, *Transnistria*, 2: 717.

4. "Către Curtea Marţială Tiraspol," December 23, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/12, pp. 203–204.

5. "Tabel de evreii din lagarul Liubasevca impartiti pe meserii si ocu [paţii]," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/20/2383/1/16, pp. 31–32 (and verso).

6. For the March 1943 count, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347; for the June 1943 count, see "Situaţia numerică de evrei aflaţi pe raza judeţului Golta la data de 25 Iunie 1943," USHHMA, RG-31.008/2178/423, p. 163; and for the September 1943 count, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

7. See "Actul de Acuzare," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 115–118, 136–137, 139.

GROSULOVO

Grosulovo (pre-1941: Grossolovo; today: Velyka Mykhailivka), a village in the Grosulovo raion, Tiraspol judeţ, in the southwestern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is about 75 kilometers (47 miles) east of Chişinău. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 727 Jews in the raion and 522 Jews in the village of Grosulovo, the latter figure representing 41.5 percent of the village's total population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the village on August 7, 1941, and five days later, on August 12, soldiers shot 124 Jews, including 35 children, gathered in the local cemetery.[1] Romanian authorities took over the administration of the town in September 1941 and romanianized the town's name as Grosulovo (or Grosulova). The Romanians placed Grosulovo's affairs in the hands of Colonel Georgescu Pompiliu, Tiraspol's prefect, and his sub-prefect, Alexandru Smochină. The chief of Tiraspol's municipal police was Căpitan Ioan A. Ionescu, and the chief of Tiraspol judeţ's labor office was Fimareta Grigoriencu, whose deputy was Ioan Călin.

A camp was created in Grosulovo in the autumn of 1941 in the dilapidated building of a tobacco depot, which was situated in the town's central area. It held Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina, as well as local Ukrainian Jews. Most were soon sent eastward toward the Bug River, except for a small number of technical specialists who were assigned work duties in the town. The number of Jews in Tiraspol judeţ's camps and ghettos continued to drop, so that by April 1942, no more than 27 Jews (6 men, 18 women, and 3 children) were listed in official registers.[2] Among those who remained in Grosulovo were three Jewish accountants: David Litman, Moise (Mişu) Bartman, and Pavel Cornişteanu. They worked in the Grosulovo raion in places such as the wine factory, milk collection points, and an egg incubator; Lua Leibovici was a doctor working in the Grosulovo medical center (*dispensar*).[3]

According to the count of September 1, 1943, there were only two Jews from Bukovina left in Grosulovo.[4] On October 14, 1943, some 450 (or 564, as in other reports) Jewish and non-Jewish prisoners from the Vapniarca camp (Jugastru judeţ) were moved to the Grosulovo camp (where approximately 200 Ukrainian prisoners were already held; they were subsequently moved to a different location).[5] On October 20, 1943, a few dozen more Jewish deportees were brought to Grosulovo from the Slivina disciplinary camp. An infirmary was immediately set up to provide medical assistance to the sick, particularly those already sickened by the food (a type of poisonous pea) they had been served in the Vapniarca camp. The camp's administration allowed the inmates to organize some religious activities, as well as a theatrical performance in the winter of 1943.

As the Red Army approached the Bug River in the spring of 1944, some Romanian authorities wanted to relocate the inmates closer to the German side of Transnistria or to transfer them to the German authorities, but the Grosulovo's camp commandant (who was also Vapniarca's last camp commandant), Colonel Savin Motora, decided to evacuate the prisoners closer to the Romanian border instead. He charged the gendarmes escorting his prisoners to protect the convoy as they marched to Tiraspol and from there across the Dniester River into Bessarabia. When they were surprised by an armed group of Soviet deserters to the Nazis, called the "Vlassovs," Colonel Motora took lead of the convoy and ordered his gendarmes to draw nearer the prisoners to shield them from enemy fire. In 1983, Yad Vashem honored Motora as a Righteous Among the Nations for his actions on behalf of prisoners, both Jewish and non-Jewish, including members of persecuted religious minorities. On March 13, 1944, Grosulovo's prisoners reached Tighina. On March 31, 1944, they were transported to Bucharest and from there, on April 3, to the Târgu Jiu detention center—the place from which many had been deported to Transnistria two years earlier.

SOURCES Information about the fate of Grosulovo's Jews can be found in the following publications: "Grossulovo," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York

University Press, 2001), 1: 463; "Grossulovo," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 248; Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 2 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania, *Final Report* (Iaşi: Polirom, 2005); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Ihiel Benditer, *Vapniarca: Lagărele Vapniarca şi Grosulovo, închisoarea Rabniţa, ghetourile Oglopol, Savrani, Tribudi, Crivoi-Ozero şi Trihati* (Tel Aviv: Anais, 1995); for the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), 53. Motora's listing as a Righteous Among the Nations can be found at www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/pdf/virtial_wall/romania.pdf.

Primary sources about the fate of Grosulovo's Jews are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), GARF (RG-22.002M), and MAE-R (RG-25.006M). For the report of the Extraordinary State Commission to Investigate German-Fascist Crimes Committed on Soviet Territory, 1941–1945, see RG-22.002M, reel 6, fond 7021, opis 69, delo 83, p. 412; for statistical evidence regarding the number of Jews in Tiraspol judeţ, see RG-25.006M, reel 10, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 143 (and verso); and in the same collection, reel 11, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 589; for Jewish labor in Grosulovo, see RG-31.004M, reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1495, p. 120; and in the same collection, reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 22, n.p.; and fond 2264, opis 1, delo 8, 86, and reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 61. See also survivor Ihiel Benditer's testimony at www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/c/carmelly-felicia/benditer-ihiel.html.

NOTES

1. See "Report Nr. 362," USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 6, fond 7021, opis 69, delo 83, p. 412.

2. Cf. "Situaţia numerică a evreilor aflaţi neevacuaţi din Transnistria, la data de 1 Aprilie 1942, pe lagăre şi ghetouri cu specificarea: bărbaţi, femei şi copii," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (MAE-R), reel 10, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 143 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-25.006M/10/21/143 and verso).

3. See "Tabloul de repartizarea evreilor contabili la raioanele," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1495, p. 120, composed by Iuliu Dulfu, Tiraspol's financial advisor (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2242 /1/1495/120); "Tabel Model Nr. 1 de utilizarea evreilor din judeţul Tiraspol," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/22, n.p.; "Tabel nominal model 1 de utilizarea evreilor din judeţul Tiraspol în luna Dec. 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13 /2264/1/8, p. 86; and "Tabel nominal de medicii evrei aflaţi în cuprinsul jud. Tiraspol," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6 /2242 /1/1562, p. 61.

4. See "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

5. See copy of "Situaţie numerică de evreii aflaţi în prezent în Transnistria, din cei evacuaţi din Basarabia, Bucovina, Judeţul Dorohoi şi Vechiul Regat," USHMMA, RG-25.006M/11/21/589. This document states that the total number of 49,927 Jews deported to Transnistria as of November 15, 1943, does not include the 706 Jews found in the Grosulova camp.

HALCINŢI

Halcinţi (today: Shevchenkove), a village in the Copaigorod raion in the Moghilev judeţ, is located in the northwestern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. The village is 58 kilometers (36 miles) north-northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,903 Jews in the Copaigorod raion, representing 4.8 percent of its population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the Copaigorod area in late July 1941. A German military commandant's office governed until September 1941, when authority was transferred to the Romanian civil administration. Under this new administration, the village's name was romanianized from Halcintz to Halcinţi (or, as it appears in some other sources, Galcinţi or Golcinţi), and its affairs were placed into the hands of four successive prefects: Colonel Constantin Dimitriu, Colonel Dr. Ioan Băleanu, Colonel Constantin Năsturaş, and Colonel Constantin Loghin (former prefect of Berezovca and Tulcin). The praetor in the Copaigorod raion was Ioan Vodă.

Deported Jews from Bukovina and Bessarabia were placed in the poorly constructed barracks of a dilapidated *kolkhoz* (state farm) near the village of Halcinţi in the autumn of 1941. They had crossed into Transnistria at Moghilev and then had made a long journey walking south to Copaigorod and then farther to Halcinţi. Living conditions in the barracks were appalling. The lack of basic hygiene facilities, coupled with the deportees' exhaustion and the absence of food, resulted in their dying very quickly from typhus and other illnesses. Left to fend for themselves (in accordance with Ordinance No. 23) and with work not readily available, deportees bartered their belongings in exchange for food.[1] Soon many, especially the poorest deportees, were penniless and without clothes.

Moises Katz, the former president of the Jewish Council of Moghilev (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM), related the

following observation after visiting the camps and ghettos of the Moghilev judeţ in July 1943:

> In the ghetto of Halcintz people ate the carcass of a horse which had been buried two meters deep. The authorities poured carbonic acid on it, yet they continued eating it. I obtained their promise that they would stop consuming this "aliment" and in return I gave them food, clothing, and money for starting a kitchen. I moved them out of the camp and placed them in the nearby village, and paid their rent for 3 months.[2]

The dreadful sight of Moghilev's Jewish deportees also impressed Ion Stănculescu, Mihai Antonescu's secretary (Mihai Antonescu was Romania's vice-president of the Council of Ministers and Minister of the Interior). Stănculescu toured Moghilev's ghettos in January 1943. In his report he accurately described the desperate state of the ghettos, in which public toilets, baths, accommodations, food, clothing, shoes, and medication were missing or grossly inadequate. Stănculescu's concluding remarks described the general state of Moghilev's camps and ghettos and could have just as well applied to Halcinţi's ghetto:

> I ask myself, how anyone can think that these people are to fend for themselves, when they can't find any work, when they can't get anything from their relatives and when the help from the [Jewish] Community is completely insufficient. There are many orphans in the ghettos whose parents have died of typhus and now roam through the ghetto begging. All urgently need food, medicine, clothing, underwear, shoes, straw, tools, bedding linens, and more humane living conditions.[3]

According to estimates of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER), there were 120 Jews in Halcinţi in March 1943.[4] The Romanian administration's September 1943 count of Romanian Jews deported to Transnistria found 124 Jews (119 from Bukovina and 5 from Bessarabia) in Halcinţi.[5] The Red Army recaptured Halcinţi in the spring of 1944.

The People's Tribunal in Bucharest tried Colonel Loghin in 1945 for crimes against the Jewish and local populations, in accordance with Decree 312 of April 24, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources regarding the fate of Jews deported to Halcinţi can be found in the following publications: Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* and vol. 3: *Documents 559–1109* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania, *Final Report* (Iaşi: Polirom, 2005); for the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), 47.

Primary sources regarding the fate of Jews deported to Halcinţi can be found at USHMMA, in collections RG-31.004M (DAOO) and RG-25.006M (AME).

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NOTES

1. "Ordonanţa Nr. 23," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 20, fond 2361, opis 15, delo 1, pp. 268 (and verso).

2. Katz memoir excerpted in "Mizeria în coloniile din Judeţul Moghilev," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 384.

3. "Raport în lagătură cu situaţia evreilor aflaţi în ghettourile din Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11

(Problem 33), vol. 22, pp. 594–598.

4. See “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.

5. See “Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

HRINOVCA

Hrinovca (pre-1941: Khrenovka), a village in the Copaigorod raion, Moghilev judeţ, in the northwestern part of Transnistria, is situated 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) south of Copaigorod. This small village should not be confused with the eponymous villages located in the Ivano-Frankivs'ka and Vinnyts'ka oblasts.

German and Romanian forces occupied Hrinovca on July 20, 1941. After a brief period of German rule, Romanian authorities took over control of the village during the autumn of 1941, romanianizing its name as Hrinovca (also spelled Hrinivca or Hrinova in some documents).

In October 1941, the Romanian authorities established a ghetto in Hrinovca for Bessarabian and Bukovinian Jews deported to Transnistria. The ghetto contained approximately 200 to 250 Jews, of whom one-third died of hunger, cold, and illness (typhus) in the frigid winter of 1941.

The March 1943 count of deported Jews in Transnistrian ghettos, which was requested by the delegation of the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă,* CER) that visited Transnistria in January 1943, listed 241 people.[1] It is not clear whether this figure includes local Ukrainian Jews.

A subsequent count, on September 1, 1943, lists 183 Jews remaining in the ghetto, a number that does not include local Jews. Of the Jews in the ghetto, 1 was from Bessarabia and 182 from Bukovina.[2] The Red Army recaptured Hrinovca in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Hrinovca during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Hrinovca (Khrenovca)," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-*

Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 441; "Krenovka (Hrinovca)," in Gary Mokotoff et al., eds., *Where Once We Walked: A Jewish Guide to the Jewish Communities Destroyed in the Holocaust* (Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu, 2002), p. 163; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Khrenovca can be found at USHMMA in the following collections: GARF (7021-54-1239), DAVINO, and YVA.

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

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1. See "Tablou numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.

2. See "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

HULIEVCA

Hulievca (today: Hulyaivka), a town in the Berezovca raion, Berezovca judeţ, in the southeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 210 kilometers (130 miles) east of Chişinău. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 800 Jews in the Berezovca raion, representing 2.7 percent of its population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Berezovca and nearby towns on August 6, 1941. Immediately after the transfer of authority to the Romanian civil administration in September 1941, the name of the town was romanianized from Huliyevka to Hulievca (or Gulaievca) and the name of the judeţ from Berezovka to Berezovca. Its affairs were placed in the hands of Berezovca's prefect, who from February 1942 was Colonel Leonida Popp, and of his deputy, Sublocotenent Alexandru Smochină. Dr. Victor Petrenciu became Berezovca's prefect in 1943. The chief of the Berezovca labor bureau was M. Ispravnicu, and the commandant of the Berezovca Gendarmes Legion was Maior Ioan Adrian Popescu, followed by Marin Ursuleanu. The praetor was Constantin Şerpuleţ.

Deported Jews from the city of Odessa and its surroundings were placed in improvised camps in ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) villages in the Berezovca judeţ from December 1941 to April 1942. A large number of Jews from such convoys were placed on Hulievca's *kolkhoz* (state farm) in the winter of 1941–1942. They included not only Odessan Jews but also Jews from other parts of Ukraine and Bessarabia who retreated to Odessa, seeking a safe haven in the aftermath of the German-Romanian invasion of the Soviet Union.

Living conditions on the farm were primitive, and most of its buildings were missing windows, doors, and roofs. As a result, many died of cold, hunger, and sickness, especially typhus. There was no work available for the detainees in the middle of the

winter, and the villagers were generally hostile to the Jews, seeing them as a source of infection and disease. They lived entirely on bartering their diminishing possessions.

On March 13, 1942, a group of 17 Nazi SS personnel from Kartaika (germanized as Kuhnersdorf) rounded up 650 Jews from the Hulievca camp and escorted them to a forested area on the town's outskirts, where they murdered them and then burned the corpses. Moments before they were shot, the victims were ordered to strip to their undergarments. Their belongings, including clothing, were subsequently transported to Kartaika, where they were distributed to the local population.[1]

It is not clear whether the entire Jewish population held at Hulievca was murdered at that time. Of the 700 Jews who were still scattered in other localities in the Hulievca gendarmes sector, such as Dobra-Nadejda (today: Sofiivka), Zlataustovo (today: Zlatoustove), Marinovca (today: Mar'yanivka), and Zahariovca (today: Sakharove), 60 Jews were still alive in Hulievca as of April 1, 1942.[2] They were watched by three civilian guards. The total number of Jews living in the Berezovca judeţ, however, steadily decreased, despite new convoys arriving from Odessa in May 1942 that were placed in Mostovoi.

There existed a Jewish labor committee in Berezovca. The members of this committee were Dr. Bruno Gross (president), assisted by Ifraim Fleischman, Rudolf Kirschen, Dr. Iancu Lazarovici (secretary), and Marcu Chireman.[3]

At the request of the Germans for Jewish laborers for road building projects across the Bug River, Prefect Popp sent some 3,000 Jews who had been gathered from all over the Berezovca judeţ in August 1942. It is highly possible that Hulievca's remaining Jews were rounded up and sent with the rest as laborers. Those too weak to work were killed immediately on arrival, and the rest were worked to death.

In March 1943, there were only three Jews in Hulievca, and there were none left by September 1943.[4] The camp ceased to exist at some point between March and September 1943. This finding is consistent with others suggesting that Jewish deportees were not found south of the city of Berezovca after September 1943. The 66 Jews from the Berezovca judeţ listed in the

September 1943 census lived in the northern towns and villages (Suha Balca, Vaselinovo, Mostovoi, and Covaliovca).

In July 1945, the Bucharest's People's Tribunal prosecuted Berezovca's prefect, Leonida Popp, for criminal acts against deported Jews and sentenced him to hard labor in prison and the confiscation of his private property.[5]

SOURCES More information about the fate of Jews deported to Hulievca can be found in the following publications: "Guliavka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 248; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* and vol. 3: *Documents 559–1109* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); for the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53.

Primary sources regarding the fate of Jews deported to Hulievca can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), SRI (RG-25.004M), AMI (RG-25.002M), AME (RG-25.006M), and PCMCM (RG-25.013M). For members of the Jewish labor committee in Berezovca, see RG-31.004M, reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 22, n.p., and in the same collection, reel 18, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 26, p. 62. For statistical figures resulting from censuses, see RG-25.006M, reel 10, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 143; and RG-25.002M, reel 16, file 134/1942, pp. 300–315. For a copy of the note stating the murder of 650 Jews in Hulievca, see RG-25.013M, reel 11, file 108, p. 296. For a list of German townships in the Berezovca judeţ, see RG-31.004M, reel 2, fond

2242, opis 1, delo 1087, p. 144. For the prefect's indictment and sentencing by the Bucharest People's Tribunal, see RG-25.004M, reel 26, file 39181, vol. 1, pp. 194–195, and in the same file, vol. 2, pp. 248, 252–253.

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NOTES

1. See a copy of "Nota," USHMMA, RG-25.013 (PCMCM), reel 11, file 108, p. 296.

2. For statistical evidence regarding Jews in Hulievca in April 1942, see "Situaţia numerică a evreilor aflaţi neevacuaţi din Transnistria, la data de 1 Aprilie 1942, pe lagăre şi ghetouri cu specificarea: bărbaţi, femei şi copii," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 143; for a report attesting to the existence of Jews in other locations in the Hulievca's gendarmes sector in April 1942, see "Studiu Sintentic Informativ pe luna Aprilie 1942," USHMMA, RG-25.002M (AMI), reel 16, file 134/1942, pp. 300–315, reprinted in Ancel, *Transnistria*, 3: 1287–1291.

3. "Tabel de membrii Comitetului de muncă evreesc judeţean," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 22, n.p. (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/22, with page); and "Decizia Nr. 385," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1/26, p. 62.

4. For the March 1943 count, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347; for the September 1943 count, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439.

5. "Actul de Acuzare," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 26, file 39181, vol. 1, pp. 194–195, and in the same file, vol. 2, pp. 248, 252–253.

IAMPOL

The raion center and judeţ seat, Iampol (pre-1941: Yampol; today: Yampil, Ukraine), in the northwestern part of the Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located close to the eastern banks of the Dniester River. It is 42 kilometers (26 miles) southeast of Moghilev. According to the 1939 Soviet census, the Iampol raion had 3,248 Jews, including 1,753 Jews in the town of Iampol, representing 24.4 percent of the town's population. Some Jews managed to flee shortly before the arrival of German and Romanian troops, and others were drafted into the retreating Red Army, but most stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Iampol on July 18, 1941. A few days later, on July 22, 1941, Sonderkommando 10a of Einsatzgruppe D shot nine Jews there. Other Jews in the area were shot in the following weeks. Control over Iampol was transferred to the Romanian civil administration in September 1941, which romanianized its name as Iampol (or Jampol, as in some documents), and renamed the judeţ Jugastru. The prefect of the Jugastru judeţ was Colonel Ştefan S. Gheorghiade. The commandant of the Iampol Gendarmes Legion was Locotenent-colonel Ulman, who was succeeded by Maior C. Petrescu and Maior D. Burcel. The deputy commandant was Căpitan Ioan Z. Mihail. The chief of police and of the Siguranţa Bureau in Iampol was Sublocotenent E. Popovici. The praetor in Iampol was Mihail Turcanu.

During the war, Iampol was one of the most important crossing points into Transnistria. According to data prepared by the Transnistrian gendarmes headquarters in September 1942, it was estimated that 35,276 Jews had by then been deported from Romania to Transnistria via the Cosăuţi-Iampol crossing. As with all other places of entry into Transnistria, the Jewish convoys were not allowed to stay in Iampol, but were marched eastward, deeper inside Transnistria. The intended area of deportation for those entering via Iampol was the Balta judeţ near the Bug River, but

sometimes convoys did not reach their destination and stayed in places along the route. In August 1941, thousands of Jews expelled from southern Bukovina and northern Bessarabia crossed the Dniester River into Transnistria. These were Jews who were part of the "hasty deportations" that occurred in late July 1941. The German authorities, however, refused to accept them. Convoys of deportees, numbering more than 27,500 Jews, were marched back and forth between the crossing points over the Dniester. Some of the deportees were killed immediately after crossing, and others died of exhaustion in and around Moghilev as they were forced to march from place to place. The majority of them were eventually pushed back to Romania. Thirteen thousand of these Jews re entered Romania via Iampol and were held for weeks in the Vertujeni camp (along the Dniester in Bessarabia), before again being deported to Transnistria in mid-September 1941.

However, 350 of the deportees, skilled workers in various fields, were allowed to remain in Iampol by order of the Transnistrian authorities who needed artisans for reconstruction in the Jugastru judeţ. The deportees were placed in dilapidated houses without doors or windows. A ghetto was thus formed along three or four streets of the town. Outside the ghetto, local Ukrainian Jews lived on the same street that housed the Iampol Gendarmes Legion and the Ukrainian police. A year later, the Jews from this street were evacuated and taken into the ghetto, which by that time was encircled by barbed wire. Although themselves in a poor state, local Jews from Iampol helped the deportees. A market and the town's only water pump were located outside the ghetto: once a day, Jews were allowed to leave the ghetto to make purchases and draw water. Leaving the ghetto without a permit was dangerous. On January 27, 1943, 72 Jews from the ghetto were shot by Ukrainian police and Romanian gendarmes after being found outside the ghetto without a permit. Such Jews were usually suspected of trafficking goods and/or speculating in currency. All Jews were obliged to wear a yellow star. On November 30, 1942, the local Ukrainian Jews placed in the Iampol ghetto, some 600 in number, were transported to the stone quarry camp near Ladi-jin (Tulcin judeţ).

Within Iampol, however, Colonel Ulman and Prefect Gheorghiade treated the Jews fairly. Through their efforts, Jews

were employed as craftsmen under fairly humane conditions, and these leaders requested institutions to pay Jews for their work or feed them. Although officially only professionals were to remain in the ghetto, authorities tolerated the presence of several dozen other, nonprofessional Jews in the ghetto. The Jews' treatment became increasingly cruel after these two leaders were replaced.

Romanian Jews await deportation to Transnistria in Iampol, late 1941. USHMM WS #02720, COURTESY OF FONDAZIONE CENTRO DI DOCUMENTAZIONE EBRAICA CONTEMPORANEA.

Iampol had several workshops (*ateliere*) that employed most of the ghetto's Jews. Jewish men and women worked in tailoring workshops, sewing male and female clothes, and in a fur workshop where they made coats and hats. A few other workshops existed for bootmaking and carpentry, where only men worked. The chief of Iampol's workshops was Siegmund Viningher, assisted by Bernhard Landau (accountant) and Veiner Herman (secretary).[1]

Jewish physicians served the ghetto's medical needs and worked in Iampol's medical centers, including a Jewish municipal hospital, where four Romanian Jews were recruited to work. Sallo Ficher was a general practitioner in the ghetto. Samoil Rubin (general practitioner), Iulia Rubin (dentist), Iosif Mandler (otolaryngologist), and Moise Oiring (a specialist in the treatment

of venereal diseases) were based at the Iampol clinic and hospital.[2] Because of these medical centers, the number of Jews infected with typhus was low. The dead were buried in the local Jewish cemetery.

By March 1943, there were approximately 500 Jews residing in the ghetto; by September there were 504 (348 from Bukovina and 156 from Bessarabia). It is unlikely that Ukrainian Jews were included in these counts. In April 1942, there were 1,097 Jews (245 men, 457 women, and 395 children) in the Jugastru judeţ; in September 1943, the total number of deported Jews from Romania living in the judeţ was 1,625.[3]

Partisan activity in the area increased in 1943. Romanian authorities feared that released Soviet prisoners of war (POWs; mostly Ukrainians and Russians), who were residing in the Jugastru judeţ because of family ties to Transnistria, were assisting the partisans. In the Iampol raion alone, there were approximately 1,000 former POWs; another 270 Soviet POWs were held in a camp in Maiovca (today: Moivka, near Cernivtsi) and 9 were in Elaneţ (today: Yalant', near Kryzhopil'). Their activity was closely monitored by the Iampol gendarmerie, as was the activity of various religious minorities (the Brethren, in particular) active in and around Iampol. Orders existed for the detention of Soviet officers and noncommissioned officers in concentration camps and for the arrest and trial of Brethren and other religious minorities.[4]

The Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) helped people in the Iampol ghetto with medication, clothes, and money. Toward the middle of 1943, individual aid sent by friends and family from Romania via CER started to reach the Jews in Iampol.[5] The repatriation of deported Jews to Romania began in December 1943. In February 1944, 65 Romanian Jewish orphans from the Iampol ghetto, ages 1 to 15, were repatriated to Romania.[6] The Red Army liberated Iampol by March 1944.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews in Iampol can be found in the following publications: "Yampol (I)," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New

York University Press, 2001), 3: 1473; "Iampol'," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 1132; "Iampol'," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 7: 424–425; "Iampol'," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 357; "Iampol," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 451–452; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources on the fate of Jews, POWs, and religious minorities in and around Iampol are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and ANR (RG-25.0002M). VHA holds more than 100 testimonies in seven languages (Romanian, English, Hebrew, Yiddish, Russian, Ukrainian, and Spanish) from Jewish survivors held in the Iampol ghetto.

NOTES

1. For more on workshops in the Jugastru judeţ, see "Tabel de atelierele evreieşti din Judeţul Jugastru," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, pp. 96–103 (and verso), (USHMMA, RG-31.004M /6 /2242 /1/1562, pp. 96–103 [and verso]).

2. "Tabel nominal de medicii evreii aflaţi în judeţul Jugastru (ghetouri)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, p. 120.

3. For the April 1942 count, see "Situaţia numerică a evreilor aflaţi neevacuaţi din Transnistria, la data de 1 Aprilie 1942, pe lagăre şi ghetouri cu specificarea: bărbaţi, femei şi copii," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 142; for the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348; for the September 1943 count, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

4. See, for example, the monthly report of the Balta Inspectorate of Gendarmes for October 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 35, file 86, p. 295; for religious minorities, see the monthly report of the Transnistrian Inspectorate of Gendarmes, January 15–February 15, 1942, in the same collection, reel 15, file 134, p. 182. See also a detailed report of the Iampol Information and Siguranţa Bureau for the Iampol Gendarmes Legion, which treats the situation of groups considered dangerous for each township in Jugastru in January 1942, "Dare de Seamă," in the same collection, reel, and file, pp. 31–45 (and verso).

5. Remittances, "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Jampol (Jud. Jugastru)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1567, p. 502.

6. See two tables of Jewish orphans ages 1 to 12 and 12 to 15, respectively, in USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 35, file 35/1944, n.p.

IARUGA

Iaruga, a village in the Moghilev raion, in the Moghilev judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Yaruha, Ukraine), is situated along the Olynek River, a tributary of the Dniester. It is located 24 kilometers (15 miles) southeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. In 1930, there were 829 Jews in Iaruga.

The German and Romanian armies overran the town on July 19, 1941. After a brief German military occupation, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The village's name was then romanianized from Yaruga to Iaruga (occasionally spelled Jaruga). The praetor in the Moghilev raion was Gheorghe Fuciu, who was succeeded by Octavian Oancea.

According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, there were 679 Jews deported from Romania living in Iaruga in October 1942.[1] Siegfried Jägendorf, president of the Moghilev Jewish Committee, estimated that up to 50 percent of the deported Jews in the Moghilev judeţ perished during the winter of 1941 from cold, hunger, and typhus, chief among other fatal diseases.[2]

In August 1941, the German military authorities in Transnistria refused to accept the Jews who had been deported from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia to the Moghilev judeţ in the "hasty deportations" that occurred in late July 1941. Convoys of deportees, numbering more than 27,500 Jews, were forced to march back and forth between the crossing points over the Dniester at Moghilev-Podolsk and Iampol on the Transnistrian side of the river, because the Romanian authorities vehemently refused to accept the convoys returning from Transnistria (although in the end, the Romanian gendarmerie was not able to resist German pressure and accepted the convoys). Approximately 500 Jews, mostly those too exhausted to keep up with the marches' fast pace, were shot in Iaruga by the German security police escorting the convoys.

Subsequent convoys of Jews deported from Bukovina arrived in Iaruga between October and November 1941. Many of the Jews in those convoys crossed the Dniester at Moghilev-Podolsk, making a short stop there amid bombed-out buildings before being forced to press on to Iaruga; others entered via Iampol. The newly arrived deportees—robbed and starved along the way—were crammed inside the former homes of the local Jews, some of whom were still alive at that time. The Iaruga ghetto was thus created. It was an open ghetto, at least for a period, and was guarded by Romanian gendarmes assisted by Ukrainian auxiliaries. The deportees survived on barter, which was possible on market day and was done covertly on other days. In the spring of 1942, in an effort to ease the overcrowding in the Iaruga ghetto (along with the nearby Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto), the Romanian authorities transferred a number of Jews from the ghetto to dreadful camps deeper inside Transnistria, such as the Scazineţ (Skazintsy) and Pecioara (Pechora) camps.[3]

Detailed information about the living conditions inside the Iaruga ghetto comes from a report of the Relief Commission from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER) in Bucharest that visited Transnistria at the beginning of 1943, stopping on January 8 and 9 in Moghilev. The commission, led by Fred Şaraga, learned from a meeting with Rubin Ritter, I. Pozner, and Iacov Ghimpelmann, leaders of the Iaruga ghetto, that at that time 781 Jews were living in the ghetto (416 Jews from Bukovina and 365 Ukrainian Jews). The commission also learned that a soup kitchen had been set up in the ghetto, distributing a watery soup once a day to 150 people of the 300 who needed this help; a hospital also existed in the ghetto, furnished with 16 beds and doctors (Leopold Tumin and Isac Clopper were ghetto doctors in 1943). There were also 15 orphans, 13 of whom were missing both parents. However, because there was no means to create an orphanage, the children were rotated among different families. Regarding forced labor, the commission further learned that, except for 40 elderly and/or incapacitated Jews, all able men and women were put to work in forestry, on the *kolkhozes* (state farms), in vineyards, corn and potato fields, on road repair, and clearing snow. No one was paid for this labor. Finally, the ghetto leaders requested further aid from

the commission to increase the number of soup meals, improve the hospital, and set up an orphanage; school books were also requested. The Relief Commission donated 2,000 RKKS (*Reichskreditkassenschein*; German-issued scrip) toward increasing the number of meals for the neediest and assisting the orphans.[4] CER sent a few more aid boxes to the Iaruga ghetto throughout 1943 and facilitated the transfer of sums of money from relatives or friends living in Romania to deportees in the ghetto.[5] The aid was hardly sufficient, and those who had undeported relatives or friends with financial means were few in number, but the aid nevertheless helped some deportees cope better with their dire prospects.

By March 1943, there were 467 Jews in Iaruga; it is not clear whether the Ukrainian Jews were included in this number. On September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 478 Jews in the camp (6 from Bessarabia, 472 from Bukovina).[6]

The repatriation of the Jews from the Dorohoi district and the Regat took place in December 1943, and the orphaned Jewish children in Transnistria were returned at the beginning of 1944; a few of these returnees had lived in Iaruga. The Red Army recaptured the village at the end of March 1944, liberating the camp. Some of the Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, but most made their way back to Romania amid great challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Iaruga can be found in the following publications: "Yaruga," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 1136–1137; "Yaruga," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 358; "Yaruga," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 430; "Iaruga," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam*

ha-sheniyah (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 452; and "Yarugha," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1474. Additional information can be found in A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2: 8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Iaruga can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and GARF (RG-22.002). Declarations by survivors of the Iaruga ghetto can be found in Chernivtsi Jewish Survivors Organization Affidavits (USHMMA, RG-31.020M). A written testimony from Iaruga survivor Masya Ayzikovich is available in Russian and English at USHMMA, RG-02.120M. VHA holds 54 survivor testimonies in four languages (English, Russian, Hebrew, and Spanish) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol.

20, p. 281.

2. Jägendorf memorandum, September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289 (esp. p. 265).

3. VHA #33364, ʻAvraham ʻAdar testimony, June 29, 1997; VHA #38731, Mikhail Brandt testimony, December 5, 1997; VHA #49798, Rivḳah Naḥbar testimony, October 27, 1998.

4. For a visitor's report, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 124–125; for a list of medical doctors in the Iaruga ghetto in 1943, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 227.

5. See receipts of remittances, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1564, p. 117; reel 10, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1179, p. 527 (and verso); delo 1180, pp. 46, 126.

6. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345, and for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 457.

IASINOVA

Iasinova, a village in the Liubaşevca raion, Golta judeţ (today: Yasenove Pershe and Yasenove Druhe, Ukraine), in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located on both sides of the Kodyma River, a tributary of the Bug. It is 133 kilometers (83 miles) northeast of Chişinău and 168 kilometers (104 miles) northwest of Odessa. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,021 Jews in the raion (census data for Iasinova are not available).

The German and Romanian armies occupied Iasinova in July 1941. By late September 1941, the village came under the control of the Romanian civil administration based in Golta. Under this administration, the village's name was romanianized as Iasinova or Iasinovo. Because of its position along both sides of the Kodyma River, the village was also called Iasinova 1 and Iasinova 2, but most frequently, it appeared in Romanian sources as Iaşii Noi 1 (on the northern side of the river) and Iaşii Noi 2 (on the southern side). The prefect of the Golta judeţ was Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, and his deputy was Aristide Pădure. The acting deputy praetor in the Liubaşevca raion was Lupaşcu. The commandant of the Golta Gendarmes Legion was Locotenent I. Ştefănescu. The chief of the Iasinova gendarmes post was Sergent maior I. Ignea. The administrative offices were based in Iaşii Noi 2.

A ghetto was created for the remaining local Ukrainian Jews in the autumn of 1941. As of late 1941 and early 1942 there were 144 Jews in the ghetto.[1] Little is known about the ghetto's history. Based on Romanian army reports concerning the surrounding area, typhus was rampant in nearby places like Bobric and Vazdovca (a few kilometers away from Iasinova) in November 1941. The authorities feared that the villagers' contact with the Jews congregated in local camps or ghettos, combined with the presence of hundreds of unburied and decomposing Jewish corpses from the many convoys of Jews that marched north into Golta and beyond

from Odessa, would spread the disease among the villages, endangering both the administrative and military personnel stationed in the area.[2] The fear materialized in January 1942, when Isopescu notified a mobile sanitary unit that typhus was spreading to Iasinova (and elsewhere) and asked that it recruit a local sanitation team to control the disease.[3] It is unlikely that any medical effort aided the Jews. In the spring of 1942 the ghetto closed, and its Jewish survivors were scattered among other places in Golta.

In the summer of 1942, the Roma (Gypsy) population from Romania was deported to Transnistria, including the Golta judeţ. In June 1943, there were 9,000 Roma in the Golta judeţ. Of them, some 1,015 were placed in the Liubaşevca raion, including approximately 200 who were camped near Iasinova 2. The Iasinova 2 Roma colony was led by a Roma representative (*primar ţigan*), Dumitru Cristea. Receiving no aid on their arrival in Transnistria, the Roma colony placed near Iasinova remained without any means of earning an honest living, particularly after Isopescu confiscated their carts and horses in August 1942. A fraction of those who survived the winter of 1942 living in temporary wooden huts without any sanitary facilities were employed in agriculture in the Liubaşevca raion in the spring of 1943, but most were forced to sell their possessions, including their clothes, to obtain food. Payment was rarely made for their labor, and when it was, it was usually in the form of food. For those who avoided work (because it was not paid), Golta's prefect ordered imprisonment without food until they agreed to work.[4] For the majority, however, the major problem was the absence of work. The Roma representative Cristea wrote Isopescu the following letter in July 1943:

> With profound respect I come before you complaining that we, the Gypsies (*ţiganii*) placed in township Iaşii Noi 2, receive no work or food from the mayor's office in the township of Iaşii Noi 2, needing therefore to come before you, who alone is able to take measures, or else we are forced to commit theft, robberies, and other such things in order to gain our daily existence.[5]

Driven to desperation, some of the Roma continued to steal from the fields or break into villagers' homes, risking their lives for handfuls of vegetables, grain, animals, or other valuables. Frustrated by frequent reports of theft and robberies in Golta, Isopescu requested permission from the government of Transnistria that "those [Roma] caught (stealing, robbing, or attacking in bands) be hanged in order to serve as example for the others and thus put an end to this worsening situation."[6] The locals often took justice in their hands, severely or mortally wounding the Roma caught stealing.

By the autumn of 1943, the Iasinova administration was not prepared to have the Roma spend another winter there. Many of the previous year's huts needed to be rebuilt after having been burned as firewood in the spring. Some Roma women and children wandered around naked or partly clad, because they had no money to buy clothes. To meet their clothing needs, Isopescu, who was regularly updated about the Roma's poverty, informed Liubaşevca's praetor that 50 pairs of boots, 160 cloth-shoes (*opinci*), and 10 men's and 10 women's suits of sack-cloth were available to Roma "for purchase." The prefect ignored the fact that those undressed or unshod were in that state precisely because they did not have money left to buy clothes or shoes.[7] After weeks of bureaucratic deliberations during which time temperatures dropped substantially, in late October 1943 the officials decided to move the Roma colony temporarily into the empty and destroyed homes of the deported Jews from Iasinova 2.[8]

The Red Army liberated Iasinova 1 and 2 in March 1944. The Bucharest People's Tribunal sentenced Modest Isopescu and Aristide Pădure to hard labor in May 1945.[9]

SOURCES Additional information about Iasinova can be gleaned from the following sources: Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research

Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), p. 125; and Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedica, 2004).

Primary sources about the Jews and Roma deported to or from Iasinova can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and DAMO (RG-31.008). VHA holds two testimonies (in Russian) of a Jewish survivor of Iasinova ghetto (Larisa Iakers) and her rescuer (Mariia Borovskaia), in addition to a few other survivors' testimonies (all in Russian).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. List of members of Iasinova 2 ghetto, USHMMA, RG-31.004 (DAOO), reel 21, fond 2666, opis 1, delo 6, pp. 30–32 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004/21/2666/1/6, pp. 30–32).

2. See the correspondence between Locotenent Gheorghe Mosoiu, commander, 4th Company, 20th Infantry Division, who was temporarily stationed in the area in November 1941, and his superiors, regarding the imminent threat of a large-scale typhus epidemic, USHMMA, RG-31.008 (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, delo 1, opis 12 (USHMMA, RG-31 .008/2178/1/12).

3. See Isopescu's letter to the mobile sanitary unit, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/5, p. 176.

4. Golta prefect order, Nr. 6717, July 8, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/369, p. 3.

5. "Domnule Prefect," July 13, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/21/2666/1/31, p. 13.

6. Correspondence Nr. 12.893, August 17, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/369, p. 23.

7. Correspondence Nr. 16.701/16.223, October 19, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/369, p. 124.

8. Praetor report to the Golta prefecture, "Raport privind situaţia generală şi motivarea măsurilor luate de Pretură, pentru cazarea şi repartizarea ţiganilor în localităţi pe timpul iernei," October 22, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M /2178 /1 /369, pp. 85–86 (and verso).

9. "Actul de Acuzare," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 95, 115–119; and USHMMA, RG-25.004M/95/20372/1, pp. 2–3.

INDEPENDENŢA/LPRS NO. 16

Independenţa is a small town near Galaţi in the Covurlui judeţ in the Regat in the southeastern part of Romania (today: Independenţa, Galaţi judeţ). It is 22 kilometers (14 miles) northwest of Galaţi and 175 kilometers (109 miles) northeast of Bucharest.

A camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) existed at Independenţa. The camp was formally known as prisoner Camp No. 16 Independenţa (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici No. 16 Independenţa*), LPRS No. 16; at some point it was also known as Camp 3. Although it was locally administered by the III Territorial Command, in whose control area it fell, final authority in all matters rested with the Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM). The Command of Prisoner Camps (*Comandamentul Lagărelor de Prizonieri*), headed by Colonel Ion Stănculescu, was a division within MSM created in November 1941 to oversee the implementation of orders and directives for POWs.

The camp opened in the spring of 1942. It had an initial contingent of 835 prisoners allocated by the MSM for agricultural projects in the Covurlui judeţ.[1] The number of prisoners sent to the camp grew continually until 1943, as did Romania's needs for cheap labor.[2] By August 1944, there were 2,411 prisoners in the camp; of them, 13 died while in captivity (1 officer, 11 soldiers, and 1 woman), but others are known to have perished in the subcamps.[3]

Soviet POWs in the workshop of a POW camp in Romania; exact location unknown. USHMM WS #19513, COURTESY OF THE ICRC ARCHIVES (ARR).

The main camp consisted of barracks, which had multi-tiered beds; a shower room, and a kitchen with a dining hall. Manufacturing workshops were also located within the camp. An infirmary also existed, and among the medical staff were two Jews from Romania brought there for forced labor.[4] The camp was encircled by barbed wire. Many prisoners worked outside the camp, mostly in farms or building roads and rail lines; they stayed in subcamps created in villages near the working sites (for example, the Vameş subcamp, 8 kilometers north of Independenţa). The state of the prisoners on arrival in the camp was generally poor, especially regarding uniforms, and although the camp authorities provided from time to time some recycled military clothing (boots, coats, and hats), rarely was that clothing sufficient or of good quality.

Andrea Cassulo, the papal nuncio in Romania, visited the camp on July 1 and 2, 1942, distributing cigarettes as well as Christian Orthodox icons to the prisoners. The Independenţa camp closed down at the end of August 1944, when the Red Army arrived near Galaţi. The prisoners were released at that time and absorbed into the Red Army in various capacities (some as laborers, others as soldiers), but not before they damaged the camp.

SOURCES For the treatment of Soviet POWs in the

Independenţa camp, see Vasile Popa, "Prizonierii Sovietici in România (1941–1945)," available at www.once.ro/sesiuni/sesiune_2007/9%20prizonieri_popa.pdf; on the papal nuncio's visit, see Alesandru Duţu, Florica Dobre, and Andrei Şiperco, "1941–1945: Prizonieri de Război în România … şi Crucea Roşie Internaţională," *MagIs* 2 (1997): 7–16. On prisoner repatriation, see Dedu Constantin, "Repatrierea Prizonierilor Apartinând Naţiunilor Unite, După 23 August 1944," available at www.centrul-cultural-pitesti.ro/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=833:file-de-istorie&catid=254:restituiri-3-2007&Itemid=118. For the involvement of the ICRC and Romanian Red Cross in assisting the Soviet POWs in Romania, see Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internationalã şi România în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război mondial (1 septembrie 1939–23 august 1944): prizonierii de război anglo-americani şi sovietici, deportaţii evrei din Transnistria şi emigrarea evreilor* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Soviet POWs held in the Independenţa camp are available at USHMMA, in collections AMAN (RG-25.003M) and PCMCM (RG-25.013M). Further evidence can be found in TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, opis 977528; and in RGVA, fond 1512, opis 1.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. List of prisoner distribution in agriculture, March 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.013M (PCMMC), reel 22, file 48, pp. 99 and 198.

2. The names of 1,306 Soviet prisoners appear in a searchable database based on Soviet archives (RGVA, TsAMO); it can be found at www.obd-memorial.ru/.

3. List of deceased Soviet soldiers in Romanian camps, TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, p. 2.

4. See the distribution of Jews from Romania for forced labor in the Covurlui judeţ, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel

312, file 1223, p. 45.

JIGOVCA

Jigovca, a small town in the Iampol raion in the Jugastru judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Dzyhivka, Ukraine), is located 41 kilometers (25 miles) east-southeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 858 Jews in the village. After the invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities, and fewer still were drafted into the Red Army, but many stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Jigovca on or around July 18, 1941. During the short German military occupation, German police forces and Romanian soldiers rounded up the Jews, killing some in August. The Romanian civil administration took control of the town in September 1941, romanianizing its name from Dzygovka to Jigovca. The prefect in the Jugastru judeţ was Colonel Ştefan S. Gheorghiade; the praetor in the Iampol raion was Aurelian Rădulescu.

A ghetto for local Jews, as well as for Jews deported from northern Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romania, was set up in the fall of 1941.[1] Far more Jews passed through Jigovca on their way to the Bug River than those few (usually with desirable skills) who were permitted to stay. There was a ban on movement outside the ghetto; violators were severely punished. Romanian gendarmes and local Ukrainian auxiliaries from the local gendarmes post guarded the ghetto. Behind the tall, barbed-wire fence surrounding the ghetto, the detainees lived with endless privations. Incorporating only a few streets from the town's Jewish area, the ghetto was very overcrowded, with detainees forced into the houses of local Jews and with 10 to 12 people sharing a single room. Epidemics (especially of typhus), hunger, cold, and exhaustion led to many deaths during the first two years of ghettoization (1941–1942). Wearing the yellow star was obligatory. A Jewish police force was instituted in the ghetto, under the supervision of a constituted Jewish Council. Barter,

begging by the most destitute, and the generosity of local non-Jews toward those who sought help were the key means of survival for many. Able-bodied Jews (both men and women) undertook forced labor in the local sugar factory, chopped wood, worked in agriculture, and cleared snow for little or no food. Others, like Doctor Albert Schorr, worked in the Jigovca hospital.[2]

At some point in early 1942, the number of Jews in the ghetto was 1,046, probably the majority being Ukrainian Jews. The census of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) in March 1943 did not include Jigovca on its list of ghettos needing help, perhaps because of the small number of Jews from Romania in its ghetto. On September 1, 1943, however, the ghetto numbered 105 Jews (96 from Bessarabia, 9 from Bukovina), without counting the Ukrainian Jews.[3]

The Red Army recaptured the town and liberated the ghetto in the second part of March 1944. After the ghetto was freed by Red Army soldiers, some Jews were conscripted into the army, and the rest of the survivors made their way home amid many challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Jigovca can be found in the following publications: "Dzygovka," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 351; I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011); and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/ Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the*

Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944 (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); for census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Boris M. Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, trans. Marina Guba (London: Vallentine Mitchel, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Jigovca ghetto can be found at USHMMA, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). The last collection contains a map of the Jugastru judeţ showing the exact location of the Jigovca ghetto and the number of inhabitants in 1942, in reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21. Affidavits relating to experiences in the Jigovca ghetto can be found at USHMMA, RG-31.020M, Chernivtsi Jewish Survivors Organization. VHA holds 96 survivor testimonies in three languages (Russian, Ukrainian, and Hebrew) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. List of ghettos in the Jugastru judeţ, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 22, n.p.

2. List of doctors in Jugastru judeţ USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 120.

3. The March 1943 census does not contain Jigovca among the Jugastru judeţ localities, as can be seen in "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348; for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

LADIJIN

Ladijin (pre-1941: Ladyzhin; today: Ladyzhyn), a village in the Trostineţ raion, Tulcin judeţ, in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located along the Bug River. It is 28 kilometers (17 miles) east of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 720 Jews in Ladijin, representing more than 13 percent of the village's population. After the German-Romanian invasion in June 1941, some of the Jews retreated with the Red Army deeper inside the Soviet Union and a few were drafted into the Red Army, but most stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Ladijin on July 24, 1941. On September 12 (or 13), 1941, Sonderkommando 10a of Einsatzgruppe D rounded up the remaining 504 (or 486, according to other reports) Jews—men, women, and children—and shot them in front of the Ukrainian villagers. Another 29 Jews were taken across the Bug River to Gaisin and killed. Requests from the local villagers to save the children were rejected by the German and Romanian authorities. Control over Ladijin was formally transferred to the Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941, but in practice this did not happen until the end of September. Under the Romanian administration, the town's name was romanianized from Ladyzhin to Ladijin (or Ladajin, Ladizin, Ladigeni). In succession, Colonels Ion Lazăr, Constantin Loghin, and Constantin Năsturaş were Tulcin's prefects. Ion Vodă was the sub-prefect. The commandant of the Tulcin Gendarmes Legion was Maior Mihailovici, who was succeeded by Căpitan Fetecău. The praetor in the Trostineţ raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

Jews from northern Bessarabia and Bukovina regions in Romania, as well as Ukrainian Jews from nearby villages in the Trostineţ raion, were deported to Ladijin in October and November 1941. As many as 2,000 Jews coming from Romania entered Transnistria at Moghilev-Podolsk. Most were force-marched (although some Jews came in an organized transport in

goods wagons) to a train station near Ladijin. Approximately 450 Ukrainian Jews from the area were also marched to Ladijin, where they were placed in an open camp, set up in the abandoned barracks of a defunct arms factory previously used by the Soviet authorities. Romanian gendarmes kept watch over the camp, but did not forbid the deportees from moving about inside the village. The barracks were primitive, lacking essentials such as windows, beds, and tables. People slept on the floor atop wooden planks and makeshift beds (piled-up luggage, clothes, etc.), and cooked on makeshift woodstoves. Foodstuffs were procured primarily from bartering with the villagers, usually at exorbitant prices. A few months later, in January 1942, all but a small number (75 according to some counts) of Jewish craftsmen were transferred to Pecioara (today: Pechera), a concentration camp 42 kilometers (26 miles) northwest of Ladijin.

In June 1942, a second wave of 1,000 Jews was deported from Bukovina to the Ladijin camp. Six hundred of them were from Cernăuţi and other towns in Bukovina, whereas 400 were from Dorohoi city in northern Bessarabia.[1] After a short stay in Moghilev-Podolsk, they were transported in train cattle cars in crowded conditions to Ladijin. There they were received on arrival with harsh words by an officer. The new group occupied the building of a former school, which was encircled by barbed wire. It was better guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian police than Ladijin's first camp; entering and exiting the camp were only allowed between 11 A.M. and 3 P.M. The deportees could walk to the Bug River to wash, but were prohibited from leaving the village without written authorization.[2] There were attempts to escape, but anyone caught faced being shot. By bribing officials, the Jews were allowed to attend a produce market once a week to barter for or buy essential food (at highly inflated prices).[3]

Dr. Camillo Horth (or Harth) became the chief ghetto leader and was aided by a Jewish committee. Through funds collected from deportees, a communal soup kitchen was set up where the needy received a warm meal each day. The Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) from Bucharest assisted the camp with a sum of money in August 1942.[4] Through the same organization, private sums of money were sent to the deportees by

their undeported relatives and friends in Romania.[5] A few Jewish doctors and dentists worked in the local hospital.

On August 18, 1942, a group of German SS officers and soldiers arrived at the camp accompanied by trucks belonging to the Organisation Todt (OT) building conglomerate and by Lithuanian soldiers. Obersturmführer Christoffel and Oberscharführer Mass commanded the operation that was supposedly recruiting Jewish workers for road-building projects undertaken by OT in the territory across the Bug controlled by the Germans. Five hundred and fifty Jews were "selected" as able workers and placed in trucks, before being taken together with their luggage across the Bug. The elderly were shot on arrival or soon thereafter; most of the remaining Jews, scattered in smaller groups among various German camps, perished due to harsh living and working conditions. The majority of the 130 Jews who remained in the Ladijin camp were transferred to the nearby Stone Quarry (*Cariera de Piatră*) transit camp in September 1942, thanks to a combination of bribery and presumably because their skills were deemed essential. The move represented the end of the Ladijin camp, even though a few Jews remained there a little longer to perform medical services in the local hospital.[6]

The Red Army recaptured Ladijin in March 1944. The People's Tribunal of Bucharest tried and convicted Colonel Loghin in 1945 for crimes perpetrated against the Jews during his tenure as the Tulcin prefect.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Ladijin can be found in the following publications: "Ladyzhyn," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 2 (New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 699; "Ladejin," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 455–456; "Ladyzhin," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 259–260; A. I.

Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 182; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources regarding the fate of Ladijin's Jews are found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), MAE (RG-25.006M), and GARF (RG-22.002M, reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1233). For a survivor's testimony, see Gerhard Schreiber's memoirs available as an audio recording at http://access.cjh.org/home.php?type=extid&term=1315434#1, and as a transcript, http://access.cjh.org/home.php?type=extid&term=426298#1. VHA holds 56 testimonies in five languages from survivors of the Ladijin camp.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See the government of Bukovina's reports regarding the deportations of Jews from Bukovina, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 196–198 (and verso), 209–210.

2. Various ordinances: "Ordonanţa No. 3" (September 22, 1941) and "Ordonanţa No. 6" (November 17, 1941), issued by the Tulcin prefect, Colonel Ion Lazăr, USHMMA, RG-31.004M

(DAOO), reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 76, n.p.; and RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 546, p. 65.

3. VHA #23806, Leopold Oberhard testimony, December 1, 1996; VHA #29357, David Wasserman testimony, May 27, 1997; and VHA #40830, Israel Lapciuc testimony, April 27, 1998.

4. See acknowl edgment of receipt of money: USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 11, file 779, pp. 36 (and verso).

5. See many receipts of money deposits, "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din România evacuaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Ladajin (Jud. Tulcin)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 9, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1189, pp. 136–137; and those remittances returned or redirected because the deportees were no longer in the Ladijin camp, USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 9, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1189, pp. 187–188.

6. See the following census reports: "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347, and "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

LADIJIN/STONE QUARRY

Located near Ladijin in the Trostineţ raion, Tulcin judeţ (today: Ladyzhyn, Ukraine), in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, the Stone Quarry (*Cariera de Piatră*) camp is approximately 15 kilometers (9 miles) northwest of Ladijin.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Ladijin and its surroundings on July 24, 1941. Control over the area surrounding the stone quarry was formally transferred to the Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941, but in practice this did not happen until the end of the month when camps and ghettos began to be established. In succession, Colonels Ion Lazăr, Constantin Loghin, and Constantin Năsturaş were Tulcin's prefects. Ion Vodă was the sub-prefect. The commandant of the Tulcin Gendarmes Legion was Maior Mihailovici, followed by Căpitan Fetecău. The praetor in the Trostineţ raion was Constantin Alexandrescu. The commandant of the Stone Quarry camp was Locotenent Dan Enăchiţă.

New waves of deportations from Cernăuţi and other main towns in Bukovina resumed in June 1942. Of the Jews deported to Transnistria in June 1942, at least 600 Jews were deported to the Stone Quarry camp. On arrival, they were met with harsh words by Sublocotenent Vasilescu, the camp's medical officer, before being marched to the camp.

Once a penal camp under the Soviet regime, the stone quarry was heavily damaged before the Red Army retreat in July 1941. Under Romanian control, it became an open transit camp. A small unit of Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian policemen guarded the camp. The guard chief was Caporal Costică Poenaru. The camp consisted of a few large dilapidated barracks and a few smaller houses and shacks in poor condition, usually without windows, doors, and beds. A road led downhill to a fountain and a small stream of water, and another road led to the Bug River. Groups of people occupied individual rooms in the few houses available,

while the barracks held the Jews of the Cernăuţi Insane Asylum and the Old Age Home. The shortage of livable rooms caused overcrowding in the camp's lodges. The deportees organized themselves into groups and appointed a leader over each one. An open ditch on the outskirts of the camp served as the lavatory.

The Jews were concentrated in this camp for delousing and for labor deployment elsewhere because there was no work to do in the camp. Delousing ovens were used to "disinfect" clothes, which occasionally burned the items placed inside and left the owners without clothes or with partly damaged clothing. Local Ukrainian peasants assembled twice a week at an area on the camp's outskirts to sell or exchange produce for money and other valuables. The deportees washed their clothes without soap in the Bug River. Swimming in the river was prohibited after being tolerated for a short while. Cultural activities, schools, and social gatherings were organized under the guidance of educated Jews. The Romanian authorities requested musical performances for their own enjoyment, but the deportees attended the concerts as well.[1] A Jew named Lederman, a harsh person, was put in charge of enforcing strict sanitation rules that were passed down from the camp authorities.

With voluntary donations from well-off inmates, a canteen was created for the very poor. The mentally ill patients suffered significantly more than the rest. They were not permitted to leave their barracks and lived in abject filth. Fed very little and unable to supplement their meals due to the absence of money, they basically starved.

With the approval of Colonel Loghin, a small group of German officers inspected the camp in August 1942 with the intention of recruiting Jewish workers for building projects across the Bug River. A few days later, early in the morning on August 17, 1942, the German officers returned with military trucks belonging to Organisation Todt (OT) and SS soldiers. The principal project for which Jewish forced laborers were sought was the building of a segment of Highway IV (*Durchgangsstrasse IV*, DG-IV) connecting western and southern Ukraine (Lvov to Stalino).

A se lection took place in the middle of the camp's assembly area where almost every one in the camp had assembled.

Approximately 200 Jews were able to pay Locotenent Enăchiţă a bribe of $40 US and were thereby listed as necessary skilled workers for the camp (and encouraged to hide in a barrack). A smaller number of Jews took to the cornfields at the sound of the arriving German trucks and returned after they left. With these exceptions, most other Jews, however, stayed in the camp and were handed over to the German authorities. Once loaded onto the OT trucks, their fate was sealed. Personal documents were torn and destroyed even before they left the camp, and their belongings were searched again for valuables. The elderly were shot soon after leaving the camp. Smaller groups of the remaining Jews were scattered among German-run camps, where they lived and worked in extremely harsh conditions; those who survived until early 1943 were eventually shot as the camps closed down.

Some 450 Jews still remained in the Stone Quarry camp. They were transferred in September 1942 to a number of camps in the Tulchin judeţ. About half of them went to Ladijin, and the rest went to Kirnasovca and Obodovca, among other places. During that time, the Stone Quarry camp's mentally ill patients and Jews from the elderly home in Cernăuţi were shot by Ukrainian policemen at the order of Romanian officers in charge of the camp. A few days later, however, the group of nearly 200 Jews transferred to Ladijin from the Stone Quarry returned to the camp, along with another 130 people from Ladijin. Shortly afterward, more Jews started arriving at the Stone Quarry camp from other detention sites in northern Transnistria. Six hundred Ukrainian Jews came from Iampol. Another 300 came from various other camps in the Tulcin judeţ, such as Capusteani, Chirnasovca, Olianiţa, and Certvertinovca. By November 1942, the number of Jews in the camp reached 1,300.[2]

The new camp community organized itself again in preparation for winter. Firewood was gathered from a few run-down, dismantled barracks. The Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) assisted the camp on a few occasions with clothing, medicine, and money. Through the same Jewish organization, some of the deportees received private sums of money from undeported friends and family in Romania. Typhus and typhoid fever erupted in November 1942. Preventive

measures, such as boiling drinking water, general cleanliness among deportees, and the presence of medical doctors in the camp, kept fatalities low. In late December 1943, 200 Jews were transferred to the Tulcin ghetto, but most remained in place until the spring of 1943.

What happened to the remaining Jews is difficult to know with certainty. The camp does not figure in the censuses of CER or the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes that took place in March and September 1943, respectively.[3] Colonel Ion Stănculescu's report from early 1943, however, estimates the number of Jews in the Stone Quarry camp as between 500 and 800.[4] It is likely that most of these Jews were dispatched to various German-run camps across the Bug, and a few were retained in the Tulcin judeţ as specialist workers.

The Red Army recaptured the area surrounding the Stone Quarry camp in March 1944. The People's Tribunal of Bucharest tried and convicted Colonel Loghin in 1945 for crimes perpetrated against the Jews during his tenure as prefect of Tulcin.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to the Ladijin/Stone Quarry camp can be found in the following publications: "Dorohoi," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 323–324; "Cariera de Piatra," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 496; "Ladyzhin," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 259–260; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 182. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele*

Evreilor din România, 1940–1944, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources regarding the fate of Jews deported to the Ladijin/Stone Quarry camp are found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DACgO (RG-31.006M), and MAE (RG-25.006M). Survivor Loniu Rones's memoir is available as "A Survivor of Cariera de Piatra: A Memoir," USHMMA, Acc. No. 1996.A.0406. USHMMA also holds an oral history interview with survivors Samuel Flor and Gertrude Granirer Flor (RG-50.030*0296, July 28, 1994). VHA holds 28 testimonies in seven languages from survivors of the Cariera de Piatră camp. Survivor Gerhard Schreiber's memoir is available as audio recording and transcript at http://access.cjh.org. A published suvivor's testimony is Isak Weissglas, *Steinbruch am Bug: Bericht einerDeportation nach Transnistrien*, ed. Wolfgang Benz (Berlin: Literaturhaus, 1995).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0296, oral history interviews with Samuel Flor and Gertrude Granirer Flor, July 28, 1994.

2. For a list with the names of the deportees found in the Cariera de Piatra camp, see "Lagarul Cariera de Piatra, Ladejin," USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACgO), reel 12, fond 38, opis 6, file 332.

3. "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347, and "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi

în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

4. The commandant of POW camps in Romania, Ion Stănculescu, prepared a report after his visit to Transnistrian camps and ghettos: "Raport în legătura cu situaţia evreilor aflaţi în ghetourile din Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 594–598 (esp. p. 594).

LIUBAŞEVCA

Liubaşevca, the seat of the Liubaşevca raion in the Golta judeţ, in the southern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Lyubashivka, Ukraine), is located approximately 140 kilometers (102 miles) north of Odessa and 146 kilometers (87 miles) northeast of Chişinău. According to the Soviet census of 1939, there were 671 Jews in the town. Although some retreated with the Soviet authorities and fewer still were drafted into the Red Army after the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, most stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Liubaşevca by the middle of July 1941. Control over the town was transferred to the Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September of that year; the town's name was then romanianized from Liubashevka to Liubaşevca. The deputy praetor in Liubaşevca was Lupaşcu.

After taking control of the village, the Romanian gendarmes and German soldiers shot 350 Jews from Liubaşevca and the surrounding villages in September.[1] The Romanian authorities then established a ghetto in the fall of 1941, after registering 163 Jews in the Liubaşevca raion.[2] Many of these local Jews, along with thousands of other Jews deported from Bukovina and Bessarabia in Romania, were temporarily sent to the ghetto before being moved farther east to the dreadful camps of Domanovca and Bogdanovca in an area known as the "kingdom of death." Jews from villages in the Liubaşevca raion, including Agafievca, Arcipitovca, and Iasinova, were registered at the Liubaşevca ghetto as early as January and February 1942 and moved farther east over the course of the year. By April 18, 1942, only nine Jews remained in the Liubaşevca ghetto.[3]

The area in Liubaşevca where the Jews were held was equally spoken of as both a "camp" and a "ghetto." According to official documentation, altogether 110 Jews were registered at the Liubaşevca ghetto as of January 12, 1943. Most of the new

inmates were men and women who possessed various skills that became useful for the local administration, as well as their families. Most inmates had to work while in the ghetto, frequently in their original occupations.[4] Among them were railway workers, tailors, and embroiderers. Ninety-two Jews (Ukrainians as well as Bessarabians and Bukovinans) were still registered at the site as of July 6, 1943.[5]

Roma (Gypsies) deported from Romania were brought to Liubaşevca and scattered among its villages in the early fall of 1942. After being robbed of their horses, carts, and other possessions, the Roma suffered greatly. The more fortunate ones were able to barter for food with some of their possessions (jewelry and clothes) that they had managed to hide. Only a handful found work in agriculture or loading/unloading freight cargo at the Liubaşevca rail station and received food (produce) for their work. Driven by cold and hunger (many remaining completely naked), the Roma resorted to theft and robberies to survive. The area gendarmes in turn became harsher and treated them with even more brutality. Many perished of cold, hunger, and typhus.[6]

The repatriation of various categories of Jews deported to Transnistria occurred between December 1943 and March 1944. Many Roma fled the town as well. The Romanian administration retreated from the Golta judeţ on the eve of the Red Army's crossing of the Bug River in March 1944. On capturing Liubaşevca, the Red Army liberated the ghetto in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Further information about the fate of the Jews held in the Liubaşevca ghetto can be found in the following publications: "Liubashevka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 554; "Liubashevka," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 185; "Liubashevka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 345; and M. G. Dubik, ed.,

Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944) (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), pp. 124–125. For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For a collection of documents reporting on the persecution of the Roma deported from Romania, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

The following collections at USHMMA contain primary source material about the Liubaşevca ghetto: OOYV (USHMMA, RG-31.004M), reels 20 and 21; DAMO (USHMMA, RG-31.008M), especially fiche no. 2178/1/373; and DAOO (RG-31.004M). VHA contains 21 survivor testimonies about the Liubaşevca ghetto, among them the testimonies of Vera Davel'man, May 9, 2000 (#50885); Semen Gleyzer, May 20, 1998 (#47078); and Semen Gromadskii, August 13, 1998 (#49384).

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NOTES

1. “Liubashevka,” in I. A. Altman, *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR*, p. 554.

2. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (OOYV), reel 21, “List of Jews who lived in Liubasevca rural district prior to evacuation,” n.d.

3. USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 21, “Jews who stayed as of April 18, 1942,” n.d.

4. USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 20, “Tabel de evreii din lagarul Liubasevca îmaprtiti pe meserii si ocupatii,” January 12, 1943.

5. USHMMA, RG-31.008 (DAMO), Fiche no. 2178/1/373, “Tabel nominal model Nr.1 de utilizarea evreilor din Transnistria,” n.d.

6. For more, see Achim, *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor*, pp. 265 (Doc. 436), pp. 345–346 (Doc. 512).

LOZOVA

Lozova, a village in the Şargorod raion, in the Moghilev judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Lozova, Ukraine), is located 29 kilometers (18 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk.

The German and Romanian armies overran Lozova on July 22, 1941. After a short German military occupation, during which time the village's Jews were persecuted, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The praetor in the Şargorod raion was Iosif Dindelegan, a corrupt and violent man.

A ghetto was created in Lozova soon after the arrival of a convoy in December 1941 with approximately 100 Jewish deportees, mostly from Bukovina. The convoy marched under escort to Lozova from Moghilev-Podolsk in bitter cold, snowy conditions, although they were able to pay for a cart to transport some of the luggage. The village mayor in Lozova looked favorably on the destitute group of Jews and allowed them to remain in the village. The deportees stayed with the few Jewish families that had survived the period of German control of the area by concealing their identity, but also bartered for rooms from the non-Jewish villagers. All in all, there were approximately 160 Jews in Lozova when the ghetto was created. The ghetto was not fenced with barbed wire, but was closely guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries. Every one inside was well aware that leaving the village without permission was punishable by death. A classroom in the local school was repurposed into a prison cell, primarily although not exclusively for Jews.

Life inside the ghetto was difficult, particularly during the winter of 1941, when typhus, cold, and hunger caused the death of some of the deportees.[1] In addition, the presence of German troops in the village, who were guarding a camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), added to their fears, particularly because they customarily robbed the Jews they encountered. People survived on

barter and charity. The deportees worked for their lodging, helping the villagers in the local *kolkhoz* (tobacco-leaf harvesting and cleaning stables); others set up a tailoring workshop to produce fur gloves for German soldiers, and a few became barbers and hairdressers. The ghetto's spokesmen were named Hager and Singer.[2] Lozova's proximity to Şargorod, some 10 kilometers (6 miles) away, improved its inmates' chances of survival after 1942, when some aid sent from Romania by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) trickled down from the much larger and better organized Şargorod ghetto.

By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Lozova was 104; it is not clear whether the Ukrainian Jews were included in this count. On September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 31 Jews in the camp (4 from Bessarabia, 27 from Bukovina).[3] The decrease in number may have been due to relocation for forced labor to the Nestervarca peat exploitation camp near Tulcin, as well as the transfer of a few skilled workers to the bridge-building camp at Trihati, on the Bug, in the southern part of Transnistria.[4]

The repatriation of the Jews from the Dorohoi city and judeţ and from the Regat took place in December 1943; a few other groups, such as decorated World War I veterans, war invalids, war widows, and former state functionaries, followed suit. There were a few such cases in Lozova.[5] The Red Army recaptured the village at the end of March 1944, liberating the ghetto. Some of the Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, but most made their way back to Romania amid great challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Lozova can be found in the following publications: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011); and "Lozova," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-*

Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad leahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 457. Additional information can be found in A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2: 8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Lozova can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). VHA holds five survivor testimonies from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

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NOTES

1. VHA #26498, Fridah Bra'unsteyn testimony, January 29, 1997.

2. VHA #27409, Lothar Singer testimony, February 11, 1997.

3. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345; for the September

1943 census, see “Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

4. For a list of skilled workers recruited from Moghilev district ghettoes, including Lozova, for Nestervarca and Trihati, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo, p. 23.

5. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 12 and delo 15.

LUCINEŢ

Lucineţ (pre-1941: Luchinets), a village in the Copaigorod raion, in the Moghilev judeţ in Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located some 28 kilometers (18 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1923 Soviet census, 667 Jews lived in the village. By 1940, the number of Jews in Lucineţ had decreased substantially as a result of the Ukrainian famine and the resettlement of Jews to larger towns and villages.

The invading German-Romanian armies occupied Lucineţ on July 20, 1941. After a short period of German rule, authority for the village was transferred to the Romanian administration in the autumn of 1941. Under the Romanians, the village was romanianized as Lucineţ (or Lucineţi). In November 1941, a ghetto was established in Lucineţ for Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina deported by the Romanian authorities to Transnistria. Among the deportees were decorated World War I veterans as well as former functionaries of the Romanian state.[1] The chief of the Jewish ghetto was Iancu Abram, assisted by Mendel Nagler and Matel Şapira.

The houses constituting the ghetto in Lucineţ were encircled by barbed wire. Several families were crowded together into small rooms in these houses, owned by local Ukrainian Jews. In most cases, they slept on bare plank beds. Hunger, epidemics spurred by poor sanitary conditions, and extreme cold resulted in a high mortality rate among the newly arrived Jews, particularly among the children and the elderly. In the frigid winter of 1941–1942, the ghetto population was almost halved by tuberculosis, louse-borne epidemic typhus, and dysentery. By the spring of 1942, less than one-third of the children were still alive. In total, 1,698 Jews died of hunger and disease in Lucineţ from 1941 to 1942.[2]

Starting in 1942, peasants from the nearby villages were allowed into the ghetto to trade food for belongings. In the center of Lucineţ, a market also spontaneously formed, and on some market days the Jews were permitted to shop there. Some ghetto

inmates had managed to hide small valuables—gold chains, rings, earrings, and the like—that they exchanged for potatoes, flour, and oats. Men were forced to perform hard labor, such as digging peat, for many hours a day, whereas the women were allowed to go into the countryside in search of a living, usually working for local Ukrainians. For a workday of farming, they received a kilogram of potatoes.[3] Only those few employed in the Romanian administration (hospital, praetor's office, etc.) received payment in cash, and only occasionally.[4]

In 1942, a hospital with 16 beds and a medical center was established in Lucineţ. It treated infectious diseases and also provided specialized children's care. Ghidion Lecher, Solomon Grill, Abraham Platnic, Aron Stoleru, and Sali Sontag were doctors in the hospital.[5] A ghetto-run orphanage was also established for the unfortunate children without one or both parents.

In January 1943, the ghetto in Lucineţ, along with other Transnistrian ghettos, was visited with the Romanian government's permission by a delegation from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER). The delegation found an estimated 2,897 Jews in the ghetto; the number of orphans was ascertained to be 116 (of whom 50 had lost both parents).[6] CER left a sum of 5,000 German scrip (*Reichskreditkassenscheine*) to assist the orphanage and to reopen the ghetto's canteen (which had operated before, but had been closed due to a lack of funds).[7] Private sums of money sent by deportees' friends and family were also distributed to those intended recipients through CER.[8] Letters and packages from siblings in Romania were occasionally allowed.[9]

On September 1, 1943, after some of the Jews had been sent away to work in mid-1943, there were 177 Jews from Bessarabia and 830 from Bukovina in the ghetto,[10] as well as some local Jews. In March 1944, a number of orphaned children from Lucineţ were repatriated to Romania in the care of local Jewish communities.[11] The Red Army recaptured Lucineţ and freed the remaining Jews.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Lucineţ during the Holocaust may be found in these publications: Benjamin Lehrer, "Lucinet," in Hugo Gold, ed., *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina*, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: "Olamenu," 1962); "Lucinet," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 457; "Luchinets," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2005), 5: 332–333; "Luchinets," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 1 (New York: New York University Press, 2001). Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Lucineţ can be found in the following collections at USHMMA: GARF (7021-54-1239); DAVINO (r2966-2-691); DAOO (r2264-1-15; r2255-1-1359-1366, 1370, 1372, 1374, 1376, 1179, 1400, 1403, 1407, 1408); and YVA. At USHMMA, records of DAOO (RG-31.004M) may be consulted for the following: tables of decorated veterans and Romanian state functionaries deported to Lucineţ, reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, 49, pp. 256–260, and reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, 15, p. 26; for payment records, reel 8, fond 2255, opis 1s, 1177, p. 300, and reel 8, fond 2255, opis 1s, 1177, p. 224; for records of private financial aid sent by family and friends, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1567, p. 488, and RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1567, p. 487; and for a list of Jewish

doctors working in Lucineţ and its surroundings, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1562, pp. 226–227. For a list of orphaned children from Lucineţ re-turning to Romania in March 1944, see RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 6, file 7642, p. 344; Fred Şaraga's report on Lucineţ can be found in the same collection, reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 129. Aleksandr Trakhtenberg's testimony is quoted in *Izvestiia.Ru*, January 23, 2009.

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NOTES

1. See "Tabel nominal de evreii aflaţi în ghetourile din raza acestei Legiuni şi care sunt decoraţi pentru merite speciale sau fapte de arme din războaiele României," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, 49, pp. 256–260 (esp. p. 259) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/1 /2242 /4s/49 /256–260). For a list of state functionaries, see "Tabel nominal de evreii foşti funcţionari de Stat, aflaţi în ghetourile din raza acestei Legiuni," USHMMA, RG-31.004M /13 /2264/1/15/26.

2. GARF, 7021-54-1239, p. 60.

3. Testimony of Aleksandr Trakhtenberg, January 23, 2009, *Izvestiia.Ru*, http://www.izvestia.ru/hystory/article3124621/.

4. See "Borderou asupra plăţilor efectuate evreilor din Jud. Moghilev," section Lucineţi, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/8/2255/1s/1177/300, and "Borderou Nr. 153 asupra plăţilor ce s-au efectuat la data de 18/V/1943 la Lucineţi," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/8/2255/1s/1177/224.

5. See "Tabel nominal de medicii evrei aflaţi în ghetoul Moghilev şi în Judeţ," USHMMA, RG-31.004M /6/2242 /1 /1562/226–227.

6. A smaller figure of 1,307 Jews, probably not taking into account local Jews, is offered by Ancel, *Documents*, 5:345.

7. See Fred Şaraga's final report "Raportul Oficial al Comisiunii

Evreieşti care a fost în Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 129 (USHMMA, RG-25.004M/9/2710/33/129).

8. See, for example, "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Gorai-Lucineţ (Jud. Moghilev)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242 /1 /1567 /488, and "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Lucineţ (Jud. Moghilev)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1567/487.

9. See "Tabel nominal de confirmările pachetului sosite din Cernăuţi," USHMMA, RG-31.004/13/2264/1/8/106.

10. "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

11. See "Tabel nominal de copii evrei orfani de ambii parinţi între 1-15 ani, repatriaţi din Transnistria şi luaţi în îngrijirea Comunităţei evreeşti din Bacău," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/6/7642/344.

LUGOJ

The city of Lugoj, in the Timiş judeţ in the southwestern part of Romania, is located 53 kilometers (33 miles) southeast of the city of Timişoara or approximately 359 kilometers (223 miles) northwest of Bucharest.

The internment camp established near Lugoj was created as a result of the Romanian Internal Affairs Ministry (*Minis-terul Afacerilor Interne*, RMAI) Order No. 4147, issued on June 22, 1941. This order instructed the Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM), the gendarmerie, the General Directorate of Police, and the prefects of each Romanian county that Marshal Ion Antonescu had ordered that all Jews living between the Siret and Prut Rivers in northeastern Romania were to be deported to newly established internment camps in the southern and southwestern regions of Romania.[1] All able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 60 living in the area demarcated by the order would be sent to the large internment camp at Târgu Jiu, where they were to perform hard labor. The families of these men, as well as all other Jews in this area who did not meet these criteria, were to be sent to smaller internment camps, such as the camp at Lugoj.

The deportation of Jews from between the Siret and Prut began soon after the joint Romanian-German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. The prisoners at Lugoj were Jewish women and children from the area near the city of Dorohoi, in northeastern Romania. On August 7, 1941, there were 499 people living in the camp, 261 of whom were adult women and 238 of whom were children under the age of 18.[2] The prisoners in the camp at Lugoj were guarded by members of the Lugoj military garrison, with the assistance of the gendarmerie and local police forces; the camp remained under the overall authority of the RMAI.

Initially, the forced labor of Jews in the internment camps was controlled by the RMAI; before the mass mobilization of

Romanian Jews for military labor service in August 1941, Antonescu had ordered that all Jews living in the internment camps should be subjected to "hard labor" (*muncă grea*).[3] However, the order did not clarify the status of Jewish women with respect to the forced labor obligation. When control over Jewish forced labor was passed from the RMAI to the MSM on August 8, 1941, the status of women remained unclear; on August 23, MSM indicated its intention that the women in the internment camps were to remain under RMAI's authority, because they were not obligated to perform any sort of compulsory labor. The final authority with regard to the forced labor of the prisoners in the Lugoj camp would have belonged to the VII Territorial Command, pursuant to MSM's instructions for the use of Jewish forced laborers. Because neither the MSM nor the RMAI issued any order for the organization of work in the Lugoj camp, it is unlikely that forced labor was performed there, with due allowance for possible labor in the local community.[4]

No organized killings took place at Lugoj, because it was never intended to play a role in the implementation of the Antonescu regime's genocidal policy. The internment camps in southern Romania were established as a means to remove the Jews from the areas near the front line with the Soviet Union, because Antonescu feared that they could spread communist "propaganda" in the region and thereby undermine the war effort. A secondary motive was the spoliation of Jewish property through "war effort contributions." However, these Jews were not part of the dictator's orders for extermination, which applied only to the newly reoccupied territories of Bessarabia and Bukovina (which had been forcibly ceded to the Soviet Union by Romania in 1940); in these areas, the army, gendarmes, police, and even civilians massacred tens of thousands of Jews during the first months of the war. Nonetheless, living conditions in the Lugoj camp were poor, with inconsistent supplies of food and medicine and therefore a constant risk for diseases, including serious maladies such as typhus. However, no official statistics were recorded on the number or nature of such illnesses in the camp or whether any deaths resulted from the poor conditions there.

The internment camps for Jews from northeastern Romania in the southern and southwestern part of Romania (with the exception

of Târgu Jiu) remained open until the end of 1941. On December 16, 1941, the camps were dissolved and the inmates returned to the urban centers nearest their places of origin (because Jews were still legally prohibited from residing in Romanian villages); the Jews at Lugoj were thus returned to Dorohoi.[5] None of the personnel of the Lugoj camp were brought to trial for their actions.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Lugoj camp are Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Vladimir Solonari, *Purifying the Nation: Population Exchange and Ethnic Cleansing in Nazi-Allied Romania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); and Ottmar Traşcă, ed., *"Chestiunea Evreiască" în documente militare române, 1941–1944*, preface by Dennis Deletant (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2010). Additional information can be found in Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 2 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013); Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), vol. 1; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, 3 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Lugoj camp can be found in

AMANR, available at USHMMA in collections RG-25.003M, and ANR, available at USHMMA as RG-25.002M.

Dallas Michelbacher

NOTES

1. Order No. 4147 reproduced in Traşcă, "*Chestiunea evreiască*," pp. 120–121, Doc. 5.
2. USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMANR), reel 144, file 2410, p. 381; and RG-25.002M "Situaţia Lagărelor," August 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, p. 19.
3. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2410, p. 386.
4. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 36, file 2371, n.p.
5. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2411, p. 2.

LUGOVA

The village of Lugova (today: Luhova, Ukraine), situated on the banks of the Bug River in the Berşad raion of the Balta judeţ, is located approximately 48 kilometers (30 miles) north-northeast of Balta in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the area by the end of July 1941, subsequently transferring control over it to the Romanian civil administration in September of the same year. The new authorities romanianized the village's name from Luhova to Lugova. The prefect in the Balta judeţ was Colonel Vasile Nica, and the praetor in the Berşad raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

After the beginning of the deportations of Jews from Romania to Transnistria in July 1941, the Romanian authorities identified Lugova as one of several villages on the banks of the Bug River for the concentration of deportation convoys. One officially designated deportation route went from Iampol to Crijopol and then to the villages of Obodovca and Balanovca in the Berşad raion. From there, the surviving Jews were transferred to the villages of Lugova, Ustia, Shumilovca, Man'kovca, and Trostineţ. One of the earliest convoys heading to Lugova departed from Mărculeşti in early November 1941 and passed through Crijopol, Vapniarca, and Tsybulevca. Leaving a trail of dead bodies along the route, the convoy reached Obodovca on November 16, 1941. Two days later, 780 deportees were marched on to Lugova where, according to eyewitness testimony, the head of the village greeted them with the words, "This place will be your grave."[1]

The Jews were crowded into windowless cowsheds on a former collective farm. They were rarely allowed to leave the sheds, except to fetch water from the nearby river. Later, some of them were allowed to leave periodically to work for Ukrainian families in the vicinity. Mass dying from hunger and exhaustion continued at Lugova and escalated during the catastrophic typhus outbreak that ravaged Balta's northern raions in the winter of 1941. When the disease spread to Ukrainians in the region, the Balta prefect

Nica, along with army health commander Major Dr. Gheorghe Filipaş, inspected Berşad on December 6 and Obodovca on December 12, 1941, and he ordered the implementation of measures to contain the epidemic. The authorities established two special typhus hospitals in Berşad and Lugova and began to treat and delouse the Ukrainian population. The Jews of Lugova remained mostly untreated and isolated in the ghetto, where the death toll was so high that burial became nearly impossible. Bodies littered the sheds and alleyways, as well as the surrounding fields. A trench in the woods served as a mass grave.

Meanwhile, convoys continued to arrive at Lugova, including one of a few hundred Jews that left the nearby village of Ustia on June 25, 1943. In addition, a smaller number of Ukrainian Jews from surrounding communities were also detained at Lugova.[2]

A count of the Jews in the Berşad raion at the beginning of 1943 found 54 Jews in Lugova.[3] Whether this group consisted only of Jews deported from Romania or only of Jews deported from Transnistria is not clear; what is clear, however, is that Lugova did not figure among the Romanian censuses of March and September 1943, possibly because no Jews from Romania were interned there at the time. Scarce evidence suggests, however, that a handful of Jews remained in the Lugova ghetto until March 1944, when the site was liberated by the Red Army.[4] The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated in 1945 that some 673 of the 935 Jews once held in the ghetto perished from cold, hunger, and diseases.[5]

SOURCES Further information about the Lugova ghetto can be found in the following publications: "Lugovaia," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 539; "Lugovaia," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 189; and "Lugovaia," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 323. See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea*

Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

For primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews in the Lugova ghetto, see the following collections at USHMMA: DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), AME (RG-25.006M), and ANR (RG-25.002M). A testimony can be found at RG-50.589*0107 (oral history interview with Yahad in Unum). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about some ghetto inmates likely incarcerated at Luhova, including several Jews liberated from there in March 1944.

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NOTES

1. As quoted in Ancel, *Transnistria*, 1: 76.
2. Anonymous interviewee No. 503, USHMMA, RG-50.589*0107 (Yahad-in Unum), July 22, 2007.
3. See the population count, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, p. 11.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Hinda Bodek, Doc. No. 53283741; and Netty Ciobotarn, Doc. No. 50721642.
5. USHMMA, RG-22.002 (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 202.

MAIA/LPRS NO. 12

Maia, a village in the Ilfov judeţ in the Regat, in the southern part of Romania (today: Maia, Ialomiţa judeţ), lies 41 kilometers (25 miles) north of Bucharest.

After the joint German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union that occurred on June 22, 1941, a camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) was established in Maia in November 1941. The camp was formally known as prisoner Camp No. 12 Maia-Ilfov (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Războ Sovietici*), LPRS No. 12. It fell within the jurisdiction of the II Territorial Command and was controlled by the Romanian Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM). The commandant of the camp was Căpitan Ilie Constantinescu.

The Maia camp was a camp for imprisoned Soviet Army officers. It was installed on a large estate belonging to Barbu Catargiu, the former prime minister of Romania, in 1862. The estate included a few large buildings (mansions, chapel, mews, and hunting house) surrounded by forests, orchards, and vineyards. The main house was repurposed and became the camp dormitory.

The camp in Maia began with the transfer of 300 officer prisoners (including 3 or 4 Serbian pi lots) to the Barbu Catargiu estate from nearby Fierbinţi, a subcamp of LPRS No. 1 Slobozia located 5 kilometers (more than 3 miles) south of Maia. The move occurred in November 1941 and was done to relieve overcrowding at Fierbinţi.[1] By May 1943, the number of prisoners increased to 448 (including 40 orderlies).

High-ranking officers, such as majors, slept in small rooms with only two beds; the rest of the officers shared 16 rooms. Among the camp facilities were a shower room with hot water and an infirmary run by two prisoner doctors; in 1944, the infirmary was staffed by an additional Romanian Jewish doctor who undertook forced labor at the camp.[2] The prisoners themselves ran the camp's kitchen, which came with a large dining room and baking ovens.

The camp was guarded by a contingent of 25 Romanian troops, commanded by 3 officers and 2 noncommissioned officers (NCOs).

The treatment of the officer prisoners inside camp Maia was significantly better than in every other POW camp for Soviets in Romania. They were served better food, comparable in quantity and quality to that given to cadets in the Romanian Army, regardless of the type of labor they performed. If the Romanian state spent an average of 30 lei per day to feed a prisoner in 1942, it always spent more—at times even three times that amount (90 lei)—to feed an officer prisoner in the Maia camp. The menu included (horse) meat a few days each week. The daily bread ration for an officer prisoner was 500 grams (17.6 ounces) a day; in addition, these prisoners were entitled to four cigarettes and coffee daily.[3]

The POWs worked on a farm in Maia. The salary normally paid to prisoner officers of other belligerent countries (for example, to American or British POWs) was not paid by the Romanian authorities due to the absence of a joint accord between Romania and the Soviet Union. A small Orthodox chapel was built early on in the life of the camp, where religious services were conducted in the Russian language by an Orthodox priest.

A delegation from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), including Edouard Chapuisat and David de Traz, visited the camp in May 1943, along with representatives of the Romanian Red Cross (*Crucea Roşie din România*, CRR). Chapuisat's follow-up report characterized the prisoners' health and nutrition as "satisfactory."[4]

At some point between the end of 1943 and early 1944, large numbers of enlisted Soviet prisoners were brought to the camp. They were probably crammed into the remaining buildings on the estate, but kept separate from the officers; they were deployed for varying periods of time as workers on the area's private and state enterprises doing agricultural work and road construction. The camp had 5,282 prisoners in August 1944. The number of fatalities registered in the camp, most likely during the latter period and not necessarily in the camp itself, was 99 (1 officer, 98 soldiers).[5]

Romania switched sides in the war on August 23, 1944.

According to the Armistice Convention that Romania signed on September 12, 1944, the Soviet POWs were to be handed over to the Soviet authorities in the Allied High Command (*Înaltul Comandament Aliat*). Thus, in September 1944 all the prisoners from the Maia camp were handed over to the Soviet authorities for repatriation. The transfer occurred with formalities, with the Soviet authorities signing for receiving the prisoners (a practice that was sometimes refused by the Soviet authorities). The Maia camp was closed down in September 1944.

For decreasing the prisoners' meat allocation, Commandant Constantinescu was punished by a military court in 1942 and eventually discharged from office.[6]

SOURCES For further information about Soviet POWs held in the Maia camp, see Alesandru Duţu, Florica Dobre, and Leon-ida Loghin, *Armata Română în al Doilea Război Mondial (1941–1945)*: *Dicţionar Enciclopedic* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999), especially pp. 329–341; Vasile Popa, "Prizonierii Sovietici în România (1941–1945)," available at www.once.ro/sesiuni/sesiune_2007/9%20prizonieri_popa.pdf; and Alesandru Duţu, Florica Dobre, and Andrei Şiperco, "1941–1945: Prizonieri de Război în România … şi Crucea Roşie Internaţională," *MagIs* 2 (1997): 7–16; on prisoner repatriation, see Constantin Dedu, "Repatrierea Prizonierilor Aparţinând Naţiunilor Unite, După 23 August 1944," available at www.centrul-cultural-pitesti.ro/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=833:file-de-istorie&catid=254:restituiri-3-2007&Itemid=118. For the involvement of the ICRC and CRR in assisting the Soviet POWs in Romania, see Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internaţională şi România în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război mondial (1 septembrie 1939–23 august 1944): prizonierii de război anglo-americani şi sovietici, deportaţii evrei din Transnistria şi emigrarea evreilor* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources documenting the Maia camp for Soviet POWs are available at USHMMA, in collections PCMCM (RG-25.013M) and SRI (RG-25.004M). Further evidence about the camp can be found in TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003 and opis 977528,

containing prisoner registration forms and information regarding a prisoner's health condition (including typhus, typhoid, and cholera vaccinations).

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NOTES

1. LPRS No. 1 Slobozia commandant, Colonel Aristide Ursu's court deposition, June 1, 1945, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 126, file 24361, vol. 5, pp. 157–159 (and verso).
2. For a list of Jews conscripted to exterior forced labor detachments, see USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 312, file 1223, pp. 45–46 (listed under "Camp No. 12").
3. See Ursu's statement, "Memorial," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 126, file 24361, vol. 5, pp. 99, 100.
4. As quoted in Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internațională*, p. 49.
5. List of deceased Soviet soldiers in Romanian camps, TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, p. 2. Note however that the camp is listed as "Camp 11 Maia."
6. Ursu's statement, "Memoriu," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 126, file 24361, vol. 5, p. 311.

MANICOVCA

Manicovca, a village in the Berşad raion in the Balta judeţ, in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Man'kivka, Ukraine), is situated on the Bug River. It is located 61 kilometers (38 miles) north of Balta.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Manicovca at the end of July 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the area beginning in September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Man'kovka to Manicovca, and the raion name became Berşad. The praetor in the Berşad raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

A camp, termed a colony (*colonie*), for Jews deported from northern Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romania was set up in Manicovca in the fall of 1941. As the deportation was set into motion, the Jews were robbed and their homes looted. After entering Transnistria via the bridge at Iampol, most of the deportees marched on for a few more weeks, resting in open fields in wintry conditions, before reaching Manicovca. Many perished along the way of cold and hunger or were shot for not being able to keep up.[1]

The Manicovca camp was on the grounds of the local *kolkhoz* (state collective farm). The buildings that housed the deportees, at least initially, were former chicken coops and pigsties, badly damaged by war. A handful of Romanian gendarmes aided by local Ukrainian auxiliaries guarded the camp; German soldiers from across the Bug River visited the camp on occasion. These soldiers treated the deportees brutally, confiscating some of their belongings and sexually assaulting some of the young women.[2] There was a ban on movement outside of the camp; violators were severely punished. Epidemics (especially typhus), hunger, cold, and exhaustion led to many deaths, especially during the first two years of internment (1941–1942), but still continuing thereafter at a slower pace.[3] It is claimed that 556 people perished under these

conditions.[4] Barter, begging by the most destitute, and the generosity of local non-Jews aiding those who sought help were the key means of survival for many. Erich Klein was the camp's head.[5]

Able-bodied men and women undertook forced labor in various forms, including in agriculture and on military fortifications. If at all, workers were recompensed with a handful of produce. A form of Jewish religious life existed in the camp, including weddings and ritual circumcisions.[6]

It is claimed that the total number of Jews in Manicovca was at some point 650.[7] The census of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) in March 1943 listed Manicovca as having 150 Jews. In April 1943, the number of Jews was 110 (41 men, 33 women, and 36 children). On September 1, 1943, the camp was not listed among locations where deported Jews sheltered.[8] In October of the same year, however, the Balta gendarmerie recorded that there were 106 deported Jews in Manicovca—30 men, 63 women, and 13 children—and described the site as a ghetto.[9]

At the beginning of 1944, the Romanian administration retreated from the area, but not before repatriating to Romania selected groups of Jews (Jewish orphans, Jews deported from the Dorohoi judeţ, state functionaries, and war veterans). From January 1944 until the camp's liberation, the German military authorities controlled the Manicovca camp, panicking the survivors as to their ultimate fate. The Red Army recaptured the village at the beginning of March 1944, immediately liberating the camp. The deportees then feared that Soviet soldiers would sexually assault Jewish women from the camp, just as the previous authorities had.[10] Some Jews were conscripted into the army, and the rest of the survivors made their way home amid many challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Manicovca can be found in the following publications: "Man'kovka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 567; "Man'kovka," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo*

Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), pp. 203–204; "Man'kovka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 378; and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), pp. 28–29. For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Manicovca camp can be found in the following collections at USHMMA: GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAOO-YV (RG-68.130M), and AME (RG-25.006M). VHA holds nine survivor testimonies in two languages (Russian and Spanish) from Jews held in the camp for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #6378, Rosita Drukman testimony, November 3, 1995.

2. The sexual assault on Jewish women in Manicovca is mentioned in VHA #51078, Khana Maizel' testimony, July 6, 2000.

3. VHA #40607, Mariia Margulis testimony, March 17, 1998; VHA #47448, Aleksandr Vainer testimony, April 16, 1998.

4. "Man'kovka," *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR*, p. 567. The source evidence for the claim is the ChGK report, April 1945, available in USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, pp. 93, 126, 133–134.

5. List of ghetto and camp leaders in the Balta judeţ, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562. Another list of ghetto leaders in the Balta judeţ can be found at USHHMA, RG-68.130M (DAOO-YV), reel 2, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 666 (M-39/32), p. 142.

6. VHA #47448.

7. ChGK report, April 1945, available in USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 86.

8. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; for the April 1943 census, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, p. 11, and delo 717, p. 42; for the absence of Manicovca from the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 456.

9. Statistical figures of Jews in the Balta judeţ ghettos, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 588.

10. VHA #50659, Tsilia Stukelman testimony, February 23, 2000.

MĂRCULEŞTI

A village in the Floreşti raion, Soroca judeţ, in northern Bessarabia in eastern Romania (today: Floreşti raion, Moldova), Mărculeşti is located near the Răut River and Lake Floreşti. It is 108 kilometers (68 miles) north-northwest of Chişinău and 178 kilometers (111 miles) southeast of Cernăuţi. The Christian population lived in Mărculeşti, whereas the area occupied by the Jews (an agricultural settlement) was known as Mărculeşti-Colonie. In Holocaust literature, the latter is simply referred to as Mărculeşti. According to the 1930 Romanian census, the number of Jews in Mărculeşti was 2,319, representing 88 percent of the entire population. The attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, found Mărculeşti's Jewish population fleeing across the Dniester River, the traditional border with the Soviet Union. The Soviet authorities, however, forbade civilians to cross it until July 5, 1941, at which time many who escaped over the Dniester were soon overrun by the German Army. The refugees were arrested and driven back toward the Dniester.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Mărculeşti on July 8, 1941. The day before, mobs of local peasants assaulted their Jewish neighbors who had remained in town, robbing their homes (especially vacant properties), raping women and girls, and killing a few people. Soon after taking control of the town, Romanian soldiers of the 6th Infantry Regiment commanded by Colonel Emil Matieş rounded up a group of 18 Jewish community leaders (including the village rabbi) and shot them. This attack represented the first step in a long campaign of cleansing Bessarabia and Bukovina of Jews. It also constituted an act of revenge for the alleged humiliation of the Romanian Army during its retreat before the Red Army in June 1940 when the Soviet Union annexed Bessarabia and northern Bukovina.

After the murder of its leaders, the remaining Jewish community of Mărculeşti was gathered on the town's outskirts and kept under guard. The army officers ordered that a group of Jewish men

deepen the existing antitank trenches that had been dug out by the Red Army near the lake.[1] While this was going on, the soldiers robbed the rest of the Jews of their valuables. Soon every one was ordered to undress, and in groups of ten or so, the people were shot, falling into the trenches. The exact number of victims is unknown, but is estimated to be from 460 to 1,040.[2] Leading figures in the shooting were Căpitan Ion Stihi, Locotenent Eugen Mihăilescu, and a soldier, Ion Epure.

In mid-August 1941, the Romanian gendarmes established a transit camp on the town's outskirts, some 3 to 4 kilometers (about 2 miles) from the train station. Surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and guarded by gendarmes, the camp was built to receive convoys of Jews from northern Bessarabia and Bukovina and to organize their transport across the Dniester into Transnistria. Two crossing points were chosen—at Rezina (56 kilometers [35 miles] east of Mărculeşti) and Cosăuţi (40 kilometers [25 miles] north of Mărculeşti). The commandant of the camp was Colonel Vasile Agapie, and his adjutant was Căpitan Sever Burădescu. The delegate of the Romanian National Bank (*Banca Naţională a României*, BNR) in the camp was Ion Mihăiescu. His job was to buy jewelry at a rate set by the bank and exchange currency (Romanian as well as foreign) into the German-issued scrip (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS) that circulated in Transnistria.

The camp was set up in some houses, but was mostly an open field. Inside the camp, rodents fed on corpses that had been shallowly buried or left lying in basements, yards, or ditches. The youth from nearby villages occasionally approached the fence to throw over food items.[3] Among the first groups of Jews to arrive in the Mărculeşti camp were those transferred from three holding camps in the Bălţi judeţ in Bessarabia—2,634 from Limbenii Noi, 3,072 from Răşcani, and 3,235 from Răuţel—altogether nearly 9,000 Jews. Other groups arrived as well. Thus, on September 1, 1941, 10,737 Jews were counted in the camp (this number does not include those who had already died in the camp).[4] In October 1941, Mărculeşti held other groups of Jews deported from Cernăuţi and southern Bukovina (from the Storojineţ ghetto, in addition to localities in the Rădăuţi judeţ).[5] These Jews were transported to Mărculeşti by train, crammed into freight cars,

marched from the station to the Mărculeşti camp, and transferred later, again on foot or train, into Transnistria.

Intimidation, beatings, and robberies occurred immediately after the Jews disembarked at the Mărculeşti train station and while they marched to the camp. Soldiers and peasants joined in the plundering, especially when the camp authorities were absent.[6] The official confiscation of valuables (from jewelry and foreign currency to identity papers) took place at the camp's entrance before admission. All of the camp's top authorities collaborated in the organized theft of the deportees. After a while, Mihăiescu stopped issuing receipts or money for jewelry or currency, in total disregard of existing laws. A fraction of the total taken was declared and deposited with the BNR; camp officials pocketed the rest. Further spoliation occurred while inside the camp, where items such as furs, pillows, coffee, soap, shoes, and silverware were simply taken from the deportees for Mihăiescu's personal use. The use of extortion was rampant as well. The camp commander Agapie hired out horse wagons to the highest bidder after taking his cut. He ordered the deportees to march out of camp only with what they could carry in their hands. The confiscated possessions were loaded on a train and sent inland toward Romania, supposedly to restock military hospitals. In reality only a fraction of the stolen goods arrived there.

On November 10, 1941, there were still 1,200 Jews imprisoned in the Mărculeşti camp, but transports to the camp soon ceased. The camp closed down probably in late November or early December 1941. After long (and, for many, deadly) marches toward the Dniester River crossings, the convoys leaving the Mărculeşti camp reached other detention sites in the Balta, Golta, and Jugastru judeţe, in the eastern part of Transnistria. After Romania switched sides in the war in August 1944, Bucharest's People's Court tried and sentenced Agapie, Burădescu, and Mihăiescu, along with other conspirators, to many years in prison and confiscation of private property for grossly abusing their roles and mistreating the Jews in the Mărculeşti camp and elsewhere.[7]

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of the Jews from Orhei and of those imprisoned in the Mărculeşti ghetto can be found in the following publications: "Mărculeşti-Colonie," in

Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 793; "Marculesti," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 2: 365–368; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României. Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. I (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia şi Alte Câteva Întâmplări: Contribuţii la Istoria Încercării de Exeterminare a Evreilor* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Mărculeşti camp are available at USHMMA in the following collections: ANRM (RG-54.001M), SRI (RG-25.004M), ACMEOR (RG-68.029M), and Chernivtsi Jewish Survivors Organization Affidavits (RG-31.020). Under RG-50, USHMMA also holds seven oral history interviews by witnesses of the Mărculeşti camp and the shooting of Jews from the area. VHA holds 72 testimonies (in seven languages) from survivors of the Mărculeşti camp. For an English-language memorial book commemorating the destruction of the Jews of Mărculeşti, see L. Kuperstein and Meir Cotic, eds., *Marculeshti: A Memorial for a Jewish Agricultural Colony in Bessarabia* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Jotzei Marculeshti Beisrael, 1977). An electronic version of this

book is available at http://yizkor.nypl.org/index.php?id=1216.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See witness testimonies: USHMMA, RG-50.572*0137, Constantin Blajevschi, oral history interview, October 29, 2009; the actual killing sites are indicated by Mărculeşti resident Constantin Vasile Tomcovici, USHMMA, RG-50.572*0010, oral history interview, August 12, 2004.

2. Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 37, offers the figure of 1,000 Jewish victims (diary entry, "8 iulie 1941").

3. USHMMA, RG-50.572*0146, Olga Ivanova, oral history interview, October 31, 2009.

4. Census figures found in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 46.

5. Diary entry, "22 octombrie 1941," in ibid., 3: 145.

6. USHMMA, RG-50.572*0147, Timofei Cocieru, oral history interview, November 1, 2009.

7. For court depositions and prosecution's final statement, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 28, file 40013, vol. 1; and reel 46, file 108223, vol. 119.

MIASCOVCA

Miascovca, a small town in the Crijopol raion in the Jugastru judeţ in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Horodkivka, Ukraine),[1] is situated along the Markivka River; it is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) northeast of Iampol. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 3,104 Jews in the Crijopol raion, 1,400 of whom lived in Crijopol and 832 in Miascovca. Although some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities and fewer still were drafted into the Red Army, many stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Miascovca in the middle of July 1941. During the short German military occupation, the Jews were rounded up by German police forces and Romanian soldiers. The Romanian civil administration took control of the town beginning in September 1941. The town's name was romanianized from Miastkovka to Miascovca, but was routinely spelled Mişcova. The prefect in the Jugastru judeţ was Colonel Ştefan S. Gheorghiade.

A ghetto for local Jews, as well as for Jews deported from northern Bessarabia in Romania, was set up in the early fall of 1941.[2] Life in the ghetto was fraught with endless privations. There was a ban on movement outside of the ghetto; violators were severely punished. Romanian gendarmes and local Ukrainian auxiliaries from the local gendarmes post guarded the ghetto. They repeatedly sought to rape young Jewish women from the ghetto.[3] Inside the ghetto, the deportees were crowded into the houses of local Jews, with a few families sharing each room. Epidemics (especially typhus), hunger, cold, and exhaustion led to many deaths. Wearing the yellow star was obligatory. A Jewish police force was instituted in the ghetto, under the supervision of a constituted Jewish Council. Nukhem Stolerman and a person named Fishman were among the ghetto leaders. Barter, begging by the most destitute, and the generosity of local non-Jews helping those who sought aid were key means of survival for many.[4]

The establishment of government-controlled workshops

(*ateliere*) where skilled Jews inside the ghetto could work in exchange for food or small sums of money also provided a means of survival for some. The creation of Jewish workshops was in accordance with Ordinance No. 23 of the government of Transnistria, but it fell on the shoulders of the ghetto leadership to set them up. Fortunately, the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) provided some aid in that effort. A number of such workshops were established in the Miascovca ghetto most likely at the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943 and were coordinated by Haim Becherman. For example, there existed a tailors and furriers workshop, and there were workshops for hairdressers, iron-smiths, hatmakers, and bootmakers. All in all, some 40 people were employed in the workshops in October 1943.[5] The rest of the able-bodied Jews (men and women) undertook forced labor in agriculture, construction, and road building/maintenance. A little food, if that, was their remuneration.[6]

Far worse was the fate of those men selected to be sent to the Trihati bridge-building camp in June 1943. This camp was not only far from the Miascovca ghetto but also was under German control. The survivors attest to the brutal treatment they received while building the railway road leading to the rail bridge over the Bug at Trihati.[7]

At some point in early 1942, there were 875 Jews in the ghetto. By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Miascovca was 800, perhaps not counting the Ukrainian Jews; on September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 186 (177 from Bessarabia, 9 from Bukovina).[8]

The Romanian administration left the area on the eve of the Red Army's recapture of the town in March 1944. For a brief time, the ghetto was controlled by the German military authorities, which planned (or so was rumored) to shoot the inmates after robbing some of them. A sudden attack on the ghetto by a group of partisans disrupted the planned annihilation of the ghetto, leading instead to the capture of some German soldiers. This took place as the Red Army entered the town.[9] With the ghetto freed, some Jews were conscripted into the Red Army and sent to the front, while the rest of the survivors made their way home amid many challenges. In April 1945, the Soviet Extraordinary Commission

(*Chrezvychainaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissiia*, ChGK) tried some of the collaborators with the German and Romanian authorities.[10]

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Miascovca can be found in the following publications: "Miaskovka," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 816; "Mişcovca," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 478; and in the following encyclopedias: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 278. See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), 39; for census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias

Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Miascovca can be found at USHMMA, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). The last collection contains a map of the Jugastru judeţ showing the exact location of the Miascovca ghetto and the number of inhabitants in 1942, in reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21. Survivors' testimonies about their imprisonment in the Miascovca ghetto can be found in the Chernivtsi Jewish Organization Affidavits, RG-31.020M, microfiche 12, folder 3, vol. 277; microfiche 13, folder 4, vols. 299 and 309. VHA holds 52 survivor testimonies in four languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Hebrew, and English) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Note that the Romanian listing of towns and villages in Transnistria, produced in 1942, distinguishes between Miascovca village and Miascovca town; the two localities are part of today's Horodkivka, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 37, p. 14.

2. List of ghettos in Jugastru judeţ, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 22, n.p. For lists containing the names of some of those interned in the Miascovca ghetto, see USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 5, fond 1529, opis 6s, delo 9; and reel 33.

3. The soldiers' sexual assaults on Jewish women in the Miascovca ghetto are reported in VHA #14354, Abrum Byk tesimony, April 17, 1996; and VHA #38255, Abram Zats

testimony, November 23, 1997.

4. VHA #17314, Neha Weinstein testimony, July 2, 1996; VHA #14777, Sarah Fishman testimony, May 10, 1996.

5. Confidential correspondence on Jewish workshops between the Jugastru Prefecture and the Labor Department, Government of Transnistria, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, pp. 96–104 (esp. pp. 99–100).

6. VHA #45893, Evgeniia Belianskaia testimony, June 15, 1998; VHA #181, Arkadi Voskoboinick testimony, October 20, 1994.

7. See, for instance, VHA #38255 and VHA #181.

8. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348, and for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

9. For Soviet resistance fighters, see VHA #14354 and VHA #45893.

10. Protocol document, USHMMA, RG-21.002M (GARF), reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1265, pp. 62, 68.

MIHAILOVCA

Mihailovca, a village in the Şargorod raion (today: Mykhailiv ka, Ukraine), Moghilev judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 17 kilometers (11 miles) northwest of the town of Şargorod, 55 kilometers (34 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. A number of camps for Soviet prisoners of war (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici*, LPRS) existed around Moghilev-Podolsk and throughout the Moghilev judeţ.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the Moghilev judeţ in the second part of July 1941. Control over the area was transferred to the Romanian civil administration in September 1941. The judeţ prefects were Constantin Dimitriu, Constantin Năsturaş, and Constantin Loghin, all army colonels. The Şargorod raion praetor was Iosif Dindelegan, succeeded by Dimitrie Rusu. The commandants of the gendarmes sector for the Şargorod area were Locotenents Vasile Grama and Vasile Mihăilescu.

A small camp for Soviet prisoners of war existed at Mihailovca. As was typical with most early camps for prisoners of war in Transnistria, the camp was likely not enclosed with barbed wire until later in 1942.[1] Local Ukrainians and Romanian gendarmes guarded the camp, with a ratio of one guard per 10 prisoners. From among those recruited to guard the Mihailovca camp were two former local leaders and members of the Communist Party: Petro Carpovici (former director of the fruit-drying factory in Suşarca, Şargorod raion) and Visco Sargala (former director of the Mihailovca *kolkhoz*).[2] The camp appears to have been closed at some point by the end of 1942, because it does not appear in the general outline of camps for prisoners of war in Transnistria issued in March 1943.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the imprisonment of Soviet POWs in Mihailovca are available at USHMMA, in

collection ANR (RG-25.002M). A general outline of the POW, political detainee, and penal labor camps in Transnistria can be found at USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 33, file 79, 1943, pp. 408–419.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See commandant of 9th Cavalry Division, General de divizie Traian Cocorăscu's report, April 1942, on the guarding capacity for prisoner camps and ghettos in the area of Transnistria under his jurisdiction, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 20, file 1128, p. 7; and the inquiry, March 9, 1942, to which it responded, in the same collection and reel, file 1127, pp. 60–65.
2. Confidential report, "Nota," April 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 15, file 134, p. 348.

MITKI

Mitki (pre-1941: Mytki), a village in the Şmerinca raion (and later in the Balki raion), in the Moghilev judeţ (today: Mytky, Ukraine), in the northwestern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located near the Bug River. It lies 59 kilometers (37 miles) north of Moghilev. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,536 Jews in the Bar raion (Mitki was included in that raion in 1939), representing 2.6 percent of the raion's population. Few of those Jews lived in Mitki.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Mitki in July 1941. Control over Mitki and its surroundings was transferred to the Romanian civil administration beginning in September 1941, which romanianized the village's name as Mitki (also Mitkii or Mitchi in some documents) in the Balki raion. The prefects of the Moghilev judeţ were Constantin Dimitriu, Ion C. Băleanu, Constantin Năsturaş, and Constantin Loghin, all army colonels. The deputy prefects were Gheorghe Culnev, Alexandru Moisev, and Iosif Dindelegan. Băleanu, Culnev, and Moisev were dismissed from office in March 1942 on charges of receiving bribes from Jewish leaders. The commandants of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion were Dănulescu, Romeo Orăşanu, and Gheorghe Botoroagă, all army majors. The praetor in Şmerinca was Aurel Groza, and Ştefan Tăutu was the praetor in the Balki raion.

Mitki and its surrounding area constituted one of the regions designated for the deportation of Romanian Jews from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia. The largest number of deported Jews, nearly 56,000, entered Transnistria through the Atachi-Moghilev crossing point, which became the most important entry into Transnistria because the largest number of Jews crossed there.[1] Humiliating personal searches before crossing the Dniester left most Jews without personal papers and valuables. Romanian and foreign currency was exchanged for valueless German scrip (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, or RKKS) that was used in

Transnistria, while luggage that exceeded a few handbags was abandoned at the train station in Atachi and the nearby fields, never to be returned to its owners.[2] Once in Moghilev, leaders of convoys tried (and some were able, with bribes) to secure permits to remain in town or hired trucks to transport them to various places in the Moghilev judeţ, but many were not as fortunate and were marched on foot to their destination.[3] With the arrival of large convoys of Romanian Jews, Mitki became extremely overcrowded. A gendarmerie report from late November 1941 estimated that 56,000 Jews were sent to the area, instead of the 15,000 as initially planned, although only a fraction were in Mitki. The report requested that some of these and subsequent convoys be directed to other regions east of Mitki, in places like Bortniki and Pecioara, in the Tulcin judeţ.[4] Mitki became a transit camp, temporarily holding Jews who were then dispersed to camps along the Bug. In early December 1941, the gendarmerie estimated that a total of 47,545 Jews were placed in two areas in the Tulcin judeţ (Pecioara and Rogozna), of whom only a few thousand (the exact number remains unknown) were sent to Mitki.[5]

A transit camp for Jews, most likely surrounded with barbed wire, existed in Mitki from September of 1941 until some time in 1942. Details about the camp are scant. What is known with more certainty is that the living conditions inside the camp were inhumane (detainees suffered from cold, hunger, and sickness, particularly typhus, which claimed lives every day). Dr. Ion Costinescu, president of the Romanian Red Cross (*Societatea Naţională de Cruce Roşie din România*), intervened on behalf of the deportees held in Mitki. After learning firsthand of their desperate state, Costinescu urged Marshal Ion Antonescu in mid-January 1942 to investigate the abuses in this camp. He wrote Antonescu:

> In the Jewish camps, filth and poverty are extremely great. We know your Christian and Romanian soul cannot accept such things to occur, and we are certain these inhumane methods have been taken by uncomprehending and heartless subordinates acting without your orders. We beg of you, Honorable Marshall, to order that an investigation be made into the Jewish camps at Mitki, Obodovka, Balanovka,

Bobrik, and Bogdanovka. Our Society [the Romanian Red Cross] stands ready to fulfill its duty in helping you in the difficult task of alleviating the ravages of war.[6]

The request was handed down the chain of command by Antonescu and was unheeded in the end. After the camp's closure, a few Jewish physicians were retained in Mitki to help in the fight against epidemics, as well as to assist in the general treatment of Romanian soldiers and civilians alike. As of October 1943, general practitioners Isac Veiserbergher and Norberg Goldman, along with a dentist, Samoil Sobl, worked in Mitki.[7]

The Red Army liberated Mitki in March 1944.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews in Mitki can be found in the following publications: "Mytki," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 424–425; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR, 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986). On the activity of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Romanian Red Cross in Transnistria, see Jean-Claude Favez, *The Red Cross and*

the Holocaust (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); and Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internaţională şi România în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război mondial (1 septembrie 1939–23 august 1944). Prizonierii de război anglo-americani şi sovietici; Deportaţii evrei din Transnistria şi emigrarea evreilor în Palestina în atenţia Crucii Roşii Internaţionale* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources on the fate of Jews in Mitki are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). Additional information can be gleaned from accounts about the treatment of Jews in the towns and villages surrounding Mitki, which can be found in ChGK (RG-22.002M, reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1271 and delo 1273). VHA holds six testimonies in Russian by Jewish survivors of Mitki.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Transnistria Gendarmes Inspectorate's note No. 9.318/ September 9, 1942, to the Government of Transnistria, General Secretariat, USHMMA, RG-25.006 (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 152.

2. See General Constantin Tobescu's report on abuses that took place at Atachi, No. 48097/November 19, 1941, General Inspectorate of Gendarmes to the Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 64, file 18844, vol. 3, p. 679 (USHMMA, RG-25.004M/64/18844/3, p. 679).

3. See official notification informing the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in Bucharest of the measures taken against authorities in Moghilev for accepting bribes in order to facilitate motorized transport to the Jews, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1514, pp. 72–73 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/5/2242/1/1514, pp. 72–73).

4. Gendarmes Chief Inspector Emil Broşteanu's letter to the

Government of Transnistria, No. 3004/November 27, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/7/2242/2/76, n.p.

5. General Inspector of Gendarmes, General C. Z. Vasiliu, "Referat," December 9, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/64/18844, vol. 3, p. 718. Mitki is wrongly placed on the map attached to the report, but it is possible that the map was not intended to illustrate the exact location of the three sites, only the general area of deportation.

6. See entire letter (No. 4091/1942), in copy, at USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1486, p. 162.

7. List of Jewish doctors in the Moghilev ghetto and judeţ, "Tabel nominal de medicii everi aflaţi în ghetoul Moghilev şi în Judeţ," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, pp. 226–227 (and verso).

MOGHILEV-PODOLSK

Moghilev-Podolsk (today: Mohyliv-Podil's'kyi, Ukraine), in the northwestern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria and the seat of the Moghilev raion and judeţ, is located close to the Dniester River. It is 138 kilometers (86 miles) east of Cernăuţi. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 8,703 Jews in Moghilev-Podolsk, representing 40 percent of the city's population. A general mobilization took place at the outbreak of war against the Soviet Union in June 1941. Jewish men of military age were drafted into the Red Army, whereas others fled deeper into the Soviet Union. More than 3,000 Jews stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Moghilev-Podolsk on July 19, 1941. On the day of the occupation, soldiers killed 60 Jews. A week later, Sonderkommando 10b of Einsatzgruppe D arrived, and additional killings took place. Authority over the town was transferred to the Romanian civil administration in September 1941. The judeţ prefects were Constantin Dimitriu, Constantin Năsturaş, and Constantin Loghin, all army colonels. The deputy prefect was Iosif Dindelegan. The commandants of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion were Aurel Dănulescu, Gheorghe Botoroaga, and Romeo Orăşeanu, all army majors. The raion praetor was Dr. Octavian Oancea, and the mayor of Moghilev-Podolsk was Vasile Grădinaru.

The most frequently used crossing point into Transnistria was the bridge over the Dniester River from Atachi to Moghilev-Podolsk. Before crossing the Dniester, Jews had to pass through stations set up for body searches and for selling valuables or exchanging money (from lei to the German-issued scrip [*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS] that circulated in Transnistria). After a short stay in war-torn Atachi, the deportees marched to the embankment, passing by unburied corpses, before embarking on barges. The gendarmerie estimated in September 1942 that 56,000 Romanian Jews from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia crossed the Dniester at Moghilev-Podolsk, making it

the most important entry point into Transnistria.[1] Some Jews were able to remain in town after bribing local officials, others took shelter in nearby villages, while still others were marched to camps and ghettos deeper inside the judeţ and Transnistria. (An investigation took place into the abuses by the prefect, Ion C. Băleanu, and deputy prefects, Gheorghe Culnev and the Alexandru Moisev, and the mayor who accepted bribes to help people remain in Moghilev-Podolsk or arranged transport for them to other destinations, which resulted in their dismissal from office in March 1942.[2])

An open ghetto was formed shortly after Jewish deportees from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia reached Moghilev-Podolsk on foot in late July and early August 1941. Subsequent mass deportations to Transnistria occurred from September to November 1941 and, then again, in smaller numbers and usually by rail to Atachi between May and June 1942. For example, around 4,000 to 5,000 Jews were deported in June 1942 from places such as Cernăuţi, Dorohoi, Hotin, Storojineţ, Suceava, Câmpulung, and Rădauţi.[3] In June 1942, to relieve the congestion in the ghetto, approximately 3,000 Jews (of whom 600 were originally from Transnistria) were deported from the Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto to the Pecioara death camp. An-other group of 3,000 Jews was deported from the ghetto to the Scazineţ camp around the same time (in September 1942 the Scazineţ camp was dissolved; skilled Jews were returned to Moghilev-Podolsk, and the rest were sent to other camps). The ghetto was encircled by barbed wire in the summer of 1942 and guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian police. The Jews were confined to a smaller area enclosed by three main streets (today: Pushkins'ka, Knivs'ka/Lenina, and Grets'ka).

Jewish women with their children in the Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto in Transnistria, 1941–1943. USHMM WS #74153, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM PHOTO ARCHIVES.

The deportees who remained in Moghilev-Podolsk first occupied the empty houses vacated by both the Jews and non-Jews who fled before the invading armies arrived or who were murdered in town. When these heavily damaged lodgings became insufficient, Jews turned to local non-Jewish residents to rent rooms, attics, and basements for temporary shelter. Due to overcrowding, malnutrition, and poor sanitation, typhus and typhoid epidemics erupted at the end of 1941. Every one was afflicted by dysentery and total exhaustion. The spring of 1942 saw the largest number of deaths resulting from these conditions. Mortality levels decreased over time in part because of the measures taken by ghetto physicians, but illnesses were never fully eradicated because medical supplies were limited.[4]

The chief of the Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto in 1941 and 1942 was Engineer Siegfried Jägendorf, who until June 1942 was also the head of the Jewish Labor Committee. Other committee members were Moses Kats (who replaced Jägendorf), Dr. Iosif Ştern, Dr. I. Binovici, Dr. B. Schiffer, and M. Moraru.[5] The president of the Jewish Council of Moghilev (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM) was Mihail Danilof. Various departments and services were created to secure the deportees' survival. Thanks to Jägendorf's organizational skills, a damaged electrical plant was restored, as

was a defunct foundry (*turnătorie*). Together these institutions retained hundreds of skilled laborers while producing electricity and machinery.[6] In addition, with extraordinary financial efforts, a communal soup kitchen was set up to feed the very poor, elderly, and sick, as were a regular hospital, a hospital for contagious diseases, a medical clinic, a home for the elderly, and two orphanages that housed more than 1,500 children.[7] At the end of December 1943, there were 1,349 children younger than 15 years of age registered in the ghetto.[8]

Life in the ghetto was filled with difficulty and uncertainty. The Jewish police rigorously enforced orders of the Romanian authorities. The wearing of the yellow star pinned to the front of clothing was mandatory. However, while surrounded by death, some Jews got married, children were born, and humorous shows performed. A number of small makeshift synagogues existed in the ghetto. These places of prayer were usually located in rented or abandoned rooms or houses, where religious services took place weekly.[9]

Various state offices and enterprises (a city hall, printing house, water plant, soda factory, green house, and communal bath house) regularly used Jewish labor; in addition, there were random German incursions into the ghetto to seize forced laborers (who were typically shot on completion of their work).[10] Teams of skilled and unskilled workers were sent to all the major enterprises in Tiraspol, Odessa, Tulcin, and Nicolaev. According to Ordinance No. 23 outlining the treatment of Jews in Transnistria, Jewish laborers were entitled to payment in German-issued scrip (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS): 1 RKKS per day for unskilled and 2 RKKS per day for skilled workers in money and/or food. This provision of the ordinance (Art. 6) was rarely implemented before 1943, which led to the deaths of thousands of deportees: prior to this time, Mihail Danilof repeatedly, but unsuccessfully, appealed to the mayor's office asking that the Jewish Council be paid for the work undertaken by unpaid Jewish laborers to feed workers' families, the sick, and the orphans.[11] Workshops (*ateliere*) for ironsmiths, tinsmiths, tailors, and others were instituted in early 1943, with some of the material aid supplied by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) and the American Jewish Joint

Distribution Committee (*Joint-ul*, AJJDC or the "Joint"). Through CER, individual aid in the form of money and small packages was sent to the deportees by family members and friends from Romania.[12] An additional donation for the ghetto came from Archbishop Andrea Cassulo, the papal nuncio to Romania during the war, who visited the ghetto in 1943. These efforts improved ghetto conditions in the latter part of 1943.

According to the March 1943 census of Jews deported to Transnistria, there were 12,588 Jews in Moghilev-Podolsk (of the 15,522 living in the entire Moghilev raion), and by September 1943, there were 13,184, not counting Ukrainian Jews.[13] Repatriations to Romania took place in December 1943, starting first with orphaned children and Jews originally from the Dorohoi city and judeţ.

The Red Army liberated Moghilev-Podolsk on March 20, 1944. Trials of principal Romanian officials and incriminated ghetto leaders took place in Bucharest starting in 1945.[14]

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Moghilev-Podolsk can be found in the following publications: "Moghilev-Podolskiy," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 607–608; "Moghilev-Podolski," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 840–841; "Moghilev-Podolskiy," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941—1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), pp. 213–214; "Moghilev-Podolskiy," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 434–435; "Moghilev," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 461–473; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of

Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 49; Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* and vol. 2: *Documents 1–558* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Tragedy of Romanian Jewry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Iaacov Geller, *Rezistenţa Spirituală a Evreilor Români în Timpul Holocaustului* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2004). For the names and stories of rescuers of Jews in Moghilev-Podolsk, see Israel Gutman et al., eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5, part 2 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2011).

Primary sources about the fate of Jews deported to Moghilev-Podolsk are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), SRI (RG-25.004M), ANR (RG-25.002M), and AME (RG-25.006M). On the Romania administration, Ion Stănculescu's report regarding the state of the Jews living in ghettos in Transnistria is available at USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 147–151. Fred Şaraga's report of the Relief Commission from CER that visited Transnistria, including Moghilev-Podolsk, in January 1943 is available in RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 106–156. Jägendorf's report, September 1942, to CER is available in RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289. CER's records regarding its activity in Transnistria are found in

USHMMA, RG-25.016M (ANR, fond CER); the records on the involvement of FUCER in Transnistria can be found in USHMMA in RG-25.021M. VHA holds more than 1,000 video testimonies, in 12 languages, from Holocaust survivors who passed through or remained in Moghilev-Podolsk. Published testimonies by Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto survivors include Siegfried Jägendorf, *Jagendorf's Foundry: Memoir of the Romanian Holocaust, 1941–1944*, introduction by Aron Hirt-Manheimer, foreword by Elie Wiesel (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1991); and Felicia Carmelly, *Shattered! 50 Years of Silence: History and Voices of the Tragedy in Romania and Transnistria* (Ontario: Abbeyfield, 1997).

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NOTES

1. Gendarmerie report No. 9.318, September 9, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 152.

2. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1514, pp. 72–73 (and verso).

3. Reports and statistics issued by the Military Cabinet of the Government of Bukovina, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (SRI), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 196–217.

4. For a list of Jewish doctors in Moghilev-Podolsk and the Moghilev judeţ, October 1943, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, pp. 225–227 (and verso).

5. List of committee members as of September 1, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 22, n.p. For a photograph of ghetto leaders, see USHMMPA, WS #80074.

6. Photographs of staff and workers in Jägendorf's foundry, USHMMPA, WS #77154, #42663, and #42664.

7. For photos of poor and abandoned children in orphanages, see

USHMMPA, WS #63485B and #63485C.

8. Centralized figures for Transnistria, "Situaţie centralizatoare de evreii copii orfani în Transnistria şi care urmează să fie aduşi în ţară," USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 35, file 35, 1944, n.p.

9. VHA #47770, Liviu Beris testimony, November 29, 1998.

10. VHA #46747, Aizic Cohn testimony, September 14, 1998.

11. USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 14, fond 2383, opis 7, delo 83, pp. 337 (and verso), 338–340.

12. For remittances, see "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Moghilev (Jud. Moghilev)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1564, p. 110.

13. For the April 1942 count, see "Situaţia numerică a evreilor aflaţi neevacuaţi din Transnistria, la data de 1 Aprilie 1942, pe lagăre şi ghetouri cu specificarea: bărbaţi, femei şi copii," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 142; for the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al Evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348; for September 1943 count, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

14. Partial trial transcripts are available in USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI).

MOLDAVCA

Moldavca, a village in the Domanovca raion, Golta judeţ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Kozubivka, Ukraine), is located near the Bug River. It lies 60 kilometers (37 miles) southeast of Golta and 122 kilometers (76 miles) northeast of Odessa.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the area in August 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of it in September 1941, romanianizing the village's name from Moldavka to Moldavca. The Golta judeţ prefect was Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, and Aristide Pădure was the deputy prefect. The commandant of the Golta Gendarmes Legion was Maior Romulus Ambrus. Vasile Mănescu was Domanovca's praetor, whereas Locotenent Petre Găletaru was Domanovca's gendarme commander.

The regime of Marshal Ion Antonescu deported Roma (Gypsies) from Romania to Transnistria between June and September 1942. Antonescu began with the "nomadic" (as opposed to sedentary) and "delinquent" (convicted) Roma, but also included those without stable employment from any category. The Antonescu regime routinely characterized the Roma as "parasitic and unruly elements" and painted their deportation as an act of cleansing the nation of its "anti-social" factions. Great secrecy surrounded the murderous intent of the Roma deportation; only the highest authorities knew about it.[1] The local leaders (mayors, prefects, and police), unaware of the destructive plan, deceived the Roma by telling them that they were being "resettled" to Transnistria where they would be re-housed and given farmland to work.[2]

Nomadic (but also some sedentary) Roma were gathered from all over Romania and concentrated in larger towns in June 1942, where they were formed into convoys (or caravans) heading to Transnistria. The Roma arrived in their horse wagons and journeyed for weeks to their assigned "settlement" (deportation) area in the Golta judeţ. During this time they received little or no

food, being forced to buy food with their own money. One of the main crossing points into Transnistria regularly used by the Roma was at Tighina (sometimes spoken of today as Bender), near Tiraspol.

From July to September 1942, the Roma stayed in the Moldavca transit camp (as well as in two other but smaller nearby transit camps at Domanovca and Acmecetca). Of the 8,303 Roma stationed in the area, more than half were held in Moldavca, according to a gendarmerie report of August 25, 1942.

The Moldavca camp was located on an open, bare field in a wooded valley, near the Moldavca village, on which no facilities of any kind existed. People slept inside or under their wagons. A pond provided unclean drinking water. German and Romanian soldiers watched the camp from observation posts set up on three hilltops. A barrier separating the camp from the Moldavca village blocked the Roma's access to the main road. Romanian soldiers as well as Ukrainian police guarded the barrier and prevented the villagers from approaching the camp.

A few weeks after the Roma's encampment in Moldavca, Golta's prefect Isopescu confiscated their horses and wagons to prevent their movement and to replenish the *kolkhozes* (state farms). The measure crippled the Roma, because their wagons provided shelter, a means of transportation, and work opportunities; horses were, in extreme circumstances, a source of food or income as well. Without food and shelter, the Roma were quickly driven to desperation. Under the cover of darkness, some Roma escaped from the camp and went through the villages bartering, stealing, or begging, at great risk to themselves and their families. The soldiers abused the Roma in many ways, from raping young and attractive women (and shooting them afterward) to forcing young men at gunpoint to engage in sexual relations with their mothers for their amusement. Deaths from hunger, disease, and exposure began to occur and soon reached a few hundred. The dead were buried in mass graves. The Roma deportees nicknamed the camp the "valley of sighs" (*valea plângerii*).[3]

In October 1942, the remaining 4,200 Roma were marched from Moldavca to Crasneanca, in the northern part of the Golta judeţ, some 90 kilometers (56 miles) northwest of Moldavca (today:

Krasnen'ke). The Romanian authorities recruited some wagons from the area to transport some of the luggage, but most people went on foot, carrying what ever possessions they could take with them. Among the abandoned luggage were some toddlers, most likely orphaned. Of those Roma who moved to Crasneanca, fewer than half returned to Romania in March 1944.

In May 1945, the Bucharest People's Court tried and sentenced Isopescu, Pădure, and Ambrus to life in prison for mistreating the Roma in the Golta judeţ.[4]

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Romanian Roma deported to Moldavca can be found in Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Roma from the Moldavca camp are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). A film documenting the deportation of the Roma from Romania to Transnistria, as well as their ordeal and return, is *Valea Plângerii* (*The Valley of Sighs*), DVD, directed by Mihai Andrei Leaha, Andrei Crişan, and Iulia-Elena Hossu (Cluj: Institutul Pentru Studierea Minorităţilor Naţionale, in collaboration with Triba Film, 2013). VHA holds five Roma survivor testimonies (in Russian) about the Moldavca camp. Under RG-50, USHMMA holds oral history interviews about the deportation to Transnistria of the Roma from Romania.

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NOTES

1. See General Inspector of Gendarmes, Colonel C. Tobescu's deportation plan of the nomadic Roma from Romania, May 31, 1942, reprinted in Achim, ed., *Documente*, 1: 19–22.

2. For an account of the deception of the Roma, see USHMMA, RG-50.421*0003, Vasile Gheorghe, oral history interview, August 28, 1995; USHMMA, RG-50.421*0001, Ion Caldarar, oral history interview, August 15, 1995.

3. For a geographical pinpointing of the camp and its physical description, see *Valea Plângerii* (*The Valley of Sighs*), chapter "1942 The Deportation of Nomadic Roma," minute 6.

4. See USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 116–117, 119, 136–137, 140.

MOLOCNEA

Molocnea is a village outside Obodovca, the seat of the Obodocva raion in the Balta judeţ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Obodivka, Ukraine). It lies 59 kilometers (37 miles) northwest of Balta.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Obodovca and its surroundings in July 1941. The area entered under Romanian civil control at the beginning of September 1941, when the village's name was romanianized from Moloknia to Molocnea or Molochina. The praetor in the Obodovca raion was Dumitru Sofian.

At the heart of the tiny Molocnea settlement was a *kolkhoz* (state farm) where convoys of Jews deported from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia in Romania were placed in October and November 1941. Most of the convoys crossed the Dniester and entered Transnistria at Iampol, with some of the Jews already totally despoiled and exhausted after forced marches and internments in transit camps between July and September.

The Molocnea camp was initially intended as a transit camp for convoys headed toward the Bug River via nearby Obodovca in the Balta judeţ. It soon turned into a death camp, however, as thousands of deportees converging on Obodovca in a short period of time found themselves abandoned there without help from anyone. The Romanian local authorities, especially the praetor and the gendarmerie, ordered the Jews inside the stables and cowsheds and locked them in there while they were deciding where to send the deportees. The inhumane conditions in which the deportees were held in the filthy and dilapidated animal shelters accelerated the spread of typhus to victims of all ages.[1] The Romanian authorities did not provide the deportees with food, water, or medicine. The bodies of the deceased remained in the rooms together with the living for days. The deportees' frightful condition (sickened, starved, and lice infested) in turn led the authorities to control even more tightly their movement inside the

camp (it was already forbidden for them to leave the camp, on penalty of death). This vicious circle left hundreds dead in the camp, buried in mass graves.[2] Because of the atrocities that had occurred there, the very mention of the Molocnea camp among the deportees heading to Obodovca brought them to a state of panic.[3]

The camp was closed at the beginning of 1942.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Molocnea can be found in the following publications: "Molocneea," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 473; A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bararabia şi alte câteva întâmplări. Contribuţii la istoria încercării de exterminare a evreilor* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 1 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2: 8 (2010): 18–26.

The following two collections at USHMMA may contain

sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Molocnea: DAOO (RG-31.004M) and GARF (RG-22.002M). VHA holds one survivor testimony about the Molocnea camp.

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NOTES

1. VHA #35994, Menaḥem Saraf testimony, August 21, 1997.

2. Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia*, p. 28.

3. Ancel, *Transnistria*, p. 77, n. 52.

MOSTOVOI

Mostovoi, the seat of the Mostovoi raion in Berezovca judeţ (today: Mostove, Ukraine), in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located along the Chychykliya River, a tributary of the Bug. It lies 25 kilometers (15 miles) north-northeast of Berezovca.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Mostovoi on August 10, 1941. Immediately after taking control of the commune, the Germans rounded up the remaining few hundred Jewish residents. Most were killed soon thereafter by Einsatzgruppe D; the rest were sent to the German-run Krivorushiko camp in the Vaselinovo raion, Berezovca judeţ. The Romanian authorities took over control in September 1941 and romanianized the commune's name from Mostovoy to Mostovoi (or Mostovoie). The prefect in the Berezovca judeţ was Colonel Leonida Popp. The deputy prefect was Sublocotenent Alexandru Smochină. The praetor in the Mostovoi raion was Dr. Victor Petrenciuc. The commandant of the Mostovoi gendarmes post was Locotenent Dumitru Pandrea.

Ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) populated the Mostovoi area. They underwent an intense Nazification process concomitant with the arrival of Jewish and Roma (Gypsy) deportees. An office of the SS Office for Ethnic German Affairs (*Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*, VoMi), the organization representing the economic and cultural interests of the *Volksdeutsche* in southern Transnistria, was based in Landau (in the Berezovca judeţ), not far from Mostovoi. The head of VoMi in Landau was Obersturmbannführer Müller. In the fall of 1941, VoMi set up a *Volksdeutsche* extermination force, Sonderkommando Russland (SkR). A section of SkR, Bereichkommando 11 (BK 11), was stationed in Rastadt, a village 8 kilometers (5 miles) east of Mostovoi. Its commandant was SS-Hauptsturmführer Rudolf Hartung. BK11 made repeated trips to the Mostovoi camp to collect Jews in order to kill them.[1]

In October 1941, the dilapidated residence of a noble family served as a transit camp in Mostovoi. The imposing building was often called "the castle" or "palace" by the deportees. The camp was not surrounded by barbed wire, but a small group of Ukrainian auxiliaries together with Romanian gendarmes guarded it. The rooms had windows without glass; plumbing was nonexistent. Food was not provided. The first convoys of deportees to be held in the Mostovoi camp were Ukrainian Jews from Odessa and Romanian Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina. The approximate total number of these deportees was between 5,000 and 10,000. Some remained in place, whereas others were dispersed to other camps on arrival. The German and Romanian authorities realized that the massing of Jews in the Berezovca judeţ in the winter of 1941, with many dying of typhus because of the inhumane camp conditions, endangered civilians and troops. The Jews' fate was sealed when the Romanians and the German SkR "cleansed" the Mostovoi area of typhus by either shooting the Jews or transferring them to killing camps in Bogdanovca and Domanovca (Golta judeţ). There existed in Mostovoi a hospital staffed by Ukrainian doctors and nurses. Doctor Sergei Kolpensky, a hospital chief, generously helped Jews who were sick with typhus and hid them from the German soldiers who were also treated in the same facility.[2]

In the spring of 1942, the remaining Jews sought to rent rooms from the Ukrainian residents of Mostovoi village in an area designated as a ghetto. This area, too, was not fenced in and only lightly guarded.[3] The Jews worked or bartered goods in return for lodging. By April 1942, there were 346 Jews in Mostovoi.[4] Unannounced visits by BK 11 sent panic through the camp and ghetto. The unit arrived periodically to pick up Jews to work on the animal farms (*sovkhozes*) belonging to ethnic German villages. When these workers became sick and their productivity decreased, they were simply shot and replaced. In June 1942, the number of Jews arriving at Mostovoi increased again. Some 1,200 of them were moved from the Mostovoi camp to the Suha Verba camp to work on the produce farm (*kolkhoz*), but were soon shot by the Lichtenfeld village's German police, BK 20, led by SS-Hauptsturmführer Franz Leibl.[5]

On September 22, 1942, approximately 600 Jews from Romania

(the Old Kingdom and southern Transylvania) were sent by train from Bucharest to Mostovoi; they were deported after requesting Soviet citizenship so they could live in or move to Bessarabia and northern Bukovina, which the Soviet Union had annexed in June 1940. BK 11 collected them the day after their arrival in Mostovoi and transported them to Rastadt where they were shot.[6] A few days later in September 1942, a group of 50 to 60 Jews from Romania, suspected of communist activity, were deported to the Vapniarca camp in Transnistria. In Tiraspol, however, the railcars were redirected to Mostovoi. Like the previous transport of deportees from Romania, these Jews disembarked at Kosolovca in the Mostovoi raion (today: near Kudryavtsivka, Ukraine) and then walked 13 kilometers (8 miles) to the Mostovoi camp. Their luggage was ransacked by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries. A soldier with General Vlasov's army simply shot anyone complaining about the robberies.[7] Max Horowitz, a self-declared "Jewish mayor" working for the authorities, exploited the new group by demanding gifts in exchange for allowing them to remain in Mostovoi. The group, learning about conditions in the area from the few survivors of the previous massacres, sought immediate accommodation outside of the "castle" and in the ghetto. They were able to make themselves useful to the local residents and found lodging in their homes.[8] Not as fortunate were a group of 90 Jews, refugees from Poland, who were assembled at the Mostovoi gendarmes post at the beginning of November 1942. BK 11 picked them up and transported them to Rastadt, where they murdered them.[9]

In February 1943 there were 260 Jews in the Mostovoi ghetto. In March 1943, approximately 100 or more (mostly Ukrainian) Jews were transferred from the Mostovoi ghetto to work for German construction firms across the Bug; they were likely deployed in building Highway IV (*Durchgangstrasse IV*), the strategic highway connecting Poland to southern Ukraine. These Jews, it was known to every one, would never return.[10] Some of the remaining Jews in the Mostovoi ghetto were assigned to do forced labor, but rarely according to their true professions; they worked in gardens, farms, or institutions in and around Mostovoi.[11] Compensation, always small and received sporadically, was in the form of seasonal produce. In September

1943, 123 Jews remained in Mostovoi (some from Bukovina and Bessarabia, but most from Old Kingdom Romania), not counting a few Ukrainian Jews.[12] In March 1944, the Jews from the Old Kingdom were released by the gendarmes and repatriated to Romania by train.

In September 1942, thousands of Roma ("Gypsies") were deported from Romania to Transnistria. Hundreds of those Roma were placed at the outskirts of Mostovoi, some in abandoned houses and others simply in huts built on an open field. The camp was neither fenced in nor guarded. In the winter of 1942, many Roma died of cold, typhus, and starvation. The situation improved very little throughout 1943, because the Roma in Mostovoi were not provided the means to support themselves. The local villagers scorned them for having to resort to theft. In October 1943, the Berezovca prefecture placed an order for 50 pairs of suits made out of sackcloth for the Roma in Mostovoi. The outfits were not finished until January 1944, by which time many of those who remained without clothes and possessions faced certain death by exposure.[13] In February 1944, there were 234 Roma in Mostovoi.[14] Their return to Romania in March 1944 was chaotic.

The Red Army recaptured Mostovoi in April 1944. The People's Tribunal in Bucharest tried and condemned many of Berezovca's leaders, including Popp, for the fate of the Jews and Roma in the Mostovoi raion.[15] Popp was sentenced to hard labor in prison and the confiscation of his private property.

SOURCES More information regarding the fate of Jews and Roma in the Mostovoi camps and ghetto can be found in the following publications: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel,

Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For a collection of documents regarding the deportation of Romanian Roma to Transnistria, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews and Roma in the Mostovoi camps and ghetto are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), ANR (RG-25.002M), AMAN (RG-25.003M), AME (RG-25.006M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). ANR, Collection 60 (RG-25.089M), contains survivors' recollections about the Mostovoi camp. VHA holds 36 testimonies (in English, Romanian, and Russian) from Jewish survivors who were held in the Mostovoi camps and ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See the outline of VoMi's EG and SK units for Transnistria, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 311, file 801, p. 321.

2. VHA #03131, Angela Genesco testimony, June 14, 1995.

3. Ion Antonescu's Military Cabinet inspection report, following a visit to the camps and ghettos for Jews and Roma in Transnistria, May 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 16, file 205, pp. 433–438 (esp. pp. 437–438).

4. Census of Jews to be deported even closer to the Bug, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 143.

5. See diary entry, June 1942, Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 211.

6. See diary entry, September 22, 1942, ibid., 3: 297.

7. VHA #02775, Vasile Bordeianu testimony, May 23, 1995.

8. VHA #49542, Hanta Brumfeld testimony, February 22, 1999.

9. November 1, 1942, diary entry, Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 299.

10. See statistical figure for February 1943: USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 590, p. 20. See correspondence between Prefect Isopescu of the Golta judeţ and Gheorghe Alexianu, governor of Transnistria, regarding the transfer of Jews from Mostovoi, USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1496, p. 161.

11. See table of accountants, for example, from the Mostovoi ghetto, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 18, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 24, n.p, and other professions, pp. 77–78; another distribution according to professions can be found in reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 590, p. 64.

12. See name list, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 591, pp. 77–78 (and verso).

13. See correspondence and order, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 171, p. 4, and delo 592, pp. 203–205.

14. See name list, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 591, pp. 5–8.

15. See court depositions against Leonida Popp, RG-25.004M, reel 26, file 39181, pp. 248, 252–253.

MURAFA

Murafa, a small town in the Şargorod raion, Moghilev judeţ (today: Murafa, Ukraine), in the northwestern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is divided by the Murafa River. It is 47 kilometers (29 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. In 1926, the Jewish population was 1,421, whereas in 1939 the number of Jews in the raion was 2,626 (data for Murafa are not available). A general mobilization took place during the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. Military-aged Jewish men were drafted into the Red Army, while others fled deeper inside the Soviet Union, but some 800 Jews remained in Murafa.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Murafa on July 21, 1941. Control over the area was transferred to the Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The prefects in the Moghilev judeţ were Constantin Dimitriu, Constantin Năsturaş, and Constantin Loghin, all army colonels. The deputy prefect and praetor in Şargorod was Iosif Dindelegan. Dimitrie (or Dumitru) Rusu was the first praetor. The commandants of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion were Aurel Dănulescu, Gheorghe Botoroagă, and Romeo Orăşeanu, all army majors.

An open ghetto was established in Murafa in late September 1941 or shortly thereafter. It was created in the area traditionally occupied by the local Jewish community, known as "Old Murafa" (as opposed to the "New Murafa" section where mostly Christian Ukrainians lived). The ghetto incorporated the Jewish school and the synagogue, which had been partly destroyed by the war, and its outer limits were demarcated by verbal order. Some 3,500 Jews deported from Romania arrived in Murafa in successive convoys between October and December 1941. They were mostly from southern Bukovina and the Dorohoi area, but smaller groups originally from Bessarabia and Cernăuţi arrived there too. The convoys entered Transnistria via the Atachi-Moghilev-Podolsk crossing point, after having their members' belongings ransacked repeatedly. Although some Jews arrived in Murafa with some of

their possessions and in relatively good health, others were robbed of all their belongings and exhausted after weeks of forced marches.

The local Jewish community of Murafa took in the Jews arriving from Romania. However, the ghetto became very overcrowded as subsequent convoys arrived in the village. Every habitable space was occupied, with several families sharing a single room; many also stayed in attics and barns.[1] The frigid temperatures in the winter of 1941, along with the typhus epidemic that erupted among the deportees, killed hundreds of the ghetto's inhabitants. In addition to a Jewish Council that represented the local Ukrainian Jews (known as the "*Obsh-china*"), the ghetto's other inhabitants set up their own Jewish Council, headed by Nahum Bakal; a Jewish police force was also created to implement the demands of various Romanian, Ukrainian, and even ghetto authorities. The committees collaborated in setting up a number of welfare institutions to aid the many impoverished deportees who were unable to survive without help. Gradually, the ghetto established a soup kitchen, a hospital, a pharmacy, and a sterilization facility consisting of a few repurposed barns to combat the spread of lice (the vector in the spread of typhus). Toward the end of 1943, a small orphanage was set up. Jewish doctors from the ghetto took care of the sick and needy, although they often fell victim to the epidemics that they were fighting.[2] These projects were at first funded with ghetto money, extracted from taxes imposed on the Jews who still had means, but were supplemented by material and financial aid distributed by the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) throughout 1943 and into 1944.

Among the forced labor projects undertaken by the Murafa ghetto's Jews was the construction of the Murafa-Yaroshenka (Romanian: Iaroşinca) highway in June to September 1943. Boys and women, in particular, were taken to the tobacco fields during the harvest campaign in September and October 1942. In addition to clearing snow throughout the town in winter, the Jews undertook smaller projects for various local public institutions (until February 1943), as their skills permitted. Some also sought work opportunities in town or in the ghetto independent of the

authorities' plans. Many simply begged from house to house for bread or potato peels, or bartered their last items, because hunger and starvation were rampant. In accordance with government ordinances (especially Ordinance No. 23), Jewish workers had to be remunerated for each day of work in German-issued scrip (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS): 2 RKKS for unskilled and 3 RKKS for skilled workers.[3] Payment could be made in food or in food coupons, yet according to an official report from the Şargorod raion's Jewish Labor Office issued on April 30, 1943, only a fraction (approximately 15 percent) of the total payment due for the previous year's work was paid (that payment was in bulk food, namely 20 tons of barley and 5 tons of peas).[4] From late 1942 and into 1943 small packages and sums of money were sent by individuals in Romania (Bukovina, especially) to their relatives or friends in the Murafa ghetto; such packages and funds, when not opened or confiscated along the way, aided greatly those who received them.

Further demands for Jewish laborers came in 1943. The German authorities requested from their Romanian counterparts a number of male Jews, in good health, for the Nicolaev building projects. These projects involved both the building of a bridge over the Bug River at Trihati as well as building roads (on the Romanian side of the Bug). A small number of Jews were selected from the ghetto and sent by train to these work camps; very few returned in March 1944. In addition to the harsh living and working conditions to which they were subjected by the German authorities, the inmates were shot when the forced labor camps were closed down.

A small number of cultural activities (poetry reading, singing, and lectures) were held in the Murafa ghetto in 1943, and prayer services were conducted in an improvised house of prayer. In March 1943, the number of Jews deported to Murafa was 2,510; in September 1943, there were 2,605 Jews in Murafa (2,179 from Bukovina and 426 from Bessarabia), not counting the Ukrainian Jews.[5] Partisan activity around Murafa grew more intense in the summer and fall of 1943.

Priority in the general repatriation of the Jews to Romania was given to a few categories of individuals, such as World War I veterans and their immediate descendants, former state functionaries, and those deported from the Regat and the Dorohoi

area. A number of such Jews in the Murafa ghetto met one or more of these criteria and were repatriated in December 1943. Orphaned children from the Murafa ghetto were repatriated in March 1944, on the eve of the Red Army's recapture of the area.[6] The Red Army liberated the ghetto on March 19, 1944, after a short but bloody battle for the town. Many survivors returned to Bukovina (especially the Cernăuţi area) by foot or in army trains and trucks. The Soviet authorities picked up some of the survivors along the way and drafted them into the Red Army. The People's Court in Bucharest tried and convicted to years of hard labor Şargorod's praetor, Iosif Dindelegan, along with other higher authorities in the Moghilev gendarmerie.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Murafa can be found in the following publications: "Murafa," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 631–632; "Murafa," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 861; "Murafa," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 217; "Murafa," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 204), 5: 468–469; "Murafa," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969); Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47; Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian*

Jewry during the Holocaust, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Sarah Rosen, "Surviving in the Murafa Ghetto: A Case Study of One Ghetto in Transnistria," in Thomas Kühne and Tom Lawson, eds., *The Holocaust and Local History: Proceedings of the First International Graduate Students' Conference on Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, Strassler Family Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Clark University, April 23–26, 2009 (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2009), pp. 143–160. For an account of religious life in the Murafa ghetto, see Iaacov Geller, *Rezistenţa Spirituală a Evreilor Români în Timpul Holocaustului* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2004), p. 356.

Primary sources documenting the Jews' fate in the Murafa ghetto are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), SRI (RG-25.004M), ANR (RG-25.002M), and DAVO (RG-31.011). Iosif Katz's memoir, available at USHMM (Acc. No. 2006.140), documents work and living conditions in the Nicolaev labor camps. VHA holds 184 testimonies (in seven languages) from Jewish survivors of the Murafa ghetto. A portrait photograph of Moissi Brandmann, a survivor of the Murafa ghetto deported from Cernăuţi, can be found at USHMMPA (#38050). The ITS holds some CNI cards tracking the paths of persecution from the Murafa ghetto. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #49994, Harry Kolisher testimony, July 18, 1999.

2. VHA #50184, Gusta Rusu testimony, August 17, 1999.

3. See “Ordonanţa Nr. 23,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 20, fond 2361, opis 15, delo 1, p. 268 (and verso).

4. See the report in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 381–382.

5. See the following census reports: “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistriaăşţ pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345; and “Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

6. For their names, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 6, file 7642, vol. 1.

NEMERCI

Nemerci, a village in the Copaigorod raion in the Moghilev judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Nemerche, Ukraine), is located 25 kilometers (15 miles) north-northwest of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,903 Jews living in the Copaigorod raion, of whom only a small number lived in Nemerci (census data for the village are not available).

The German and Romanian armies overran Nemerci and its surroundings in the middle of July 1941. After a short German military occupation, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Nemerche to Nemerci (occasionally appearing in documents as Nemerţi). The praetor in the Copaigorod raion was Ion Vodă.

Some of the Jews deported from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia in the summer of 1941 arrived in Nemerci in October and November 1941. The majority of them entered Transnistria via the Atachi crossing point over the Dniester River and made a short stop in Moghilev-Podolsk, before being marched farther northeast toward the Bug River. The convoys of deportees were robbed of many of their possessions at the entry point into Transnistria, as well as en route to their deportation place, adding substantially to their misery. In Nemerci, the deportees were placed along a few streets in an area designated as a ghetto. They were crammed inside the homes of the local Jews, with multiple families sharing a single room. Rubin Roittmann and Mark Barac were among the ghetto leaders.

According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, there were 453 Jews deported from Romania living in Nemerci in October 1942.[1] Siegfried Jägendorf, president of the Jewish Council of Moghilev (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM), estimated that 50 percent of the deported Jews

in the district of Moghilev perished during the winter of 1941–1942 from cold, hunger, and typhus. It can be assumed, then, that the number of Jews in Nemerci at the end of the 1941 deportations was probably close to 700 or more.[2]

The Relief Commission from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews in Bucharest (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) that visited Transnistria at the beginning of 1943 stopped on January 8 and 9 in Moghilev. The commission, led by Fred Şaraga, learned from the leaders of the Nemerci ghetto assembled in Moghilev at that time that 402 Jews were still living in the Nemerci ghetto (317 deported and 85 local Jews). The commission planned future shipments of goods to the ghetto, while allocating some funds for their immediate needs. Among the improvements made possible by these funds was the opening of a soup kitchen to feed 200 of the neediest among them and of a small dispensary, staffed by a pharmacist and a nurse.[3]

Life in the closed and guarded ghetto was filled with restrictions. Leaving the ghetto without permission was severely punished. Wearing the yellow star became obligatory. All able-bodied men were taken to do forced labor in road and rail repairs and in agriculture. Bribery and barter became essential means of survival.[4] The Romanian local administration, which was their employer, owed them payment for their work, but such payment was delayed (if paid at all). A few deportees received, on occasion, a small sum of money from their friends or family members still living in Romania.[5]

By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Nemerci was 304, likely not counting the Ukrainian Jews; on September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 216 (4 from Bessarabia, 212 from Bukovina).[6] The difference in number between the two censuses can be explained in terms of forced labor recruitment. Skilled and unskilled forced laborers from all over the Moghilev district were sent to the German-run bridge-building sites at Trihati (Trikhaty) and in the Nicolaev (Nikolayev) region in June 1943. Both of these locations were on the Bug River in the southeastern part of Transnistria. Work at the bridges lasted until late 1943, at which time the surviving workers were returned to Moghilev.

The repatriation of Jews deported from Romania began at the end of 1943, first with the Jews originally from Dorohoi district and the Regat, along with orphaned children and a few other special categories of Jews (for example, former state functionaries, World War I veterans, and widows). Few Jews from the Nemerci ghetto qualified for this early return. In February 1944, the number of Jews deported from Romania living in the entire Copaigorod raion was 2,339, of whom some were held in the Nemerci ghetto.[7] The ghetto was liberated by the Red Army at the end of March 1944. Some Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, whereas others made the dangerous journey back to Romania.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Nemerci can be found in the following publications: "Nemerci," in Jean Ancel et al., eds, *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 478; "Nemerche," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 640; "Nemerche," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 220; "Nemerche," *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 31; and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias

Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2:8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Nemerci can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). VHA holds three survivor testimonies (in English and Hebrew) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time; Tsilah Trikhter's VHA testimony (#39380) includes a drawing of a part of the ghetto.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10, Problem 33, vol. 20, p. 281.

2. Jägendorf memorandum, September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289 (esp. p. 265).

3. For a visitor's report, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 128.

4. VHA #39380, Tsilah Trikhter testimony, December 22, 1997; VHA #21187, Efraim Lechtman testimony, October 20, 1996.

5. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2241, opis 1, delo 1564, p. 119.

6. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345, and for the September

1943 census, see “Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

7. See population figures according to nationalities in the raions of the Moghilev district, USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, p. 5 (see also p. 6 for population figures according to professions).

NESTERVARCA

Nestervarca, a village in the Tulcin raion, bordering the town of Tulcin in the Tulcin judeţ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Nestervarka, Ukraine), is separated from Tulcin by the Silnytsya River.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Nestervarca during the second part of July 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the area beginning in September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Nester-varka to Nestervarca, and the raion became Tulcin. The praetor in the Tulcin raion was Andrei Partenie.

The beginnings of the Nestervarca camp are unclear. The most accepted possibility is that a forced labor camp was created in Nestervarca at some time during the summer of 1942 when the Romanian and German authorities sought to exploit the area's natural resource: the large reserves of peat used as fuel. During 1942 and 1943, Jews deported from northern Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romania, but also Ukrainian Jews from other parts of Transnistria, were brought to Nestervarca from other camps and ghettos in the bordering Moghilev and Balta judeţe. The majority of those sent to Nestervarca were able-bodied male and female Jews, although among them were also some elderly people and children. Some groups were transported to Nestervarca by train, and others were simply marched there: all were carefully guarded.

Those arriving by train disembarked at Tulcin, where Romanian and German escorts led them on foot to a *kolkhoz* (state collective farm) in Nestervarca. The empty buildings inside the kolkhoz had been repurposed as primitive living quarters, devoid of any adequate facilities, including beds. The camp was guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries, with the guards also using dogs to watch the prisoners. The laboreres marched to and from the swampy peat fields under escort. Beating the prisoners was common, especially by the camp supervisor (someone by the name of Lakatosh or a close variant).[1] Food

consisted of hot water ("tea"), polenta, and a mix of peas and beans, including fodder peas not usually used for human consumption. The German authorities from the Tulcin military center, which included a Gestapo office as well, inspected the peat fields from time to time. Most of the prisoners worked in the peat fields as diggers, but a few groups were selected for laying railway tracks, loading the peat onto trains, and construction. Women labored in the same places as men and suffered the same inhumane treatment; in addition, they were hit on their breasts and genitalia as punishment.[2] Escaping from the camp was possible for those who knew the area, but anyone caught trying was summarily shot.[3] Such was the fate of four Jews who escaped from Nestervarca and were caught in the Moghilev ghetto (where they had previously resided). They were shot on July 27, 1943.[4] Because the heavy work destroyed their clothes, the deportees were outfitted with wooden shoes and brown clothes made out of sackcloth.[5]

The number of Jews held in the Nestervara camp fluctuated, depending on the scale and number of the projects undertaken; even as late as August 1943, the camp received new prisoners from other camps and ghettos (Pecioara, Braţlav, and Trostineţ), and some were sent to other places.[6] The census of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) in March 1943 curiously did not list Nester-varca among the places where Jews deported from Romania lived; it may be that the delegation that gathered this information in January 1943 was not able to obtain any population figures for the camp or that the core production of Nestervarca had ceased for the winter and the camp had no or few forced laborers on site. The Romanian gendarmerie in Transnistria, however, listed the camp in its September 1, 1943, census as holding 422 Jews from Bessarabia and 1,168 Jews from Bukovina.[7] There were also most likely Ukrainian Jews there, but they were not included in this census. They do appear in a subsequent census taken by the gendarmerie that counts "all" the Jews in Tulcin in October 1943: the Nestervarca camp had 2,403 Jews (1,742 men, 479 women, 124 children, and 58 elderly).[8]

The camp was either shut down or drastically reduced in size at the end of 1943 or the beginning of 1944, when conditions made peat exploitation unproductive. The remaining deportees were

returned to a few ghettos, including the nearby Tulcin ghetto. From there, select groups were repatriated to Romania. The remainder stayed in place for a few more months. At the beginning of March 1944, the Romanian administration retreated from Tulcin, handing control to the German military authorities, who were in retreat before the Red Army. In March 1944, the Red Army recaptured Tulcin and Nestervarca, freeing the Jews who were still held there.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Nestervarca can be found in the following publications: "Nestervarka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 646; "Nestervarka," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Kara-vella, 2001), p. 222; "Nestervarka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 38; "Nestervarca," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 479; and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia,*

Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Nestervarca camp can be found at USHMMA, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). Affidavits containing the testimonies of Jews imprisoned in Nestervarca can be found at USHMMA, collection Cernivtsi Jewish Survivors Organization (RG-31.020M). VHA holds 13 survivor testimonies in two languages (Russian and English) from Jews held in the camp for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #27409, Lothar Singer testimony, February 11, 1997; VHA #38851, Ruvin Gitman testimony, November 28, 1997.

2. VHA #27409; VHA #30655, Klara Woskobojnik testimony, April 20, 1997.

3. VHA #17870, Faia Fruchter testimony, July 29, 1996; VHA #34291, Raisa Gel'fgat testimony, July 17, 1997.

4. Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 311.

5. VHA #20791, Mikhael Kishelvich testimony, October 17, 1996.

6. Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3:312.

7. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe,"

reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347; for the April 1943 census, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, p. 11, and delo 717, p. 42; for the absence of Manicovca from the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

8. USHMMA, RG-26.006M (AME), reel 11, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 585.

OBODOVCA

Obodovca (pre-1941: Obodovka), a village in the Obodovca raion, Balta judeţ (today: Obodivka, Ukraine) in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located along a stream. It is 41 kilometers (26 miles) southeast of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census there were 535 Jews in Obodovca, representing 6.9 percent of the town's population, and 754 Jews in the Obodovca raion, representing 2.49 percent of the raion's population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Obodovca on July 28, 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the town in September 1941 and romanianized its name as Obodovca (also called Obodovca Veche). The village extended across the stream; the part north of the stream was called Novo Obodovca, or New Obodovca. Colonel Vasile Nica was the prefect of the Balta judeţ, and the deputy prefect was Alexandru Cojocaru. Locotenent-colonel Ştefan Gavăţ was the commandant of the Balta Gendarmes Legion. The praetor in Obodovca raion was Dumitru Sofian.

Convoys of Jews deported from Romania were marched to Obodovca in October and early November 1941. By mid-November, an estimated 10,000 deported Jews had reached Obodovca. Some stayed while others were forced to continue their march after a short stop. A transit camp was created in the war-torn stables of the local collective farm (*kolkhoz*). A few Jews who after repeated robberies nevertheless possessed jewelry or foreign currency were able to bribe local civilian and military authorities and rent rooms from townspeople. However, the vast majority of the Jews were concentrated in the large cowsheds in the kolkhoz.[1]

The conditions inside the farm were inhumane. Most stables were missing windows and/or doors, some were only partly covered, and all lacked beds, heating, running water, and toilets. Temperatures dropped well below freezing in November, and it

was extremely cold in the winter of 1941. During this time, thousands of Jews died of cold, hunger, and sickness (typhus, dysentery, and infectious diseases). Piles of frozen corpses grew outside the cold barns because there were no tools to dig holes into the frozen ground. A wagon came around every few days to collect the dead bodies and remove them to a field on the outskirts of the camp.[2]

In December 1941, a typhus epidemic erupted in the camp and spread to the village. As a result, the entire kolkhoz was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by sentinels. The impossible living conditions, including the inability to search for work and food, brought even more distress to the inmates. Nevertheless, people left the camp after dark under extremely risky conditions. There were no medications or delousing facilities to combat the typhus epidemic during the winter of 1941, resulting in an extremely large number of casualties: almost 60 percent of all Jews deported to Obodovca died of typhus. The Jews fared better in the following winter, when medication sent from Romania and better living conditions reduced the number of deaths.

Gradually, more Jews either moved outside the camp into empty houses vacated by those who fled with the Red Army, were taken in by local Jews from Obodovca, or rented rooms from villagers. A ghetto was thus created in an area of the village allocated for Jewish settlement (at which point the farm ceased to exist as a camp). Among the Romanian Jews deported to Obodovca were former state functionaries, such as teachers, doctors, lawyers, and clerks, and many World War I veterans, some decorated for acts of heroism.[3]

A number of farms and workshops (*ateliere*) were created in 1942 throughout the Balta judeţ, including in Obodovca. Skilled Jews worked in these workshops according to their former professions (tailors, cobblers, and furriers). They were usually paid insignificant amounts, if at all. A team of nine leaders was in charge of various aspects of the Obodovca ghetto: Bernad Róssler (ghetto chief), Moritz Siebuer (deputy chief), Iancu Vindisch (secretary), Herman Rasp (auditor), Ghesel Haviş (social services), Aron Cheiş (hospital and pharmacy), Ruvin Sandelman (workshops), and Haim Bernştein and Saul Faerştein (supplies).[4]

The majority of able-bodied Jewish men and women worked as seasonal laborers in agriculture and as street cleaners, painters, builders, bakers, and drivers, but also as dentists and accountants.[5] In October 1943, 10 Jewish tailors from the Obodovca ghetto were sent to Balta to work in a tailoring workshop making clothes for staff members of the Romanian Railroad Company (*Căile Ferate Române*).

Financial and material support from Jewish communities in Romania facilitated the creation and maintenance of workshops and various ghetto services. Used items were also sent from Jews in Bukovina via the Judeţ Office of Jews in Cernauti (*Oficiul Judeţean al Evreilor din Cernăuţi*).[6] The Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) sent money and goods (glass, produce, coal, and tools) for the ghetto as a whole and for the workshops. Some of the aid was delayed due to bureaucracy, and some never reached the intended recipients either because it was intercepted by other authorities or stolen along the way.[7] Late in 1942 and into 1943, financial aid from family and friends in Romania also reached the Obodovca ghetto.[8] According to the March 1943 census of deported Jews, there were 1,550 Jews in Obodovca (including local Ukrainian Jews); in September 1943, there were 1,373 (excluding local Jews).[9]

Hundreds of skilled Jews from the Obodovca raion were sent as forced laborers to work on construction projects at Nicolaev and Varvarovca (in the Oceacov judeţ). That area was under the control of the Nazi SS who used Ukrainian auxiliary police as guards on the building sites. Under strict supervision and with heavy workloads, poor sanitation, and little food, the Jews built barracks, bridgeheads, and bridges on the Bug River in the middle of 1943.[10]

In March 1943, the Romanian authorities ordered the transformation of two farms into disciplinary labor camps in the Obodovca raion. The camps at Verhovca and Dubina (today: Verkhivka and Dubyna, three to four kilometers [2 miles] north of Obodovca) were “for the placement in agricultural work of individuals who have become undesirable in their own communities.”[11] These camps appear to have been created for the

general population, rather than for the confinement of Jews. Although deported Jews worked in some capacity in these camps, as accountants, for example, there existed independent forced labor camps for Jews near each of these farms where Jews worked alongside the other prisoners.

The repatriation of orphaned children from Obodovca took place at the end of 1943 and continued into 1944, when other groups of deportees were sent back to Romania. After a disorganized German retreat through Obodovca, the Red Army liberated Obodovca on March 15, 1944. Some Jewish men of military age were recruited into the Red Army and sent deeper inside the Soviet Union as laborers in the war effort.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Obodovca can be found in the following publications: "Obodovka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 667–668; "Obodovka," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 923; "Obodovka," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), pp. 236-237; "Obodovka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 103–104; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 49; Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* and vol. 2: *Documents 1–558* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean

Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2 (parts 1 and 2) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHHM, 2000).

Primary sources about the fate of Jews deported to Obodovca are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M); ACMEOR (RG-68.029M); OOYV (RG-68.130M); GARF (RG-22.002M, reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1259, p. 13, and in the same collection, delo 1242, pp. 125); and DAVINO (RG-31.011M, reel 6, fond 1683, opis 1, delo 10). VHA holds more than 250 testimonies in seven languages from Jewish survivors who stayed for various periods of time in Obodovca.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #05363, Henia Donenfeld testimony, August 10, 1995.

2. VHA #00523, Freda Rosenblatt testimony, January 10, 1995; VHA #22733, Aviva Benanav testimony, December 3, 1996. See also survivor Ioil (Iuri) Carlicovschi's report, "Informaţie pe tema 'Fermele de [la] Obodovca'," USHMMA, RG-68.029M (ACMEOR), reel 11, file 62, pp. 1–3.

3. "Tabel nominal de evreii din raionul Obodovca care au fost funcţionari de stat şi familiile lor," USHMMA, RG-68.130M (OOYV), reel 2, file M-39/27 (DAOO: 2358/1/110), pp. 12–13 (and verso), 14–15 (and verso), 22, 44–45; for decorated veterans, see pp. 16–17 (and verso), 19.

4. List of work committees and ghetto chiefs for the Balta judeţ, "Tabel de membrii Biroului de Organiz. a Muncii Evreilor din Jud. Balta şi a Comitetelor evreieşti din Jud. Balta pe data de 1 Septembrie 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6,

fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 72 (and verso).

5. See, for instance, a long list of Jewish forced laborers working in the Obodovca raion, "Tabel nominal de evrei utilizaţi la diferite intreprinderi şi instituţii în cuprinsul raionului Obodovca," USHMMA, RG-68.130M, reel 2, file M-39/32 (DAOO: 2358/1/666), pp. 1–20 (and verso).

6. Letter informing the Jewish Committee in Obodovca about the sending of packages, September 29, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.130M, reel 1, file M-39/26 (DAOO: 2358/1/107), p. 7 (see also pp. 104, 110, 112).

7. See the exchange between the Obodovca Jewish Committee and the Prefect's Office regarding missing aid, USHMMA, RG-68.130M, reel 1, file M-39/26 (DAOO: 2358 /1/107), pp. 35–38, 96, but see also p. 82 in which a large quantity of salt sent for Obodovca was acquired by the Balta Jewish Committee.

8. See "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din România deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Obodovca (Jud. Balta)," RG-68.130M, reel 1, file M-39/25 (DAOO: 2358/1/838), p. 2 (also pp. 6, 36, 38, 42).

9. March 1943 census: "Tablou numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; September 1943 census: "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439.

10. See "Tabel de meseriaşi pe naţionalităţi din R. Obodovca," September 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.130M, reel 2, file M-39/30 (DAOO: 2358/1/663), pp. 146–149 (and verso).

11. See correspondence Nr. 23421 of Transnistria's Department of Labor in Odessa, requesting that two labor camps be created, March 1943, followed by correspondence Nr. 4341 from Balta Prefecture confirming their establishment, USHMMA, RG-68.130M, reel 2, file M-39/30 (DAOO: 2358 /1/663), pp.

29, 32.

ODESSA

Odessa, seat of the Odessa raion and judeţ in the southern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, lies on the shores of the Black Sea. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 200,961 Jews lived there. Jewish refugees from Bukovina and Bessarabia flocked to Odessa in July 1941 following the German-Romanian invasion of the Soviet Union. Some of the city's long-term Jewish residents, however, had retreated with the Red Army or fled deeper into Soviet territory, but many stayed in place. When the city fell to the Romanian 4th Army on October 16, 1941, there were approximately 85,000 Jews in Odessa.

Romanian military and civilian offices were established soon after the city's capture, when Odessa became Transnistria's capital. The governor of Transnistria was Professor Gheorghe Alexianu. Odessa's military praetor was Colonel Mihail Niculescu-Coca, its first military commandant was General de brigadă Ion Glogojanu, and its mayor was Maior Gherman Pântea. The praetors in Odessa were M. Niculescu, Vasile Chindrias, Ion Costilă, and Radu Emilian. Transnistria's gendarmes inspectors, based in Odessa, were Colonel Emil Broşteanu and Colonel Mihail P. Iliescu.

Terror and chaos characterized the first week under Romanian occupation. The entire male population was ordered to report for document verification,[1] at which time many were arrested on suspicion of being "dangerous" communists and Jews. Young residents were deported to labor camps in Romania for allegedly serving in the Red Army. Of those confined in the Odessa penitentiary, the most suspicious were shot or hanged; others committed suicide while under arrest. Romanian soldiers resorted to looting and raping on the pretext of searching for "Jewish collaborators" and resisters left behind by the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, *Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del*).[2] Fear that anti-Romanian pockets of armed resisters were aiding Soviet units hidden deep inside Odessa's

catacombs engendered a climate of terror.

Ukrainian Jews wait in line to register after the German and Romanian occupation of Odessa, October 1941. USHMM WS #76454, COURTESY OF THE DEUTSCHE FOTOTHEK DER-SAECHSISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK.

The city's first ghetto was established on October 18, 1941. It was built around the penitentiary, located on Fontanskaia Daroga Street and commanded by the gendarme locotenent, Teodor Alectoride. The ghetto encompassed a residential area stretching toward the sea. Entire families were forced to move into the ghetto and could bring with them only a minimum of personal items, the clothing they were wearing, and no food. A Jewish delegation from the ghetto procured food for the inmates. The men worked as street cleaners, moving debris and removing barricades and land mines.

On the evening of October 22, 1941, a mine exploded in the Romanian Army headquarters, the former NKVD headquarters. The blast killed 66 Romanian officers, including Glogojanu, and 4 German naval officers. Viewing the explosion as an act of sabotage, Romanian authorities retaliated cruelly. On the night of October 22 and into the next day, 5,000 people, not exclusively Jews, were hanged on tram posts and planks on street corners.[3] Many others were shot. On October 24, Jews held in the ghetto

were escorted to Dalnik, a suburb of Odessa, where many were shot in antitank ditches or machine-gunned inside four ware houses. The buildings were set on fire, except for one ware house that was dynamited at the very same hour that the army headquarters had exploded two days earlier.

On October 25, 1941, 25,000 more of Odessa's Jews were concentrated in Slobodca, an Odessa neighborhood designated as a ghetto. This second ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and was guarded by gendarmes. Life inside Slobodca was harsh, characterized by overcrowding, malnutrition, cold, and exposure to the elements, because almost every one slept out in the open. A hospital was set up in the ghetto, but the harsh conditions led to many deaths. After 10 days, on November 3, the women were permitted to return home.

The deportation of Odessa's Jews occurred in two waves. One group of at least 7,000 Jews was deported as early as October 27, 1941. They left on foot from Dalnik, after a short confinement in a temporary camp there. Alexianu's Ordinance No. 23 of November 11, 1941, encouraged other deportations from the Odessa raion and judeţ, so that by mid-November 40,000 Jews had already been sent in the direction of Berezovca and farther east to Bogdanovca (Golta judeţ). On Alexianu's orders, the second wave of deportations, conducted from January 12 to February 22, 1942, resulted in the removal of 20,792 Jews to the Berezovca and Ochacov regions.[4] Jews who escaped previous deportations were eventually deported in March 1942, together with those held in the Odessa prison.

Some Jews were returned to Odessa in 1943 to perform forced labor in government workshops (*ateliere*), under the Department of Labor (*Direcţia Muncii*). The workshops at Adolf Hitler Street, No. 6 specialized in sewing, shoemaking, hair-dressing, electrical work, carpentry, and tinsmithing. A dentistry and medical office also operated there. Jews also worked in administration in the Department of Health and Department of Industries, as well as in printing. Others worked in factories.[5] The work regime was strict for every one, with only occasional remuneration. Even non-Jews, aged 16 to 60, were obligated to do compulsory labor (sanctioned by Ordinance No. 26 of November 21, 1941) or face detention in a hard labor camp.[6]

A delegation from Bucharest's Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) was permitted to make a short visit to Transnistria in January 1943. Governor Alexianu and other state functionaries met with the Jewish delegation on the evening of January 2, 1943, and conferred about the solutions to be implemented to alleviate the life of the deportees.[7] On January 3, the delegation visited the 54 Jews (31 men, 19 women, 4 children) who worked and lived in the Adolf Hitler Street workshops. According to a census of deported Jews that followed the delegation's visit, there were 60 Jews left in Odessa in March 1943.[8] Some of the Jewish forced laborers in Odessa received private funds from family or relatives in Romania, via a money-transfer channel of CER.[9]

The Red Army liberated Odessa in April 1944. In April 1946, the People's Tribunal in Bucharest condemned Alexianu to death for committing criminal acts against Odessa's Jews. He was executed on June 1, 1946.[10]

SOURCES Information about the fate of Odessa's Jews can be found in the following publications: "Odessa," in A. I. Kruglov, *The Catastrophe of Ukrainian Jews*, *1941–1944* (Kharkov: Kara-vella, 2001), pp. 237–239; "Odessa," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 925–928; "Odessa," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Ent siklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 109–121; Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* and vol. 6: *War Crimes Trials* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Radu Ioanid, *The*

Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3a: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Alexander Dallin, *Odessa, 1941–1944: A Case Study of Soviet Territory under Foreign Rule* (Portland, OR: Center for Romanian Studies, 1998); Charles King, *Odessa: Genius and Death in a City of Dreams* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2011); and Yitzak Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009); for the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 21.

Archival information about the fate of Odessa's Jews can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO, SRI, and ANR. For a list of praetors in Odessa, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, delo 23, p. 3; for SSI information reports, see RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 18, file 402/1941, pp. 11–34; for Fred Şaraga's report following the visit to Transnistria, see RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 106–156; for Jewish labor in Odessa's workshops, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 2, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1358, p. 83; and for the prosecution's statement against Ion Antonescu before the People's Tribunal, see RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 34, file 40010, vol. 49, pp. 49–59 (esp. p. 59).

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NOTES

1. "Jews wait in line to register shortly after the German and Romanian occupation of Odessa," USHMMPA, WS #69334 (Courtesy of YVA).

2. See Romanian SSI reports, "Raport Informativ," for period

October 20 to 28, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 18, file 402/1941, pp. 11–34.

3. "A German soldier stands near the bodies of eight Jews executed in Odessa shortly after the occupation of the city," USHMMPA, WS # 78240 (Courtesy of YVA).

4. See "Ordonanţa Nr. 23," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 20, fond 2361, opis 15, delo 1, p. 268 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/20/2361/15/1, with page); "Ordonanţa Nr. 35," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 33, file 40010, vol. 28, p. 37 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-25.004M /33/40010/28, p. 37).

5. "Prefectura Judeţului Balta [către] Subinspectoratul General al Jandarmeriei," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13 /2264 /1/307, n.p.; and "Tabel nominal al meseriaşilor evrei din Atelierul Guvernământului Odessa, Strada Adolf Hitler 6," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/2/2242/1/1358, p. 83; "Către Direcţia Sănătăţii Odessa," USHMMA, RG-31.004M /1 /2242/1/307, p. 359; "Nota," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/14 /2264s/1/40b, p. 31; "Către Direcţia Muncii," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/23, n.p.; "Către Guvernământul Transnistriei Direcţia Muncii Odessa," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/15, p. 216; "46 Oameni din fosta fabrică de încălţăminte din Odessa, mutaţi la Birzula," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1561, p. 93.

6. See "Către Direcţia Muncii," USHMMA, RG-31.004M /1/2242/1/307, pp. 215–216.

7. See "Raportul oficial al Comisiunii Evreieşti care a fost în Transnistria," produced by Fred Şaraga, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/9/2710/33, pp. 106–156.

8. "Tablou numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," in Ancel, *Documents* 5: 348.

9. "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din Romania deportaţi în Transnistria aflaţi la Novi-Bug prin Odessa," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/5/2242/1/1507, p. 181.

10. Prosecution's statement, "Ion Antonescu," USHMMA,

RG-25.004M/34/40010/49, pp. 49–59 (esp. p. 59); executions under Decree Law 312/1945, article 1/paragraphs a–b, and article 2/paragraphs a–o.

ODESSA/INTERNMENT AND LABOR CAMPS

Odessa was the capital of Romanian-controlled Transnistria from November 1941 to March 1944. In addition to subcamps for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) that existed in Odessa throughout the war, the Romanian administration of Transnistria set up a number of other correctional camps. Two such camps were the Odessa internment camp (*Lagărul de Internare*, *Odessa*) and the Lusdorf labor camp (*Lagărul de Muncă Lusdorf*). The Odessa Gendarmes Inspectorate, the Odessa police (Criminal Bureau), and the Office of Labor of the Department of the Civil Government of Transnistria played roles in coordinating, supervising, and exploiting these camps.

The Odessa internment camp, commanded by Zaharia, held both men and women, civilians, and former military. By the summer of 1943, 1,434 soldiers who had deserted the Romanian Army were interned in this camp, according to a note issued by the Punishment Bureau.[1] The prisoners in this camp were used as temporary manual laborers for private business and government departments. According to a list of demands for and the available supply of laborers, the prisoners were deployed in diverse institutions in Odessa, including the airport, the government departments of health and roads, the Orthodox Church Mission Office, the Office of Labor, the Agricultural University, state farms (Dalnik, Ştefan Cel Mare, and Ponoma), the military hospital, and the local Ford automotive plant; a few prisoners were sent to the German headquarters (*Kommandantur*) in Trihati.[2] The prisoners were briefly examined by a doctor before being dispatched to work assignments. The camp maintained a degree of autonomy and self-administration, as was also common with Soviet POW camps.[3]

The Lusdorf labor camp was located on Lusdorf Way No. 11 on the outskirts of Odessa. The camp commandant was Grigore Colos, assisted by Grigore Ploteanu; Marfa Dvajala was the

camp's Russian-Romanian interpreter. A group of gendarmes, under the command of Sergent major Anghel Nistreanu of the 3rd Company, 1st Gendarmes Battalion, guarded the camp. The camp held people of both sexes, and it appears to have been a disciplinary camp for citizens of Odessa suspected of subversive activity (such as supporting communism).

The Lusdorf camp's commandant treated the prisoners with contempt, particularly the women. He sexually assaulted two female prisoners in June 1943, physically abused other prisoners, and freed some in exchange for bribes of money or jewelry. In August 1943, the Odessa military court condemned Colos to nine months' imprisonment for abuse of power. The Chişinău military court investigated Sergent major Nistreanu for complicity in these abuses.[4]

The fate of the camp and its prisoners prior to Odessa's occupation by the Red Army is not known. Most likely those prisoners originally from Romania (including Bessarabia) and who had longer sentences to serve were repatriated to other correctional facilities inside Romania or were released.

SOURCES Primary sources are available at USHMMA, in collection RG-68.130M, reel 4 (OOYV).

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NOTES

1. Note of Punishment Bureau, July 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.130M (OOYV), reel 4, M-39/83 (DAOO: 2264/1/8), p. 4.

2. See the demand and supply list, July 22, 1943: "Situaţia cererilor de lucrători, satisfacerea cererilor de către raioane şi biro şi trimiterea de lucrători diferitelor instituţii pe ziua de 22.VII. 43," USHMMA, RG-68.130M (OOYV), reel 4, M-39/83 (DAOO: 2264/1/8), p. 2 (but see also p. 3).

3. See correspondence between the camp and the Office of Labor, December 17, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.130M (OOYV), reel 4, M-39/83 (DAOO: 2264/1/8), pp. 123, 149–151.

4. See police correspondence regarding Colos, August 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.130M (OOYV), reel 4, M-39 /83 (DAOO: 2264/1/8), pp. 17–19.

ODESSA/LPRS

The main camps for Soviet prisoners of war (*Lagăre de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici*, LPRS) in Transnistria were in Tiraspol, the first capital of the German-and Romanian-controlled Transnistria. The camps were Tiraspol Camp No. 5 (LPRS No. 5) and Tiraspol Camp No. 11 (LPRS No. 11). Even after Transnistria's capital was moved to Odessa following its conquest on October 26, 1941, the camps remained in Tiraspol until early 1944. Gradually, the two main camps formed networks of subcamps to accommodate the large influx of POWs captured by German and Romanian armies fighting in Transnistria and beyond, and to respond to the need to house laborers of various institutions inside Transnistria.[1]

Of the many subcamps attached to LPRS No. 11 and scattered throughout Transnistria, there existed a subcamp (*sublagăr*) in Odessa. All of LPRS No. 11's subcamps came under the jurisdiction of the Headquarters Rear Area for the East (*Comandamentul Etapelor de Est*). The commandant of LPRS No. 11 was Locotenent-colonel Victor Ioanid. At his disposal, the commandant had 15 officers, 13 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and 340 troops, all recruited from the Bucharest 3rd Frontier Battalion (*Batalion de Graniceri*). This contingent was used to manage LPRS No. 11 and its subcamps (with additional troops recruited locally where the subcamps were situated).

The Odessa subcamp (*sublagărul Odessa*) was not a single site, but incorporated other smaller subcamps, not all of which were in Odessa. In the city of Odessa, there were smaller camps in three factories where Soviet prisoners worked: Combicorn factory (19 POWs), guarded by the 590th Infantry Battalion; Anatra grain mill for the army with 72 Soviet prisoners guarded by the 2nd Company Explorations; and the Roata wagon factory with 171 Soviet prisoners guarded by the Odessa 590th Infantry Battalion.

In the neighboring Ochacov judeţ, there existed three other

small camps that belonged to the Odessa subcamp. They were located in collective farms where Soviet prisoners were put to work: the Reno farm with seven Soviet prisoners, Adeleni (or Ardeleni) farm with nine Soviet POWs, and Feodorovca farm with nine Soviet prisoners.

In addition to the small camps attached to the Odessa subcamp, three other subcamps in the Odessa judeţ also belonged to LPRS No. 11. The Vacarjani subcamp had a contingent of 30 Soviet prisoners (a Romanian index of localities in Transnistria places Vacarjani in the Bilaievca raion, Ovidiopol judeţ (today: Ukraine).[2] The Mândrov subcamp had 50 Soviet prisoners. The Manheim (or Mannheim) sub-camp also had 50 POWs, but its exact location is difficult to determine. A Romanian index of localities in Transnistria places it near Liubopol, Antono Codincevo raion, Odessa judeţ. If this placement is correct, Manheim is today near Lyubopil, southeast of Kominternivske.[3]

LPRS No. 11 and its network of subcamps were administratively autonomous, as were other camps for Soviet POWs in Romania. The camp received material resources of food, clothing, work tools, and so on, from the Headquarters Rear Area for the East for the purpose of maintaining its labor potential.[4] The exact time of the opening of the subcamps in Odessa is unknown, but it is safe to surmise a date in early to mid-1942. Similarly, descriptions of the early conditions of imprisonment are hard to find, but they likely corresponded to those in other Soviet POW camps under Romanian control throughout Transnistria and Romania. In these camps, improvements in food, clothing, and housing occurred only after a second or sometimes third year of operation (generally by late 1942 and early 1943). The mortality resulting from maltreatment and negligence was highest in the first year (the fall of 1941 to the fall of 1942) in every camp for Soviet POWs.

SOURCES Secondary sources documenting the fate of Soviet POWs in the Odessa subcamp and other subcamps in the Odessa judeţ are not available.

Primary sources are available at USHMMA, in collections ANR (RG-25.002M) and DAOO (RG-31.004M).

NOTES

1. Secret note about LPRS in Transnistria of the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, "Nota. Lagărele existente în Trasnistria," March 21, 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 33, file 79, 1943, pp. 408–413.

2. For the index, see "Tablou de judeţele, raioanele şi cătunele din Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 37, p. 23 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/7/2242/2/37, p. 23).

3. USHMMA, RG-31.004M/7/2242/2/37, p. 20.

4. Transnistrian Gendarmes Inspectorate's report, March 20, 1943, "Dare de seamă asupra lagărelor existente în Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 33, file 79, 1943, pp. 416–419 (esp. pp. 416–417).

OLEANIŢA

Oleaniţa (pre-1941: Olyanitsa), a village in the Trostineţ raion, Tulcin judeţ (today: Olyanytsya, Ukraine), in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) west of the Bug River and 29 kilometers (18 miles) east of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,731 Jews in the Trostineţ raion, representing just over 4 percent of its population (census data for Oleaniţa are not available).

The German and Romanian armies occupied the area around Oleaniţa on July 25, 1941. Oleaniţa came under the Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941, and the village's name was romanianized as Oleaniţa (also appearing in documents as Olianiţa). Colonels Ion Lazăr, Constantin Loghin, and Constantin Năsturaş were Tulcin's prefects. The commandant of the Tulcin Gendarmes Legion was Maior Mihailovici, who was succeeded by Căpitan Fetecău. The praetor in Trostineţ was Constantin Alexandrescu.

On July 3, 1942, a convoy of Jews deported from the Dorohoi judeţ to the Ladijin/Stone Quarry camp passed near Oleaniţa (a train station was located a few kilometers from Ladijin and Oleaniţa). The Jews had been deported from Dorohoi and its nearby villages and townships in June 1942 in what represented the second wave of deportations from Bukovina.[1] The convoy contained the family members of men who were undertaking forced labor in other parts of the country (for example, at Brăila); when the men too were eventually deported after their return home, their family members were scattered among different camps in Transnistria. The deportees appealed to the governor of Trasnistria for the reunification of their families, with some requests being granted. For example, some female deportees asked for permission to move to Oleaniţa where their husbands had been deported. An appeal of September 15, 1942, evoked the misery in which the women lived and the fear that, without the help of their husbands, they and their children would not survive the

approaching winter.[2]

Transported by freight cars to Atachi near the Dniester River, the Jews of Bukovina entered Transnistria via the Moghilev crossing point. Once in Moghilev, they were again put on freight cars and transported to their destination. Shortly afterward, on July 6, another large convoy of Jews from Bukovina (mostly from Cernăuţi) was transported to the Ladijin/Stone Quarry camp. After delousing, 600 Jews from the camp were moved to Oleaniţa where they were held in the stable of the village's former collective farm. The facility, partly encircled by a fence and guarded, was completely inadequate for human habitation. Nevertheless, the deportees were forced to live there in primitive conditions, bartering their remaining possessions for food. On August 19, 1942, at the request of the German authorities across the Bug River, Tulcin's prefect, Loghin, consented to handing over 522 Jews from the Oleaniţa camp for labor projects conducted by the Nazi construction company, Organisation Todt (OT). The principal project was likely the building of the Nemirov-Bratslav-Seminki-Gaysin segment of Highway IV (*Durchgangsstrasse IV*, DG-IV) that connected Lvov to Stalino in southern Ukraine. It is believed that the majority of those sent died because of maltreatment. Seventy-eight Jews remained in Oleaniţa for a few more months. Individual aid from relatives and friends in Romania was sent to the Jews held in Oleaniţa to help them survive, but because the news about the sudden transfer of most of the Jews to the German authorities had not yet reached those in Romania, many remittances were returned undelivered.[3] It is not known where exactly the remaining Jews were eventually transferred, although it was probably to Cetvertinovca (in Trostineţ raion) or Tulcin, but it is clear that the camp no longer existed at the beginning of 1943.[4]

The Red Army liberated the village of Oleaniţa in March 1944.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews in Oleaniţa can be found in the following publications: "Olianitsa," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 689; "Olianitsa," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia

Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 139; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 243; "Oleaniţa," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 397; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klars-feld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources on the fate of the Jews held in the Oleaniţa camp are available at USHMMA, in collection DAOO (RG-31.004M). Information about the deportation of Jews from Bukovina in June 1942 can be found in AME (RG-25.006M). Although VHA does not have testimonies of Jewish survivors of the Oleaniţa camp, there are multiple testimonies in various languages from survivors of camps and ghettos that existed in close proximity to Oleaniţa (places such as Ladijin, Cetvertinovca, and Trostineţ).

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NOTES

1. Bukovina governor's reports for the Military Cabinet for Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transnistria in Bucharest regarding the deportations of Jews from Bukovina (according to counties): USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 150–217.

2. Letter of September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2241, opis 1, delo 1490, p. 213 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2241/1/1490, p. 213).

3. For example, see "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară evacuaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Olianiţa (Jud. Tulcin, Gara Ladajin)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1/1189, p. 140, but for other remittances, see also in the same collection and reel, pp. 85, 89, 117, 124, 173, 184–188.

4. For example, the name of the camp does not appear in the March 1943 census of Jews in Transnistria; see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346.

OLGOPOL

The Olgopol commune, the seat of the Olgopol raion, Balta judeţ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Ol'hopil', Ukraine), is located along the Savranka River. It is 30 kilometers (19 miles) north-northwest of Balta. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 660 Jews in Olgopol, representing more than 11 percent of the town's residents. Jewish men of military age were drafted into the Red Army, although the advancing German Army reached some Jewish families retreating with the Soviet administration and sent them back. All others stayed in place.

The German and Romanian authorities occupied Olgopol in early August 1941. The remaining Jews were rounded up and shot soon thereafter. The Romanian civil administration took control of the area in September 1941 and romanianized its name as Olgopol (also spelled Oligopol in some documents). The prefect in the Balta judeţ was Colonel Vasile Nica. Locotenent-colonel Ştefan Gavăţ was the commandant of the Balta Gendarmes Legion. The commandant of the Olgopol gendarmes sector was Locotenent Gheorghe Grigorescu, and the commandant of the Olgopol gendarmes post was Sublocotenent Oscar Depner. The Olgopol raion's praetor was Ion Haţiegan. The military commandant of the Olgopol ghetto was Plutonier Constantin Ruxandra. Plutonier Mihail Dumitrescu and Sergent major Macarie Sârbu from the Olgopol gendarmes post guarded the Olgopol ghetto.

Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina in the summer and fall of 1941 arrived in Olgopol at some point during October of that year, after weeks of forced marches from camp to camp and repeated imprisonments in those transit camps. Ukrainian Jews deported from other parts of Transnistria arrived around that time as well. A ghetto was gradually set up on the outskirts of town in the former residences (destroyed and vandalized) of local Jews who were murdered or had fled; a few Jews rented rooms in the homes of Ukrainian residents.[1] The ghetto was not encircled by

barbed wire, but was guarded by the Romanian gendarmes from the Olgopol gendarmes post and a few Ukrainian auxiliaries.[2] The deportees lived in crowded and unsanitary conditions, bartering the last items of their belongings for small amounts of food. A market day was held each week where items could be bought or exchanged. The winter of 1941–1942 was extremely difficult to survive, with Jews dying from starvation, cold, exhaustion, and illness, especially typhus.[3]

The Jews in the Olgopol ghetto set up a number of institutions to help them better cope with the many challenges they faced. They first elected a Jewish mayor, Iţic Fabricant, who was succeeded by Iancu Pecher. From early 1943 onward, there existed a larger organizational structure with more responsibilities in the Olgopol ghetto, namely the Jewish Committee (*comitetul evreiesc*). Its president was Alexandru Rado. The chief of the Jewish labor service was Rubin Alămaru, and Nicolae Stern was chief over the workshops.[4] Thanks to the few surviving Jewish doctors among the deportees, a small hospital for Jews was created in 1942 in one of the empty buildings. Doctor I. Seibelmann and pharmacist Baca Rivelis were in charge of the hospital. The ghetto hospital also had an outpatient clinic, but medications were extremely limited. Additional material support from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER), started trickling in via the Balta ghetto (31 kilometers [19 miles] south of Olgopol) in late 1942 and throughout 1943. A CER delegation that visited Transnistria in January 1943 met with the mayor of the Olgopol ghetto in Balta on January 11, 1943. The delegation allocated a sum of money to set up a small soup kitchen for the elderly and the 50 orphans.[5]

On March 17, 1943, some 427 Romanian Jews accused of communist activity who had been interned in the Vapniarca camp in September 1942 were acquitted of the charges by a Romanian Interior Ministry commission reviewing their cases. They were consequently released from the camp, but had to settle in Transnistria, being denied permission to reenter Romania. For 100 of them, Olgopol was their new place of assigned residence. They were transported there by train, under military escort, in April 1943. Romanian Jews placed in the Olgopol ghetto from the

Vapniarca camp, as well as Jews from the Dorohoi region, were later repatriated in December 1943 and January 1944.[6] On May 5, 1943, the number of Jews in the Olgopol ghetto reached 761 (174 men, 355 women, and 232 children).[7]

The ghetto administration set up workshops (*ateliere*) in accordance with Ordinance No. 23. Skilled Jews found work as tailors, shoe makers, and mat weavers in these workshops and were able to earn small sums of money or food in exchange for their services. Other Jews worked as farmers in the raion's collective farms (*kolkhozes*).[8] Jewish doctors sent from Romania in 1943 arrived in Olgopol and undertook forced labor in the ghetto's hospital.[9] More than one-third of the ghetto's population, however, was unable to work, either because of lack of skill, age, or illness. These Jews had to be helped each day from the ghetto's limited resources.[10] Adding to the general distress was the abuse of Romanian gendarmes, who regularly entered the ghetto searching for and confiscating food and demanding money or jewelry in exchange for granting certain privileges; for example, letting the Jews leave the ghetto on certain days to buy provisions.

Orphaned children were repatriated to Romania by train (via Tiraspol) at the end of February 1944.[11] On February 25, 1944, the ghetto had 754 Jews (234 men, 385 women, 135 children).[12] By the middle of March 1944, the ghetto was closed. The Romanian Jews were repatriated to Romania (mostly on foot, walking toward the Dniester River), while Ukrainian Jews dispersed or remained in place. The Jews imprisoned in the Olgopol prison were freed at that time and were not handed over to the retreating German forces that arrived in Olgopol at that time. The Red Army recaptured Olgopol at the end of March 1944. The following year, in April 1945, the Bucharest People's Court investigated the abuses committed by military and civilian leaders in Olgopol; it confiscated their private property and sentenced many of them to hard labor.[13]

SOURCES Further information about the fate of Jews imprisoned in the Olgopol ghetto can be found in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds.,

Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust, vol. 2 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,* vol. 6 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007); Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 49; Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* and vol. 2: *Documents 1–558* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2 (parts 1 and 2) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Ihiel Benditer, *Vapniarca: Lagărele Vapniarca şi Grosulovo, închisoarea Ribniţa, ghetourile Olgopol, Savrani, Tridubi, Crivoi-Ozero şi Trihati* (Tel Aviv: Anais, 1995).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews imprisoned in the Olgopol ghetto can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), OOYV (RG-63.130M), and SRI (25.004M). Rado Alexandru's memoir is available at USHMMA, RG-25.021M (FUCER), reel 15, file III-367. Testimonies from his companions can be found in the same collection, file III-370. Another memoir

is by Geza Kornis, USHHMA, Acc. No. 2003.384. A published version of Kornis's testimony is *Überlebt durch Solidarität: KZ Wapniarka, Ghetto Olgopol in Transnistrien, Arbeitslager in Rumänien: ein Zeitzeugenbericht*, trans. Erhard R. Wiehn (Konstantz: Hartung-Gorre, 2004). Finally, a memoir by survivor Polina Gitterman (née Trostyanetskaya) about the Olgopol ghetto is available at USHMMA, Acc. No. 1995.A.0611. VHA holds 87 survivor testimonies in three languages (Hebrew, Russian, and Ukrainian) from Jews imprisoned in the Olgopol ghetto.

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NOTES

1. For a name list of 866 Jews imprisoned in the Olgopol ghetto, prepared by the Claims Conference in Tel Aviv, Israel, see USHMM Resource Center, File no. RT-0424, http://masterwww.ushmm.org/online/hsv/source_view.php?SourceId=30143.

2. Report on the Olgopol ghetto, May 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 16, file 205, pp. 440–443.

3. See the inspection report by the Balta prefect, Vasile Nica, in December 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 695, p. 145 (and verso).

4. List of Jewish committees in the Balta judeţ, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 72.

5. See official report following the visit to Transnistria in January 1943 of a Jewish commission led by Fred Şaraga, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 136.

6. See governmental reports and correspondence announcing the release of Jews from the Vapniarca camp to three destinations in Transnistria—Olgopol, Savrani, and Tridubi, reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 442–445 (Docs. 230–232); a name list is available at RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 674, pp. 12–14 (and verso).

7. May 5, 1943, census following the inspection of delegates from the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Military Cabinet, USHMMA, RG-25.002M, reel 16, file 205, p. 446.

8. The Olgopol raion had 44 collective farms and 12 villages, according to a report of the Balta agricultural service, USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 19.

9. For their name, specialty, and place of origin, see a table listing medical personnel in the Olgopol ghetto, USHMMA, RG-68.130M (OOYV), reel 2, M-39/32 (fond 2358, opis 1, delo 666), p. 12.

10. For a distribution of workers and those unable to work in the Olgopol ghetto, see USHMMA, RG-68.130M, reel 2, M-39/32 (fond 2358, opis 1, delo 666), pp. 50–51, 62, 73.

11. The names of the older orphans (ages 16 to 18) can be found in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 545.

12. The statistical figure was provided by the ghetto mayor, USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 675, pp. 34–35; a slightly higher figure, 764 Jews, is provided in a different census from the same month, USHMMA, RG-63.130M, reel 2, M-39/27 (fond 2358, opis 1, delo 110), p. 90.

13. See court depositions of witnesses and the accused, USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 29, file 40013, vol. 3 (starting on p. 1 in pencil); and reel 30, file 40013, vol. 6.

ONEŞTII-NOI

Oneştii-Noi, a small town in the Lăpuşna judeţ, in Bessarabia, in the eastern part of Romania (today: Oneşti, Hînceşti raion, Moldova), is about 48 kilometers (30 miles) west-southwest of Chişinău.

In August or September 1941, Bessarabia's governor, General de Divizie Constantin Voiculescu, ordered that an internment camp be set up in Bessarabia for those suspected of harboring pro-Soviet or anti-Romanian sentiments.[1] It was to be a "camp for suspects," and indeed, the camp was known as "Oneştii-Noi camp for suspects" (*Lagărul de suspecţi Oneştii-Noi*). A dilapidated military base in Oneştii-Noi was repurposed as a site for this new camp. It contained a few primitive wooden barracks and was encircled by a barbed-wire fence. A few small houses were allocated for the gendarmes guarding the camp and the command headquarters. The camp was under the control of the government of Bessarabia and its military cabinet. Gendarmes from the Lăpuşna Gendarmes Legion, commanded by Căpitan Dumitru Brotea, guarded the camp. Bessarabia's Inspectorate of Gendarmes, commanded by Colonel Teodor Meculescu, also exercised control over the camp and implemented the governor's orders.

Beginning in late 1941 and early 1942, after the first (and the largest) mass deportation of Jews from Bessarabia to Transnistria had ended, the Romanian authorities began sending small groups of Jews to the Oneştii-Noi camp. These Jews were from among the few hundred Jews from the Chişinău ghetto who had been able to postpone their deportation by bribing ghetto and/or city officials or by converting to Catholicism. Thus, in January 1942, some 57 Jews (male and female) were sent from the Chişinău ghetto to the Oneştii-Noi camp, and in March of the same year another 134 Jews were sent to the same camp.[2] It is very unlikely that these Jews were in the camp for more than a few months and certainly not after the second wave of deportations to Transnistria from

Chişinău that occurred in June 1942.

In addition to Jews, members of outlawed religious minorities from Bessarabia were also interned in the Oneştii-Noi camp in the summer of 1942. Religious minorities banned by the Romanian state were pejoratively called "sects" (*secte*) and their followers "sectarians" (*sectanţi*). Thus, in June 1942, two Christians, named Gruşovan and Starciuc, were sent to the camp "for communist, Baptist, and anti-religious propaganda, being deemed to endanger public order and state security."[3] Members of other forbidden religious minorities were interned in the camp; for example, Inochentists (millenarians deemed heretical by the Orthodox Church), Seventh-Day Adventists, and Jehovah's Witnesses. The charges also included the making of religious propaganda and the holding of religious meetings without a permit.

While in the Oneştii-Noi camp, the internees did forced labor as needed in the running of the camp. They also underwent an intense program of reeducation that sought to reconvert them to the Orthodox faith. The program was coordinated by the Chişinău Gendarmes Inspectorate in cooperation with the camp commandment and Orthodox clergy. "Sectarians" were forced to attend a series of cultural events with strong nationalistic and religious undertones organized especially for them. These events included musical shows and plays, as well as talks that celebrated patriotic ideas and the importance of adhering to the Orthodox faith. Some internees renounced their minority faith and were freed, but many did not, even after going through the camp's "reeducation" program. For the latter, the camp commander proposed harsher terms of internment; for example, the doubling of their imprisonment term, the annulment of family visits, and finally, their incarceration in special camps outside Bessarabia (i.e., in Transnistria).[4] At the end of 1942, there were 82 people held in the Oneştii-Noi camp because of their religious beliefs. Seventeen internees were released before the year's end after signing a declaration of reconversion and abandoning their faith.[5]

By March 1943, the authorities in the regional gendarmes center, seeing no intention among the rest of the "sectarians" to abandon their faith even under a harsher regime, sought their deportation—or at least that of their leaders—to Transnistria. The majority of those interned were common believers, but interned

among them were also the prominent Bessarabian Baptist leaders, Eugen Jurenco and Nicolae Clinovici.[6] With the governor's approval, the religious leaders (particularly the Baptist leaders) interned in the camp were deported to the Golta ghetto (Golta judeţ) in Transnistria in the spring of 1943.

A year later, in March 1944, members of the religious minorities who had been deported to Transnistria from the Oneştii-Noi camp were repatriated to Romania, along with the remaining Jews and Roma.[7] While back in the country, the Romanian police continued to monitor their activities closely and forbade any public manifestation with a religious ("sectarian") character. The Baptists and Seventh-Day Adventists, whose faith had been legal in Romania before 1941, regained their freedom only after August 23, 1944, when Romania switched sides in the war. The Inochentists and Jehovah's Witnesses (along with other unrecognized groups) continued to be outlawed even after 1944. The camp was shut down in April 1944.

The persecution of Jews and non-Jews (religious minorities) in Bessarabia and their imprisonment in the Oneştii-Noi camp played a role in Voiculescu's trial and condemnation. In May 1946 the People's Tribunal in Bucharest handed him a life sentence in a hard-labor prison and the confiscation of his private property.[8]

SOURCES More information about the persecution of Christian religious minorities under the Antonescu regime can be found in Viorel Achim, ed., *Political Regimului Antonescu Faţă de Cultele Neoprotestante. Documente* (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013); and Viorel Achim, "Situaţia 'sectelor religioase' în Provincia Bucovina. Un studiu al Inspectoratului Regional de Poliţie Cernăuţi în septembrie 1943," *ArchMol* 6 (2014): 351–427. On the deportation of Jews from Bessarabia and the persecution of the country's religious minorities, see also Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources attesting to the fate of those interned in the

Oneştii-Noi camp are available at USHMMA, in collections ANR, fond IGJ (RG-25.010M), ANRM (RG-54.001M), and AMAN (RG-25.003M).

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NOTES

1. See Voiculescu's instructions, USHMMA, RG-25.010M (ANR, fond IGJ), reel 9, file 132.
2. See name lists of Jews imprisoned in the Oneştii-Noi camp in January and March 1942, USHMMA, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 7, fond 679.1, and reel 8, fond 679.1, respectively.
3. Achim, *Politica Regimului Antonescu*, pp. 493–494 (Doc. 214).
4. See the secret report of the Chişinău Inspectorate of Gendarmes to the government of Bessarabia, Military Cabinet, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 128, file 120, pp. 27–28 (see also p. 24 for the governor's resolution).
5. See Bessarabian government note, early 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 128, file 120, p. 111.
6. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 128, file 120, pp. 16–17.
7. See police report on Eugen Jurencu in Achim, *Politica Regimului Antonescu*, pp. 876–877 (Doc. 500).
8. See "Actul de Acuzare," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 16, file 22539, vol. 12, pp. 434–442 (esp. pp. 434–436), 455–456, and in the same collection, reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 129–130. Verdicts were based on the Minister of Justice, Law 312/April 24, 1945, concerning the sanctioning of those guilty of war crimes.

ORHEI

The seat of the Orhei judeţ and raion in Bessarabia in eastern Romania, the town of Orhei (today: in Moldova) is located 45 kilometers (27 miles) north of Chişinău and 97 kilometers (60 miles) northeast of Iaşi. Orhei's Jewish population was 6,302 in 1930; in 1939 the number of Jews in the Orhei judeţ was 19,211, half of whom likely lived in the town of Orhei (although census data for the town are not available). During the Soviet occupation of Bessarabia (June 1940 to June 1941), some of Orhei's wealthiest Jews (merchants, shop owners) were deported to Siberia because of their "capitalist" disposition.[1] Jewish men were mobilized in the Red Army in June 1941. Other Jews fled eastward, across the Dniester River, alongside the retreating Soviet authorities, reaching as far as Soviet Asia and Uzbekistan. German air bombardments of roads, bridges, and trains killed many of the refugees; others died of disease and hunger while fleeing the area.[2]

The German and Romanian armies took control of Orhei at the end of June 1941. The town, however, was not officially occupied until July 8. The commandant of the Orhei Gendarmes Legion was Maior Filip Bechi, aided by the first deputy commandant, Căpitan Iulian Adamovici, and the second deputy commandant, Locotenent Constantin Popoiu (the latter was the prefect of Orhei in 1938). Soon thereafter, Romanian and German troops stationed in the area carried out a murderous campaign aimed at "cleansing the territory" of ethnic and political "undesirables" behind the front lines. Many killings of Jews (including the elderly and young) occurred throughout the entire Orhei judeţ in July 1941, under the pretext of eliminating "dangerous elements." Many non-Jewish villagers collaborated in those atrocities, serving as scouts and translators for the perpetrators.

In the town of Orhei alone, for example, the members of the Jewish committee that welcomed the arrival of German and Romanian authorities in town with a traditional platter of bread and salt were shot soon thereafter. Jews from the town were then

searched and imprisoned in three places: 200 to 300 in a synagogue and a large private house, 600 in an industrial school, and 500 in the police courtyard. The Jews held in the synagogue and the house were massacred in Siliştea, a few kilometers south of Orhei, on July 21, 1941, by a firing squad of 36 gendarmes. That same evening, the Jews from the industrial school were escorted to Slobozia Doamnă, a suburb of Orhei, where 500 were shot by a firing squad composed of Romanian gendarmes and a platoon of German soldiers (the latter were returning from shooting 70 elderly Jews in the vicinity).[3]

Concomitant with these killing operations the Romanian authorities established a ghetto in Orhei for the remaining Jews and for those from the surrounding villages. The ghetto, sealed with large wooden gates at both sides, encompassed a few streets in the town's eastern part. While in the ghetto, the Romanian authorities starved the Jews, forcing them to rely only on barter. Armed German and Romanian soldiers guarded the ghetto, and at night searchlights were used to prevent escapes. A few dozen Jews, unaware that the bridge over the Răut River was destroyed, attempted to flee the town and hide in the Orhei forest; Romanian gendarmes soon caught up with them and shot the entire group of men, women, and children. The killers confiscated their possessions and dumped the corpses in a hole in the nearby stone quarry.[4] Meanwhile, the town's authorities contracted local peasants with horse wagons to transport some of the Jews and their belongings to the closest crossing point into Transnistria, which was at Rezina, some 45 kilometers (28 miles) northeast of Orhei.

Deportations to Transnistria began in August 1941. Groups of Jews were moved out of the ghetto to a nearby soccer field, and from there they were loaded onto wagons that formed convoys. Soldiers from both the German and Romanian armies escorted the wagons and the people marching behind them to the crossing point. The forced marches lasted a few days, with the Jews under the constant threat of death, robbery, rape, and further deprivations; anyone caught leaving the convoy or remaining behind due to exhaustion or sickness was summarily shot.[5] The local residents of Orhei looted Jewish homes after their owners were deported.[6]

A number of Jews remained in the ghetto for a few more

months, however. They came from mixed marriages, or were Christian converts, or had bribed the authorities. They were divided into two groups for the purpose of forced labor: one group (58) consisted of people under age 15, and a second group (188) was between 16 and 60 years old.[7] They were assigned to various branches of the local administration and public institutions, under the supervision of the Romanian authorities.[8] In May 1942, all the remaining Jews in the Orhei ghetto were deported to camps in Transnistria via Tiraspol. In mockery, the departing Jews were led out of the city with music played by a Roma (Gypsy) band, while some elderly Jews were forced to dance.

While in Transnistria, most of the Jews deported from Orhei died of hunger, disease, or exposure or were shot en route to their assigned camps and ghettos. A few survived, however, and returned in March and April 1944, as the Red Army advanced through Transnistria. The Red Army reoccupied Orhei in April 1944. The People's Tribunal in Bucharest tried and confined to many years of hard labor some of the Romanian authorities responsible for the massacres of Jews in Orhei and the Orhei judeţ, including Bechi and the gendarmes Ion Budica, Ion Rusca, and Petre Ivănescu.[9]

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of the Jews from Orhei and of those imprisoned in the Orhei ghetto can be found in the following publications: "Orhei," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 943; "Orhei," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 2: 327–331; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1:

History and Document Summaries (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Mariu Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia şi Alte Câteva Întâmplări: Contribuţii la Istoria Încercării de Exeterminare a Evreilor* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews in the Orhei ghetto are available at USHMMA, in collections ANRM (RG-54.001M), SRI (RG-25.004M), and AMAN (RG-25.003M). Under RG-50, USHMMA also holds five oral history interviews by witnesses of the Orhei ghetto. VHA holds 22 testimonies (in five languages) from survivors of the Orhei ghetto or those deported from the Orhei judeţ. For an English-language memorial book commemorating the destruction of the Jews of Orhei, see Y. Spivak and Terry Lasky, eds., *Orheyev Alive and Destroyed: Memorial Book of the Jewish Community of Orhei*, trans. by Marsha Kayser (New York: JewishGen, 2012).

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NOTES

1. VHA #37518, Olga Breitman testimony, January 14, 1998; VHA #34290, Daniel Broitman testimony, July 15, 1997.

2. USHMMA, RG-50.572*0019, Pavel Cojocaru, oral history interview, August 15, 2004.

3. Court testimonies attesting to the crimes are available in Ancel, *Documents*, 6: 489–490.

4. USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 17, fond 22539, vol. 45; USHMMA, RG-50.572*0026, Gheorghe Stratan, oral history interview, September 23, 2006.

5. USHMMA, RG-50.572*0126, Dumitru Purici, oral history interview, December 20, 2008.

6. USHMMA, RG-50.572*0026, Gheorghe Stratan, oral history interview, September 23, 2006.

7. For their names, see USHMMA, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 2, fond 666.2, file 165.

8. For a work distribution, see USHMMA, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 2, fond 666.2, file 262.

9. See prosecution's depositions and court sentences in USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 16, file 22539, vol. 12, pp. 251–254, 434–459.

OSIEVCA

Osievca, a small village in the Berşad raion, Balta judeţ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Osiivka, Ukraine), is situated near the Bug River. It is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) north-northeast of Balta. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 4,545 Jews in the Berşad raion, 4,271 of whom lived in the city of Berşad. At the time of the attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a handful of Jews remained scattered throughout the raion's villages (exact census data for Osievca are not available).

The German and Romanian armies overran Osievca at the end of July 1941. After a short German military occupation, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September. The village's name was romanianized from Osievka to Osievca (sometimes spelled Osifca) and the name of the raion from Bershad to Berşad. The praetor in the Berşad raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

Jews deported from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia were sent to Osievca in November 1941. Some arrived there after spending a short period of time in the city of Berşad, and others went directly to Osievca, but all were force-marched for weeks on end before reaching the small village. The Romanian authorities placed approximately 220 Jews inside an abandoned and dilapidated *kolkhoz* (state collective farm) in Osievca. A camp for Jews was thus created. The term sometimes used for it was a colony (*colonie*). A part of the kolkhoz was used as living quarters, and other parts continued to be used for animals. It is not clear whether the camp was fenced, but it was certainly guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries. Fişel (Fishel) Raiber was the chief of the Osievca camp.[1]

The inhumane and unhygienic living conditions in which the deportees lived during the bitterly cold winter of 1941, coupled with mass starvation and exhaustion, soon led to the outbreak of

epidemics. Typhus and other diseases ravaged the camp, resulting in many victims in both the first and second year of the camp's existence. According to a statistic provided by the Soviet State Extraordinary State Commission (*Chrezvychainaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissiia*, ChGK), 160 of the Jews held there perished of sickness and hunger.[2] Bodies were disposed of unceremoniously in nearby fields and forest. It was only gradually, by 1943, that living conditions improved a little, thanks in part to the assistance provided by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER). CER had consolidated its assistance for the large Berşad ghetto, only 17 kilometers (11 miles) west of Osievca. Jews in the Osievca camp probably received a small portion of this aid. Still, many remained in great poverty.[3]

Partisan units became increasingly active in the area of Berşad in 1943; according to one anonymous witness, some non-Jewish locals from the Osievca village were shot by Romanian troops for allegedly assisting the partisans.[4] It is well documented that many Jews and non-Jews in the area of Berşad were shot at the end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944 because they were helping the partisans.[5]

The Red Army recaptured Osievca in the first part of March 1944, liberating the Jews who were still in the camp at that time.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Osievca can be found in the following publications: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 779; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 245; *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007); and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be

found in M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), pp. 29–30; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: Transnistria (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Osievca can be found at USHMMA, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M) and DAOO (RG-31.004M); the latter archival collection contains a contemporaneous map of the Berşad raion showing the exact location of Osievca in reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 691, p. 250. Yahad-in Unum conducted an interview with a Ukrainian witness, which is available at USHMMA as RG-50.589*0107. VHA holds 17 survivor testimonies in three languages (Russian, Yiddish, and Portuguese) from Jews held in the camp for various periods of time.

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NOTES

1. List of Balta ghetto and camp leaders, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2241, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 72 (and verso).

2. USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 48.

3. VHA #36829, Bela Korenman testimony, September 28, 1997; VHA #16825, Mikhail Gruzman testimony, June 26, 1996.

4. Anonymous interviewee No. 503, USHMMA, RG-50.589*0107 (Yahad-in Unum), July 22, 2007.

5. USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 5.

OSMANCEA AND COBADIN

Osmancea, a small town in the Constanţa judeţ, in southeastern Romania, is 31 kilometers (19 miles) southwest of Constanţa and 183 kilometers (114 miles) southeast of Bucharest. According to the December 1939 Romanian census, there were 1,804 Jews in the Constanţa judeţ; in September 1941, the number reached 2,113; and by May 1942, the total census figure dropped to 1,539.[1]

Constanţa was Romania's largest Black Sea port city, and many German army offices were established in the city before and during the war. Shortly after the joint German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Jews from the city of Constanţa were rounded up without (or with little) warning and held in the city's police headquarters for two days. The order for their arrest was signed and enforced by General de brigadă Hugo Schwab, then commandant of the 19th Infantry Division in Constanţa. Distrusting the Jews, Romanian authorities deported the city's Jewish population inland, to Cobadin. From the police station they Jews were marched to the train station where they left on freight trains. The date of their transfer to Cobadin is believed to be June 26 or 27, 1941, with the number of deportees reaching 1,750 to 2,000.[2] Meanwhile the German authorities expropriated the city's Ashkenazi and Sephardic synagogues and turned them into ware houses for storing food and army supplies.

The Cobadin camp was set up in some barracks that had belonged to the German Army. It was surrounded by a fence and guarded by armed Romanian gendarmes. While in the camp, Jewish men were forced to do menial work, digging a large hole in the ground "for depositing waste" and making trenches around the camp "to prevent escaping."[3] A roll call took place three times a day. The camp authorities did not supply food to the internees; as was frequently the case, the local or regional Jewish community was asked to care for those in the camps. This was difficult to accomplish because, among the detainees, were the chief rabbi of Constanţa, Joseph H. Schechter, and the president of the Constanţa

Jewish community, Avram Bercovici. Because the possibilities for paid work were limited in Cobadin, the police sought their relocation in areas where people could find work. The region of Slobozia in the Ialomiţa judeţ was suggested, but this transfer was never pursued.[4] The Jews survived on barter and food bought by the Jewish camp leaders for the entire camp population.

By the middle of July 1941, all the Jews in the Cobadin camp were moved to the nearby village of Osmancea, and the camp was closed down. A se lection took place as soon as the Jews arrived in the Osmancea camp: some Jews were sent to Mereni and others to Ciobăniţa, two villages near Osmancea. The region became known as the Osmancea internment area (*Zona de Internare Osmancea*), which had its headquarters in Osmancea. The commandant of the Osmancea camp was Sublocotenent Petre N. Ionescu, a lawyer by profession and, as it turned out, a generous man. In each of these three makeshift camps, the Jews were housed in huts or barracks, in poor, unhygienic living conditions, on the village's outskirts.[5] Still, thanks to the commandant's benevolence, the internees were gradually able to improve their fate by being allowed to procure additional food, cooking facilities, and some medication.[6]

Able-bodied men and women did forced labor, cleaning and restoring roads and government buildings in the villages in which they were placed and in agriculture. The older adults, along with the elderly and the young, were released from the camps in the fall of 1941 and returned to Constanţa, where they continued to live under close monitoring. Younger adults (including women) were enlisted in forced labor detachments that worked both inside and outside the Constanţa judeţ. Some of those workers returned home in the spring of 1942 and remained eligible for periodic recruitment for forced labor over the next two years; others continued to undertake forced labor almost without stop until September 1944.

All of the forced labor camps and detachments for Jews were dissolved in September 1944, after Romania switched sides in the war on August 23, 1944.

SOURCES Further information about the imprisonment of the

Jews of Constanţa in Cobadin and the subsequent camps can be found in the following publications: "Constanta," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001); "Constanta," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 232–234; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 1: *Legionarii şi Rebeliunea* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României. Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom published in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013); Florin Stan, "Evreii din Constanţa," *Cumidava* 29 (2007): 229–241; Florin Stan, "Sinopticum. Din trecutul celor de lângă noi. Incursiuni în istoria comunităţilor entice Dobro-gene," *RevTo* 1: 454 (2008): 71–74; 2: 455 (2008): 68–70; 3: 456 (2008): 71–74; and Florin Stan, "Imaginea evreilor din Constanţa în presa interbelică locală," *AUO* 4 (2007): 105–114. For a brief history of Constanţa synagogues, see http://anale-arhitectura.spiruharet.ro/PDF/1_2012/5PATRIMONIU%20EVREI%20CONSTANTA-2012-ENGL-final-final.pdf.

Primary sources documenting the camps in Osmancea, Cobadin, Mereni, and Ciobăniţa are available at USHMMA, in collections RG-25.021M (FUCER), RG-25.062 (ANRConstanţa), and RG-25.051 (FUCER). VHA holds two survivor testimonies from Cobadin and Osmancea camps.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For Romanian census figures, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, fond 2694, vol. 18.

2. The higher number is found in Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României*, vol. 2, part I, p. 279.

3. Survivor testimony of Dan Vardi, available at www.worldwar2.ro/arr/?language=ro&article=181.

4. Regional police inspector's request, July 17, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 14, file 2986, vol. 5991, n.p.

5. VHA #13708, Adrienne Rothschild testimony, April 19, 1996; VHA #31505, Sofia Lucaci testimony, July 30, 1997.

6. See survivor George Radu Bogdan's homage to the camp commandant: www.observatorcultural.ro/De-ce-(II)*articleID_9365-articles_details.html. Other survivors' testimonies commending the commandant appear in USHMMA, RG-25.021M (FUCER), reel 25, file III, p. 503.

OVIDIOPOL

The raion and county seat in the Ovidiopol judeţ (today: Ovidiopol, Ukraine), in the southwestern corner of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, Ovidiopol is 34 kilometers (21 miles) southwest of Odessa. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 429 Jews in the Ovidiopol raion, representing 1.3 percent of its entire population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Ovidiopol on October 16, 1941. The prefect of Ovidiopol was Colonel Mihai Botez (succeeded by N. Canari), and the sub-prefect was Justin Zancu. Maior Gabriel Sireteanu was the commandant of the Ovidiopol Gendarmes Legion from 1941 to 1942, followed by Maior Anghel Dedulescu and Locotenent Marin Popa from 1943 to 1944. Dumitru Pascu was the chief of the labor bureau for Ovidiopol. The mayor in Ovidiopol was C. Damian, and the praetors in the Ovidiopol raion were M. Criste and Ştefan Stegaru.

A total of 150 Jews from the area who did not or could not flee to Odessa earlier were killed following the city's capture in October 1941. The killing operation, conducted mostly by Romanian troops, was aimed at eliminating any remaining "undesirable elements" in the territory. The last 23 Jews of the Ovidiopol judeţ were deported deeper inside Transnistria, so that by April 1942 the entire judeţ was practically "cleansed of Jews."[1] After its incorporation into Transnistria, Ovidiopol, together with Cetatea Albă, the city across the river in Bessarabia, became the southernmost entry point into Transnistria. Jews deported via Ovidiopol were typically resettled in areas north of the Odessa judeţ and in southern Golta.

Thus the city of Ovidiopol itself did not hold Jews, but at least seven forced labor camps for Jews and non-Jews existed in nearby villages.[2] Twenty Jews from the Moghilev ghetto were held from April to the end of June 1943 in a camp in Alexandrovca (today: Oleksandrivka), 18 kilometers (11 miles) from Ovidiopol. At the end of their assignment, they were sent to the Bogdanovca camp

(Golta judeţ) instead of being returned to the Moghilev ghetto.

In October 1942, 267 Jews from Bucharest were deported because of their absence from or tardiness in reporting to forced labor duties. After arriving in Tiraspol, they passed through Ovidiopol on their way to the Sevcenko-Berezin farm (*sovkhoz*) in Vigoda in the Belaevca (or Bilaevka) raion (today: Bilyavka), approximately 41 kilometers (25 miles) north of Ovidiopol.[3] Agricultural gendarmes (*jandarmi agricoli*), under the command of Sergent Fanache, conducted the Bucharest group to their destination in Ovidiopol and beyond. The Sevcenko-Berezin camp held 284 Jews at some point in a former villa that was only partly damaged by war. The commandant of the Ovidiopol Gendarmes Legion appointed Avram Creştinu, an informer for the state security services, as chief representative of the Bucharest Jews. A rudimentary medical office, headed up by 14-year-old "nurse" Sonyah Palţi, was created in the camp, as was a makeshift shower where every one washed and shaved their bodies in order to ward off epidemics. Work usually consisted of harvesting sunflowers. A young Jewish woman from the camp was sexually abused by the chief agricultural engineer, Gogleaţă, who controlled the farm. In November 1942, after completing their work assignment, the Jews were transferred to the Alexandrovca farm where they stayed a month tending to the vineyard of the Transnistrian governor, Gheorghe Alexianu. On December 26, 1942, they left Alexandrovca for Ochakov, then Bogdanovca, and finally Golta, where they arrived in March and stayed until November 1943.[4]

An additional contingent of 136 Jews was quartered in a second, separate camp in Belaevca, where they were deployed in forced labor in the electrical factory there. The Jews gathered peat to use as fuel for the boilers and transported it to the factory. When the assignment was completed, 26 Jews were redirected to the peat field near Tulcin, and the rest of the Jews were sent back to the Moghilev ghetto.

The Franzfeld raion's praetor, Gheorghe Lehrer, requested 10 skilled and 10 unskilled workers from the Moghilev ghetto in September 1943 for a building project. Large ethnic German (*Volksdeutche*) communities populated the Franzfeld raion. The 20 Jews were returned to the Moghilev ghetto (or killed, the

phrasing is unclear) on November 8, 1943.[5]

Jewish doctors from Romania served 30-day forced labor stints in various capacities in medical centers or as medical personnel attached to military and civilian units in Transnistria. Doctors Adolf Doifing (from Braila) and Lazar Roşianu (from Bucharest), both internal medicine physicians, completed their term in August 1943 in Ovidiopol. In the fall of 1943, three pharmacists—Isu Schlesinger, Mihail Safir (both from Bucharest), and Iulius Segal (from Iaşi)—took their place.[6] Individual aid from family and friends in Romania was sent from late 1942 through 1943 via the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, *Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) and reached a few fortunate Jews held in the Alexandrovca and Belaevca camps.[7]

A temporary labor camp (*lagăr de muncă*), apparently for non-Jews, also existed in Ovidiopol. Inmates in the camp worked as skilled and unskilled construction workers for the new prefecture being erected in Ovidiopol's city center, under the direction of chief engineer Gorbov. Other such labor camps existed alongside many collective farms throughout the Ovidiopol raion. Forty Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were held in the summer of 1943 in a camp in the Belaevca raion. Formally belonging to the camp for Soviet POWs (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici*, LPRS), LPRS No. 5, Tiraspol, the POWs worked in road building and maintenance for Ovidiopol's Road Directorate (*Direcţia Drumurilor*) and its Forestry Department (*Ocolul Silvic*).[8]

The Red Army liberated Ovidiopol in March 1944.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews in Ovidiopol can be found in the following publications: "Ovidiopol," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 957; "Ovidiopol'," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 107; "Ovidiopol'," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo*

Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 237; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews, Soviet POWs, and others detained in forced labor camps around Ovidiopol are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004), DAMO (RG-31.008), and MAE (RG-25.006M). VHA holds five testimonies in three languages (Romanian, English, and Russian) from Jewish survivors held in camps in the Ovidiopol judeţ.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For the April 1942 census of Jews in Transnistria, see "Situaţie numerică de everii evacuaţi din Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 135, but see also pp. 139–140.

2. See reports on the situation of Jews in Ovidiopol for the government of Transnistria, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 15, fond 2357, opis 1, delo 352, pp. 107, 141–

142 (RG-31.004M, 15/2357/1/352, pp. 107, 141–142); and, in the same collection, the Ovidiopol raion's report, p. 205.

3. Ovidiopol Gendarme Legion's note to the prefecture, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/15/2357/1/352, p. 124.

4. VHA #18100, Sonyah Palţi testimony, July 31, 1996.

5. Praetor Lehrer's note, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/15 /2357/1/352, p. 206, but see also p. 120. For the other camps mentioned, see in the same collection, pp. 2–5, 27, 32, 35–36, 44, 53–54, 57, 64–66, 74, 107, 120, 131–150, 186, 204–206; and delo 35, pp. 11–13.

6. See tables with names, dates, and placements of Jewish doctors and pharmacists, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13 /2264 /1/5, pp. 280–281.

7. Receipts of remittances for Alexandrovca and Vigoda, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 519, pp. 162, 164, 180, 182, 184, 186, 188.

8. For official correspondence regarding Soviet POWs and other camp inmates, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M/15/2357/1/352, pp. 60–61, 76, 115, 152, 187.

OZARINŢI

Ozarinţi, a village in the Iarişev raion in the Moghilev judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Ozaryntsi, Ukraine), is situated along the Nemiya River, a tributary of the Dniester. It is located 11 kilometers (7 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 581 Jews in the Iarişev raion, of whom 509 were in the town of Iarişev (data for Ozarinţi are not available).

The German and Romanian armies overran Ozarinţi and its surroundings during the early part of July 1941. During the short German military occupation, the village's Jews were severely mistreated and their homes robbed while they were crowded inside the village's synagogue; 79 Jews were killed on July 21, 23, and 25.[1] The area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Ozaryntsy to Ozarinţi (occasionally spelled Ozarineţ, Ozarenţi, or Ozarineţi) and the name of the raion from Yarishev to Iarişev. The praetor in the Iarişev raion was Gheorghe Oşanu.

A ghetto was created in Ozarinţi either during the German occupation or shortly after the installation of the Romanian administration. Jews deported from Romania (Bukovina and northern Bessarabia) were brought to Ozarinţi in October and November 1941. They were crowded inside the homes of local Jews, with multiple families sharing each room. They survived on barter, begging, the generosity of some non-Jewish villagers, and the little employment available with the village administration. Still, many perished in the ghetto in the winter months of 1941, their bodies left unburied and as prey to wild animals.[2]

According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, there were 400 Jews deported from Romania to Ozarinţi in October 1942.[3] According to an estimate by Siegfried Jägendorf, president of the Jewish Council of Moghilev (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM), 50 percent of the deported

Jews in the Moghilev judeţ and district perished during the winter of 1941 from cold, hunger, and typhus, chief among other fatal diseases.[4]

Among the leaders of the ghetto were Lupu Vicder and Aron Grisaru. They visited with the representatives of the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, *Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER), who held a regional conference in Moghilev in January 1943 to learn firsthand of the needs of the deported Jews in Transnistria. The total number of Jews in the Ozarinţi ghetto at that time was 850 (300 local Jews; 550 from Săveni and Dărăbani in the Dorohoi district, Bukovina).[5] By March 1943, the known number of deported Jews in Ozarinţi was 448, likely not counting the Ukrainian Jews. On September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 87 Jews in the camp (40 from Bessarabia, 47 from Bukovina).[6]

Relief in the form of medicine, sent by CER, arrived for the Jews held in the Ozarinţi ghetto in the fall of 1942 and through 1943. CER also facilitated the transfer of sums of money from undeported relatives or friends in Romania to their loved ones in Ozarinţi.[7] Even so, the suffering remained great among the deportees, because only a small fraction benefited from such help and then only rarely.

During 1942, small groups of Jews from the Ozarinţi ghetto (especially those who happened to be in the Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto at the time of the roundups) were sent to the Pecioara camp; in June 1943, others were drafted for forced labor at the Trihati camp.[8] The repatriation of the Jews from the Dorohoi judeţ and the Regat took place in December 1943; the orphaned Jewish children in Transnistria also returned at that time. Only a few Jews in Ozarinţi were so repatriated. The Red Army recaptured the village in April 1944, liberating the ghetto. Some of the Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, but most deportees made their way back to Romania amid great challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Ozarinţi can be found in the following publications: "Ozarintsy," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR:*

Entsiklopediia (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 678; "Ozarintsy," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), pp. 239–240; "Ozarintsy," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 123; and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2:8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Ozarinţi can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and GARF (RG-22.002M). VHA holds 61 survivor testimonies in five languages (English, Russian, Ukrainian, Hebrew, and Yiddish) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time. For an Ozarinţi ghetto survivor's memoir, see Boris Khandros, *Mestechko, kotorogo net* (Kiev: Alterpress, 2000).

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 2171, pp. 57–58.

2. February 8, 1942, entry, in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3:282.

3. USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281.

4. Jägendorf memorandum, September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289 (esp. p. 265).

5. See post-visit report, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 131.

6. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345, and for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

7. See CER money transfer receipt for Ozarinţi, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1564.

8. USHMMA, RG-50.226*008, Boris Naumovich Chandros testimony, August 8, 1994.

PECIOARA

A village in the Spikov raion, Tulcin judeţ (today: Pechera, Ukraine), in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, Pecioara (pre-1942, Pechora) is located near the western bank of the Bug River, 22 kilometers (14 miles) northwest of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,291 Jews in the Spikov raion. At most, 62 Jews lived in Pecioara.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Pecioara on July 23, 1941. The Jews of the village were placed in a ghetto in the town of Spicov on September 24, 1941. Later they were moved to the Rogozna ghetto, and the surviving remnant returned to Pecioara in September 1942. The village came under Romanian control in the fall of 1941, and its name was romanianized as Pecioara (in some documents spelled Peciora or Peciara) as part of the Tulcin judeţ. In succession, Colonels Ion Lazăr, Constantin Loghin, and Constantin Năsturaş were Tulcin's prefects. The Tulcin Gendarmes Legion commander was Căpitan Ion Fetacău. The commandant of the Pecioara gendarmes was Sergent major Strătulat.

In September 1941, the Romanian authorities converted the summer estate of the aristocratic Potocki family at Pecioara, a former sanatorium for Red Army officers, into a "death camp" (*lagărul morţii*) for Jews. Sergent major Strătulat, who commanded the gendarmes, was put in charge of the camp as well. The camp's purpose was extermination through starvation. Except for the rear area facing the Bug, the camp was well fenced. Romanian and Ukrainian guards patrolled the fence, while German soldiers watched the camp's rear from across the river. Inside the camp were two large three-story residential buildings, a cellar, a family tomb, stables, a greenhouse, and large statues. Most of the buildings were damaged by war. The rooms lacked doors, the windows lacked glass, and prisoners slept on the ground or straw. The first floor of the larger building housed the camp's Jewish leaders and a makeshift soup kitchen. The noncontagious sick

were on the second floor, and women lived on the third floor. The second building housed inmates with communicable diseases, especially typhus. Next to the two buildings was a garage repurposed as a morgue. Inside, bodies were piled up each day before being thrown in the mass grave outside the camp. In addition, there were a few stables and barracks where prisoners of both sexes and various ages were crammed together.[1] The camp held 400 to 500 people when it functioned as a sanatorium.

Two large transports of Jews are documented, in addition to smaller roundups of escapees and transfers from Bratslav, Trostineţ, Rogozna, and other places. In the first wave of deportations, 3,005 Jews were marched from the Tulcin ghetto to the Pecioara camp in November/December 1941. The chief inspector of Transnistria's gendarmerie, General Mihail Iliescu, ordered the Moghilev ghetto's poorest 3,000 Jews to the Pecioara camp. The order acknowledged that those sent to Pecioara were doomed. Its implementation was delayed for months, and so the order was reissued in June 1942. Because the camp's horrible conditions were well known, Jews hid in basements, attics, and fields to avoid deportation, but were hunted by police dogs and loaded onto freight cars. Still, between September and November 1942, the 3,000 Jews (600 Ukrainian Jews and the rest from Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Moldavia) were transported from the Moghilev ghetto to the Pecioara camp.[2] After two or three days of travel by train without food or water, during which time the very sick died, groups of 400 to 500 Jews from Moghilev disembarked at Israilovca and marched the 14 kilometers (8.6 miles) to Pecioara under the beatings and curses of gendarmes.[3]

The conditions inside Pecioara were abysmal. A sign hanging on the camp's gate read "death camp." There were no work assignments, and consequently, the prisoners did not receive food, water, or soap. Approaching the fence to barter goods with villagers for food was forbidden, but some did so anyway. In one incident, Ukrainian guard Smetansky murdered two inmates caught buying a bucket of cherries at the fence.[4] A small water faucet at the bottom of a slope leading to the Bug could only be approached at night when the guards were not watching. Extreme hunger quickly reduced the prisoners to eating plant roots, twigs, leaves, human excrement, and even dead bodies. Romanian and

Ukrainian guards raped Jewish young women, who in turn killed themselves. Such conditions fostered mental illness and suicide.

A Jewish Council was formed under the leadership of President Motel Zilberman-Lipcani, but its pleas for assistance came to nothing. In 1943, the doctors in the Pecioara camp were Huna Vijnievschi and Bertha Vijnievschi.[5]

Overcrowding, malnutrition, cold, and squalor resulted in as many as 30 to 40 deaths each day. Typhus, dysentery, tuberculosis, scabies, and organ failure were common. Corpses piled up in the morgue, especially when the ground was frozen and too hard to dig large ditches. The valuables remaining on the bodies, namely gold teeth, were immediately removed from the dead for use as barter and to prevent their falling into the gendarmes' hands. Samarenco, the head of the Ukrainian police, terrorized the Jews, beating and killing them for the slightest infraction.

Between 1941 and 1943, approximately 4,000 Jews perished in the Pecioara camp. Dozens more were shot trying to escape. Despite enhanced security patrols, some inmates succeeded in escaping and returning to Moghilev. Those recaptured were usually shot on the spot.[6]

Across the Bug, Nazi SS units recruited Jews from Pecioara on the pretext of their doing "labor." Instead, those selected were taken to the German side and killed. On October 16, 1942, Hans Rucker, who commanded a camp across the Bug, demanded that all young Jewish girls aged 14 to 20 serve as nurses in German hospitals in the Vizhnitsa area. One hundred and fifty young women were transported to a forest between Bar and Vizhnitsa, where they were raped before being shot (one woman escaped). Similarly, on November 30, 1942, 500 Jews were shot on arrival on the German side. On May 10, 1943, another 600 Jews were transported to the other side of the Bug and shot. Finally, on August 3, 1943, another 100 Jews were handed over to the Germans, probably as forced laborers deployed on the Nicolaev Bridge.[7]

In February 1943, Căpitan Fetecău and Colonel Loghin visited Pecioara. Repulsed by the camp's awful appearance, they refrained from entering any building. A few days later, Fetecău announced that the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews

(*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) in Bucharest was permitted for the first time in 18 months to send assistance to the camp. Wood and financial support were delivered to set up a soup kitchen that served 1,600 prisoners daily.[8] Fearing the spread of disease to soldiers, the authorities encouraged the creation of a clinic where the sick received food and purified water. The situation improved slightly as additional support arrived from CER. On March 15, 1943, the healthiest 220 men were recruited for labor on the state farm at Rahnei (today: Rakhny, 22 kilometers [13.6 miles] southwest of Pecioara), which enabled them to survive.

The number of Jews imprisoned in the camp varied significantly over time. There were 3,591 (Romanian and Ukrainian) Jews in April 1, 1942; 1,200 in March 1943; and 535 in November 1943.[9] At the end of February 1944 there were 550 Jews in the camp, those from the Old Kingdom and the orphans having already been repatriated. By early March 1944 the number decreased further, as more inmates escaped and sought refuge in nearby villages. On March 17, 1944, the Red Army liberated the camp's remaining 350 Jews.

SOURCES Additional information about the Pecioara camp can be found in the following sources: "Pechera," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 743–744; "Pecioara," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 488–490; "Pechera," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 977; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research

Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* and vol. 8: *The Regat and Southern Transylvania, January–August 1944, Anti Jewish Legislation, Addenda* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Lya Benjamin, ed., *Evreii din România între anii 1940–1944*, 4 vols. (Bucharest: Hasefer, 1996); Fabius Ornstein, *Suferinţele deportaţilor în Transnistria* (Bucharest: Asociaţia Foştilor Deportaţi în Transnistria, 1945); and Rebecca L. Gol-bert, "Holocaust Sites in Ukraine: Pechora and the Politics of Memorialization," *HGS* 18: 2 (2004): 205–233.

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews in the Pecioara camp are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004), and AME (RG-25.006M). The ChGK investigation of the Pecioara camp can be found at USHMMA in RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1271; and reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1341. USHMMA also holds a number of unpublished survivors' accounts from Pecioara, such as Yeva Taran, "A memoir relating to Jews in Pechora," n.d. (Acc. No. 1995.A.437), and oral history interviews, including Ester Yankelovna Bartik, August 13, 1994 (RG-50.226*0005). A Yiddish song on the Pecioara camp is available at NBUV in the Moisei Beregovskii archive of Jewish music. In collection 243BO6, YVA holds a photograph of the mass grave at Pecioara. For the photo graph of a monument erected in memory of those who perished at Pecioara, see USHMMPA, WS #56477. VHA holds 505 testimonies in seven languages that refer to the Pecioara camp.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. "Pecioara," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 8: 443–444.

2. See Order 30320, June 4, 1942, signed jointly by Governor Alexianu and Inspector Iliescu, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1488, pp. 83–84 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1488, pp. 83–84).

3. VHA #651, Leah Kaufman testimony, January 18, 1995.

4. VHA #24165, Minna Varshavskay testimony, December 27, 1996.

5. See "Tabel nominal al medicilor evrei aflaţi în judeţul Tulchin," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, p. 218.

6. VHA #12907, Lea Klinghoffer Rechler testimony, March 11, 1996.

7. See a list of skilled workers available from Pecioara, "Tabel de evrei meseriaşi disponibili din jud. Tulcin," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/23, n.p.

8. For the government's approval, see a copy of Order No. 84714, November 28, 1942, reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 301.

9. For April 1, 1942, see "Situaţia numerică a evreilor aflaţi neevacuaţi din Transnistria, la data de 1 Aprilie 1942, pe lagăre şi ghetouri cu specificarea: bărbaţi, femei şi copii," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 143 (USHMMA, RG-25.006M/10/33/21, p. 143); for March 1943, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347; for November 1943, see "Situaţie numerică de toţi evreii ce se află în raza judeţului Tulcin precum şi de toţi lucrători şi funcţionari aflaţi la diferite instituţi," USHMMA, RG-25.006M/11/33/21, p. 585.

PODUL ILOAIEI

Podul Iloaiei, a town in the Iaşi judeţ, in the northeastern part of the Romanian Regat (the Old Kingdom), is 26 kilometers (16 miles) west of the city of Iaşi. According to a Romanian census, there were about 1,550 Jews in Podul Iloaiei on April 1, 1941, representing approximately 37 percent of the town's population.[1]

Following the pogrom against the Jewish residents of Iaşi that unfolded June 26–30, 1941, hundreds of mostly Jewish men and a handful of women of all ages were transported from the Iaşi Police Office (*Chestura*) to Podul Iloaiei. They were transported by train, in sealed freight cars, in extremely overcrowded conditions (80 to 150 people in a car). This was the second "death train" (*trenurile morţii*) that transported Jews out of Iaşi, and it left in the morning of June 30, 1941, carrying 1,902 Jews. Although it did not travel a long distance (approximately 26 kilometers), the train moved very slowly. It also made frequent stops during which time the deportees could not open the car doors or windows to get fresh air because the doors were tightly shut and the windows were covered. Anyone trying to escape by squeezing between the floor planks was shot. Asphyxiation, exhaustion, and extreme thirst in the overheated cars killed the majority of the Jews before they reached Podul Iloaiei eight hours later: 1,114 perished that day and were buried in the local Jewish cemetery, and only 708 survived.

At first, the surviving Jews were placed in a local synagogue, but were then dispersed among the Jewish families of Podul Iloaiei. The newly arrived Jews were thus placed in the same part of town as the local Jews and shared their fate. This area was guarded by a handful of Romanian gendarmes belonging to the Podul Iloaiei gendarmes post.

An open ghetto was thus created in Podul Iloaiei. The authorities referred to it by the designation "camp" (*lagăr*) or "concentration camp" (*tabără de concentrare*), but it can be more accurately described as an open ghetto. How many people

were included in the ghetto, in addition to the Jews from Iaşi, is hard to determine. If the local Jewish population and the group from Iaşi are added together, then it can be estimated that more than 2,200 Jews lived in the ghetto. A telegram to the Cabinet of the Romanian Interior Minister in Bucharest puts the number of Jews from Iaşi at 783, with the following breakdown: 693 men, 20 women, and 70 children.[2]

Survivors wait outside the open railcar of the Iaşi death train after it reached Podul Iloaiei. The railcar is filled with the corpses of Jews who died along the way, June 1941. USHMM WS #27455, COURTESY OF AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE.

Living conditions inside the ghetto soon deteriorated, mainly due to overcrowding and limited access to food and work. A curfew was introduced for the evening and night hours, and leaving the ghetto area without a permit was severely punished. The Jews brought from Iaşi arrived with only what they were wearing when they were arrested or picked up from the streets. In addition, they were not permitted to receive parcels of food or clothing. Many of these Jews barraged the prefect's office with written petitions asking that they be allowed to return to Iaşi under escort for a day or two to pick up a small amount of clothes (especially as the cold season was fast approaching) and other basic necessities; some were granted permission, but others were not. In these circumstances, it was not uncommon, as the commandant of the Iaşi Gendarmes Legion appreciated, for the internees to resort to unruly behavior or intentional disobedience in order to be arrested and sent back to Iaşi for trial. Their hope was that, while in police custody in Iaşi, their family would visit them and care for their needs.[3]

On October 27, 1941, 21 women and 5 children younger than 10 years old who were deported from Iaşi were released and returned. Soon thereafter, the remaining 757 Jews from Iaşi were released from the ghetto as well, but only gradually. The first groups left on November 10, 1941. The released Jews, however, were to be made available for forced labor for the needs of various local and regional enterprises and institutions, as stipulated by the orders of the Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM).[4] By the end of that year, the ghetto in Podul Iloaiei ceased to exist. In April 1942, all the Jews of Podul Iloaiei were deported to Iaşi where they were housed in the city's synagogues and supported by the city's Jewish community.

In addition to the ghetto, a small room in the Junimea School (*Şcoala Junimea*) was repurposed and became a prison for 15 Jews who were held hostage to ensure the good behavior of the community; another 4 Jews were also held there on charges of being communists.[5] The hostages were released after the dissolution of the ghetto in January or February 1942.

SOURCES Additional information about the Podul Iloaiei detention site can be found in the following publications: "Podul

Iloaiei," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah,* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 197–200; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Radu Ioanid, "The Holocaust in Romania: The Iaşi Pogrom of June 1941," *Contemporary European History*, 2/2 (1993): 119–148; Maris Mircu, *Pogromul de la Iaşi* (Bucharest: Glob, 1945); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 3 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources are available at USHMMA, in collections ANR, Iaşi Branch (RG-25.029M) and SRI (RG-25.004M). The VHA contains 10 testimonies (in six languages) from survivors of the Iaşi pogrom who were deported to Podul Iloaiei, as well as from other Jews who were deported from Podul Iloaiei to Iaşi.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For population figures, see the confidential letter of Colonel D. Căptaru, the prefect of Iaşi, to the Romanian Interior Ministry, April 1, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.029 (ANR, Iaşi Branch), reel 4, file 10, p. 155.

2. USHMMA, RG-25.029M (ANR, Iaşi Branch), reel 5, file 16, p. 21.

3. Secret letter from Maior Aristotel Alexandrescu, the Iaşi Gendarmes Legion commandant, to the Iaşi Prefecture, October 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.029M (ANR, Iaşi Branch), reel 5, file 16, p. 113.

4. Interior Ministry letter to the Iaşi Prefecture, November 10, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.029M (ANR, Iaşi Branch), reel 5, file 16, pp. 199, 277. See also information report, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 6, file 7635, p. 12.

5. Statistical report of the Siguranţa Bureau, USHMMA, RG-25.029M (ANR, Iaşi Branch), reel 5, file 16, p. 27.

POPIVŢI

Popivţi, a small town in the Copaigorod raion in the Moghilev judeţ in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Popivtsi, Ukraine), is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, of the 1,903 Jews living in the Copaigorod raion, 850 lived in Popivţi. Although some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities after the invasion of June 1941 and fewer still were drafted into the Red Army, most stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Popivţi in the second part of July 1941. After a short military occupation, during which time the Jews were mistreated, the Romanian civil administration took control of the town beginning in September 1941. The town's name was romanianized from Popovtsy to Popivţi (also spelled Popiveţ or Popovţi in some documents). The praetor in the Copaigorod raion was Ion Vodă.

A ghetto was established in Popivţi probably in August or September 1941, initially for the local Jews. Additional groups of Jews deported from Bukovina (especially the Hotin, Dorohoi, and Cernăuţi judeţe) and northern Bessarabia (Soroca judeţ) were brought to Popivţi between October and late November 1941. The majority of these people entered Transnistria via the Atachi crossing point over the Dniester River and made a short stop in Moghilev-Podolsk before being marched farther northeast toward the Bug River. The deportees in the convoys were robbed of many of their possessions at the entry point into Transnistria, as well as en route to their deportation place, adding substantially to their misery. Once in Popivţi, they were crowded into the houses of the local Jews, with 15 to 18 people to a room. Epidemics (especially typhus), hunger, cold, and exhaustion killed 790 Jews over the frigid winter of 1941.[1] Local police, made up of gendarmes and local auxiliaries, regularly robbed the deportees. Wearing the yellow star became obligatory.

The deportees took some steps to cope with this disastrous

situation. There existed in the camp an underground group, led by a man named Kotsman, whose objective was to sabotage the activities of the local administration and assist the local partisans. An orphanage was set up to provide for the children whose parents had perished. The surviving Jews searched for work throughout the ghetto and, at great risk, beyond it; children went begging through the village. Barter was a key means of survival, as was the generosity of a few kind local non-Jews.[2] A small number of deported Jews were fortunate enough to still have surviving relatives or friends who were not deported and who sent them on occasion a small sum of money to purchase food from the local market.[3]

According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, there were 905 Jews deported from Romania living in Popivţi in October 1942.[4] The Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews in Bucharest (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) visited Transnistria at the beginning of 1943, stopping on January 8 and 9 in Moghilev. The commission, led by Fred Şaraga, learned from the leaders of the Copaigorod ghetto assembled in Moghilev at that time that 1,400 Jews (deported as well as local Jews) were held in the Popivţi ghetto. The commission planned future shipments of goods to reach them.[5] By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Popivţi was 791, most likely not counting the Ukrainian Jews; on September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 829 (752 from Bessarabia, 77 from Bukovina).[6] In February 1944, the number of Jews deported from Romania living in the entire Copaigorod raion was 2,339; the majority lived in the Copaigorod ghetto, although some were held in the Popivţi ghetto.[7]

In the spring of 1943, small groups of skilled and unskilled Jews from the Popivţi ghetto were taken for forced labor to the bridge-building construction site in Trihati (Trikhaty), in the southeastern part of Transnistria, and to the peat extraction site near Tulcin (Tulchyn); others were moved as and when they were needed during the rest of 1943.[8] In both locations, the forced laborers endured even harsher conditions than in the ghetto.

Repatriations of deported Jews originally from the Dorohoi judeţ and the Regat took place in December 1943, with a few cases

applying to the Popivţi ghetto. The next to be repatriated were orphaned children up to age 18, with again a small number in Popivţi. The Romanian administration retreated from Popivţi at the beginning of March 1944, several weeks before the Red Army's recapture of the town at the end of that month. The Jews who remained in the ghetto were liberated at that time and began their difficult journey back to Romania.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Popivţi can be found in the following publications: "Popovtsy," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 1015; "Popivţi," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 487; "Popovtsy," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 779; "Popovtsy," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 262; "Popovtsy," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 278; and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România,*

1940–1944, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2: 8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Popivţi can be found at USHMMA, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). A list of Jews imprisoned in the Popivţi ghetto can be found in the Chernivtsi Jewish Organization Affidavits, RG-31.020M, Microfiche 22, folder 5, vol. 540. VHA holds 70 survivor testimonies in six languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Hebrew, Yiddish, Spanish, and Portuguese) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Estimate derived from reports produced by the ChGK, April 1945, USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1239, p. 13.

2. For an example of a local giver of aid, see VHA #48078, Efrosin'ia Krivoruchko testimony, August 26, 1998.

3. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 10, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1180, p. 518.

4. USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281.

5. For a visitor's report, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 115.

6. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe,"

reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345, and for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

7. See population figures according to nationalities in the raions of the Moghilev district, USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, p. 5 (see also p. 6 for a population figures according to religious affiliation).

8. See a list of movements of Jews in Copaigorod raion, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, opis 1, delo 6, p. 182.

RÂBNIŢA

Râbniţa (pre-1941: Rybnitsa) is a town in the Râbniţa judeţ (today: Rybnitsa raion, Moldova), on the southwestern border of central Transnistria, located near the eastern banks of the Dniester River, across from the smaller town of Rezina in Bessarabia. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 3,216 Jews lived in Râbniţa, representing 28 percent of the town's population. Approximately 1,500 Jews remained in the town after the outbreak of war, the rest having left with the retreating Red Army.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Râbniţa on August 5, 1941. A small number of Râbniţa's Jews were killed by the occupation forces on arrival. Shortly after its occupation, control of the town was transferred to the Romanian civil administration, which romanianized its name as Râbniţa. The commandant of the Râbniţa Gendarmes Legion was Maior Ion D. Popescu. The chief of the Râbniţa police bureau was Plutonier Neculae Mesarciuc.

Râbniţa was an entry point into Transnistria and a transit site for almost 25,000 Romanian Jews (24,570 according to a November 1942 gendarmerie report) who were deported across the Dniester River. After crossing the river, most deportees were marched toward camps and ghettos near the Bug River in the Tulcin judeţ (to places like Bobric and Crivoie Ozero) and the Golta judeţ.[1]

In late August 1941, the Romanian authorities created a fenced-in ghetto around two or three modest streets in the city's Jewish district (around Shalom Aleichem Street). The ghetto's population quickly climbed to more than 3,000 Jews, half of whom had been deported from transit camps such as Mărculeşti and Vertujeni in Bessarabia. Living conditions and sanitation were deplorable. By late December 1941, more than half the prisoners had died from hunger, typhus, and cold, and only 1,467 were still alive. The ghetto area became smaller in 1942 because of building projects for the city organized by the local authorities. By November 1943, the ghetto numbered 87 houses with a total of 309 rooms. There also existed a soup kitchen within the ghetto for 250 to 300 of its

neediest residents.

Life in the Râbniţa ghetto was fraught with restrictions and dangers. The Jews were allowed to leave the ghetto twice a week, on Thursdays and Sundays, for one hour each day to visit the market and buy food. Those without cash bartered goods in exchange for foodstuffs; others with nothing left roamed the roads in search of beets fallen from trucks on their way to the sugar-beet factory near Râbniţa. Leaving the ghetto without permission was risky, but many were forced to do so to search for food; others, who escaped from elsewhere, broke into the ghetto. Forty-eight Jews were shot on April 4, 1942, for leaving the ghetto without permission. Random shootings by gendarmes were a frequent occurrence. The frequency of shootings increased with the German (re-)occupation of the town in March 1944.

The Râbniţa ghetto had a Jewish committee headed by Nahman Ghelfman. Haim Roizman directed the ghetto's Jewish labor committee. In January 1943, Roizman's assistants were Nachman Stuchman, Moise Ahtemberg, Mordeo Prodanejischi, and Moise Torgan. As of December 6, 1943, the following doctors were working in Râbniţa: Friderich Herşcovici and Segal Mendel in the Râbniţa hospital; Beniamin Schwartz in the Râbniţa's praetor's medical office; and Lida Rusnac, Mendel Şut, and Mihail Şandor Mihail in the ghetto itself.[2]

The Jews in the ghetto undertook forced labor, cleaning streets and building the "Ion Antonescu" park in Râbniţa. The ghetto also supplied forced laborers for the building of a new bridge over the Bug at Trihaty in the summer of 1943. Financial aid sent by family members or friends from Romania reached some of its intended recipients in the ghetto.[3]

The ghetto's population fluctuated from one year to the next. On April 1, 1942, it held 1,371 Jews (254 men, 548 women, and 569 children). At the beginning of 1943 a large group of Jews was transferred to the Balta ghetto to relieve Râbniţa's overcrowded conditions at a time when it was already plagued by typhoid fever. In March 1943, there were approximately 600 Jews in the ghetto. The figure may not have included local Ukrainian Jews, or if it did, it reflected the population loss due to the Balta ghetto transfer. A subsequent census in September 1943 found 407 Romanian Jews

among a total of 1,458 Jews.[4]

On October 14, 1943, the Wapniarca concentration camp (in Jugastru judeţ, north of Râbniţa) was shut down. A group of 50 to 60 of the Jews from Wapniarca, condemned for what the Romanian authorities deemed "subversive activity," was transported by freight train to the Râbniţa prison. The prison was located on the city's outskirts in what used to be the buildings of a former frontier army unit. The prison's commandant was Maior Delcea, and its chief guard was named Văluţă. The prison held 200 prisoners, mostly Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and former members of communist groups and *kolkhoz* (collective farm) leaders. On the evening of March 19, 1944, as the retreating German authorities took control of the prison, the prisoners were shot in their cells by a small Kalmyk unit belonging to Andrey Vlasov's army attached to a Waffen-SS division that was withdrawing. The prison was subsequently set on fire. Three or four Jews survived.[5]

From October 1943 to March 1944, Râbniţa was the base for several groups of Jewish forced laborers from the 120 Balta Labor Battalion commanded by Colonel Pătrăşcoiu. One such group looked after cow herds held in large animal sheds in Ghidirim, 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) south of Râbniţa. Another group from the same labor battalion was assigned construction duties for the German Army. The laborers lived in cowsheds with the animals, slept on lice-infested hay, and were fed watery pea soup.[6]

The Red Army liberated Râbniţa on March 30, 1944. During the war, some non-Jewish residents of Râbniţa provided assistance to their Jewish friends or neighbors from the ghetto. For their kindness, the following families were recognized as Righteous Among the Nations: the Chinkovskaya, Koblas, Liubinetskaya, Marncenko, Migilevski, Nikolayeva, Pozdniakova, Plugar, Stratulat, and Tontysh families.

SOURCES Additional information about the Râbniţa ghetto can be found in the following sources: "Rybnitsa," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 882–883; "Rybnitsa," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia

Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 397–398; "Rabnitsa," in Jean Ancel et al., eds. *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 509–511; "Rybnitsa," in Shmuel Spector and Geofrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 1108; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 26. For the Righteous Among the Nations at Râbniţa, see the Moldova chapters in *Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust,* vol. 5 (Europe, part 2) and supplementary volumes 2000–2005, Israel Gutman et al., eds. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010 and 2011) and db.yadvashem.org/righteous/familyList.html?placeTemp=Rybnitsa&results_by=family&placeFam=Rybnitsa&language=en.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews in Râbniţa are

available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and AME (RG-25.006M). USHMMA, collection RG-54.003 (SISRM), microfiche 01, 06, and 44, contains the trial records of other prominent figures from the Râbniţa ghetto. VHA holds 214 testimonies in seven languages about the Râbniţa ghetto, prison, and forced labor detachments. Liza Lyuber's memories of life in the ghetto appear in "The Greatest Value: Those Who Helped and Rescued," in Svetlana Shklarov, ed., *Voices of Resilience* (Calgary: Jewish Family Service), pp. 41–48. For a description of the Râbniţa prison massacre, see two accounts by former prisoner Matei Gall, *Masacrul* (Bucharest: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură, 1956); and *Eclipsa* (Bucharest: Du Style, 1997). Also useful is a pro-communist publication from the Banat region containing a short article on the Râbniţa prison: Comitetul regional din Banat al Apărării Patriotice, eds., *Apărarea Patriotică contra teroarei fasciste* (Timişoara, 1945), esp. pp. 71–75 (a photograph with three victims of the prison massacre appears on p. 71).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Transnistrian Gendarmes Inspectorate report for Transnistria Government, November 9, 1942, but based on earlier reporting, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 161.

2. "Tabel cu medicii evrei aflaţi în Judeţul Rabniţa," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 6, p. 166a (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/6, p. 166a); for Jewish labor heads, see governmental decision, "Decizia Nr. 385," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1/26, p. 62.

3. "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportati în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Rabniţa (Jud. Răbniţa)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/4/2242/1/1501, p. 146.

4. For the April 1, 1942, census, see "Situaţia numerică a evreilor aflaţi neevacuaţi din Transnistria, la data de 1 Aprilie 1942, pe lagăre şi ghetouri cu specificarea: bărbaţi, femei şi copii,"

USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 143; for the March 1943 count (based on CER estimates), see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348; for the September 1943 count (of the Transnistria Gendarmes service), see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442; "Tabloul cuprinzând ghettourile şi situaţia numerică a evreilor aflaţi în raza Judeţului Râbniţa la data de 1 Octombrie 1943," September 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/22, n.p.

5. VHA #9632, Matei Gal testimony, February 14, 1996.

6. VHA #1162, Eugen Leonida testimony, February 28, 1995; VHA #20058, Salomon Marcu testimony, September 24, 1996.

REZINA

Rezina, a small town in the Rezina raion, Orhei judeţ (today: Rezina raion, Moldova), in the northeastern province of Bessarabia, is situated near the western bank of the Dniester River. The town is located about 83 kilometers (52 miles) north of Chişinău. According to the 1930 Romanian census, there were 2,889 Jews living in Rezina. In 1941 the Soviet authorities deported to Siberia some of Rezina's Jews deemed hostile to the regime. After the attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, some of the remaining Jews retreated with the Red Army or fled deeper inside the Soviet Union (where many of them were later captured).[1] Approximately half of the Jewish population remained in the town.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Rezina in mid-July 1941. Control over Rezina went to the Romanian authorities immediately after its capture. Bessarabia's chief gendarmes inspector was Colonel Teodor Meculescu, and his deputy was Locotenent-colonel Lazăr Radu. Maior Filip Bechi was commandant of the Orhei Gendarmes Legion. During the deportation of Jews from Bessarabia to Transnistria, two improvised transit camps existed near Rezina in the villages of Mateuţi and Ceneşeuţi for one month's duration, due to their proximity to the Dniester. The two holding places, which held deportees from the Vertujeni transit camp and the Chişinău ghetto, were not fenced, but the sites were closely guarded.

An operation aimed at "cleansing" Bessarabia of "Judeo-Bolsheviks" was planned by General de corp de armată Constantin Z. Vasiliu, the inspector general of the gendarmerie, prior to the start of the war. According to Vasiliu's orders, rural Jews were to be shot on sight, "suspect" citizens arrested, and urban Jews ghettoized for further deportation, all in the interest of "national security." Acting on these orders, the gendarmes and local policemen proceeded in the second part of July 1941 to shoot Rezina's Jews on the streets and in their homes. After three days

of rounding up Jews who were hiding or trying to escape town, the gendarmes and policemen shot 500 in the town's slaughter house and impaled some children with bayonets. They herded another 600 into the town's stables. Of them, 350 were shot, and the remaining 250 were allegedly burned in the limekiln and their remains scattered in the Dniester River. These murderous actions occurred before or concomitantly with Order No. 61 of July 24, 1941, issued by the governor of Bessarabia, General de divizie Constantin Voiculescu, which decreed the institution of camps and ghettos for Bessarabia's Jews. In total, 1,265 Jews were murdered in Rezina between 1941 and 1942.

In mid-August 1941, some 13,000 Jews from southern Bukovina and northern Bessarabia who had already been deported to Transnistria were returned by the German authorities to Bessarabia. They were marched to the Vertujeni camp near the Dniester in the Soroca judeţ where they were soon joined by more than 7,000 Jews from the smaller camps of Rubleniţa and Alexandru cel Bun (Soroca County). Their treatment by the Germans and Romanians was cruel. General de brigadă Ion Topor, the 3rd Romanian Army's great praetor, ordered the (re)deportation of Bessarabia's Jews to Transnistria in early September.

On September 12, 1941, the Vertujeni transit camp, which held 22,150 Jews at that point, was evacuated. On Colonel Meculescu's orders, half the deportees marched 90 kilometers (56 miles) south to Rezina. Meculescu instructed that columns of 1,600 Jews escorted by the Soroca Gendarmes Legion were to march a distance of 30 kilometers (approximately 19 miles) per day, so they would reach Rezina three days later. The first crossing over the Dniester at Rezina-Râbniţa was scheduled for September 15, 1941. Gendarmes commanded by Locotenent Constantin Popoiu, deputy commandant of the Orhei Gendarmes Legion, were to meet the convoys one day before they reached Rezina and escort them across the river. The crossing was to be done quickly. Obtaining food for the duration of the journey was the deportees' responsibility, the authorities providing 50 carts to carry the very old and sick, as well as some of the luggage. Those dying along the way, or killed because they were unable to keep up, were to be buried in designated common graves dug in advance.[2]

Almost none of Meculescu's orders were implemented as given. Many of the Jews on the march were elderly or young mothers with small children. This situation slowed down travel despite the gendarmes' constant threats. Rainy days made the winding, dirt roads almost inaccessible by carts and difficult to travel on by foot. Resting places were in open fields or forests on the outskirts of villages or between villages; purchasing or bartering for food (or water) became difficult so many went hungry and thirsty for a long time. The gendarmes and cart conductors abused deportees and robbed them; at other times they allowed villagers to rob them in exchange for a bribe. On a few occasions when a robbery by a villager was reported, the thieves were not pursued. Exhausted and weakened, many Jews fell prey to illnesses of all kinds. The dying and the dead were left unburied wherever the convoy stopped; those shot because they were unable to keep up were pushed into small ditches along the side of the road. The Vertujeni camp's evacuation and the crossing operation lasted about a month.

In October 1941, half of the approximately 11,500 Jews ghettoized in Chişinău were also deported to Transnistria via Rezina. The Chişinău ghetto's evacuation was similar to that of the camp at Vertujeni: large groups left every other day, marched on foot to Rezina (also 90 kilometers [56 miles] away) escorted by gendarmes, rested on the outskirts of villages, and avoided the main roads. Just like the Jews from the Vertujeni camp, these Jews from the Chişinău ghetto were robbed and beaten by gendarmes and villagers, while young women were raped by guards. Those unable to keep up, usually the elderly, were shot. This evacuation, too, lasted about a month.[3]

During the deportation to Transnistria, a number of sites along the way from Vertujeni and Chişinău served as stopping places. The convoys rested in such places for a day or more, at which time more Jews were added to the convoy, guard forces were changed, and carts were repaired or replenished. At two such sites near Rezina, the convoys were held for slightly longer periods of time so as not to congest the crossing area. Gendarmes, young men enrolled in pre-military school, and local police patrolled the areas. The first improvised transit camp was 3 kilometers (1.8 miles) north of Rezina on the outskirts of Mateuţi village. The Jews held here were under the supervision of Vitan Paun, chief of the

gendarmes post, and Sergent major Dumitru Gavrila, chief of the gendarmes section. The second transit camp was at the outskirts of Ceneşeuţi village, three kilometers southwest of Rezina. Sergent major Gavrila was in charge here too, assisted by Sergent Grigore Maritz and Sergent major Ion Neaga. Both places had been "cleansed" of Jews in July 1941. At Ceneşeuţi, 27 Jews were shot on the village outskirts, and a 14-year-old Jewish girl handed over to the Mateuţi gendarmes was raped and shot outside the village by the two soldiers escorting her. Convoys reaching Rezina from both directions were handed over to Locotenent Constantin Popoiu and Sergent major Traian Saftenco for the crossing to Transnistria at Râbniţa.

On January 28, 1942, only nine Jews, deemed useful to the town's administration, remained in Rezina.[4] Bessarabian orphans were repatriated from the Balta ghetto in Transnistria in the winter of 1943; some of those orphans had been deported via Rezina.[5] In 1949, the Bucharest's People's Tribunal sentenced to hard labor the heads of the Rezina, Mateuţi, and Ceneşeuţi gendarmes posts.

SOURCES Additional information about Rezina can be found in the following sources: "Rezina," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 841; "Rezina," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 341–342; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* and vol. 6: *War Crimes Trials* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria*

României: Problema Evreiască, vol. 2 (parts 1 and 2) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Paul A. Shapiro, *The Kishinev Ghetto, 1941–1942: A Documentary History*, with Chronology by Brewster Chamberlin and Radu Ioanid (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press in association with USHMM, 2015).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Rezina's Jews and those interned there are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), AMANR (RG-25.003M), and ANRM (RG-54.001M). Twenty VHA testimonies in French, Hebrew, Russian, and Spanish offer additional information about Rezina and are available at USHMMA.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #27785, Ivan Barbul testimony, February 4, 1997.

2. "Instrucţiuni relative la evacuarea evreilor din lagărul Vertujeni-Soroca," USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMANR), reel 126, file 29, pp. 94–95, reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 85–87 (a map showing the routes the deportees were to follow on their way to Rezina is on p. 87).

3. "Raport de anchetă al comisiunei instituită conform ordinului domnului Mareşal Ion Antonescu, Conducătorul Statului, pentru cercetarea neregulelor de la ghetto-ul Chişinău," USHMMA, RG-54.001 (ANRM), reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 69, pp. 1–46, augmented by a second and shorter report, pp. 48–55.

4. "Tabel nominal de evreii ce se gasesc in Tg. Rezina," USHMMA, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 13, fond 680, opis 1, delo 4476, p. 171.

5. "Tabel nominal de copii orfani de ambii parinti de la 1–15 ani plecati in Romania," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel

16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 674, p. 43.

SĂDĂGURA

Sădăgura, a town in the Cernăuţi judeţ (today: Sadhora, Ukraine), in Bukovina, in the northeastern part of Romania, is 7 kilometers (4 miles) northeast of Cernăuţi. In 1930, Sădăgura's Jewish population was 1,459. The Soviet authorities deported many Jewish tradesmen and former business owners to Siberia prior to their retreat from Sădăgura in June 1941. At that time, some Jews retreated with the Red Army, whereas military-aged Jewish men were drafted into the Red Army. Approximately 654 Jews remained in place in Sădăgura.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Cernăuţi and its surroundings on July 5, 1941. A few days later, a squad of Romanian soldiers entered Sădăgura, encouraging the locals to mistreat the Jews for 24 hours. Forming a leadership group called the "national guard," a group of locals, headed by Vladimir Rusu, took over the town hall and immediately began a pogrom against the Jewish population. Armed with guns, they searched for Jews, some of whom were their neighbors, and rounded up 72 people, depositing them at the town hall in the nearby village of Jucica Nouă. At midnight the Jews were led to some trenches outside the village and shot. Among the victims were elderly people and children; a few were only wounded and survived the ordeal. The following day, all of Sădăgura's Jews were rounded up and detained at the town hall for a few days, during which time a committee searched for "communist Jews" among them. Those found to have been involved with the Communist Party during the Soviet occupation of Bukovina (June 1940 to June 1941) were imprisoned in a camp erected at or near the town hall; the rest returned to their homes, which had meanwhile been broken into and looted by their neighbors.

While still in Sădăgura, the remaining Jews undertook forced labor and were stigmatized. Jewish men and women were routinely ordered to do forced labor (without pay) by the town's public institutions and private citizens. The renowned rabbi of

Sădăgura, Mr. Landau, along with his Hasidic followers, was forced (apparently by Mayor Bartoi) to clean the town's streets wearing dress clothes on the Sabbath. A group of armed civilians guarded them as they worked. Soon thereafter, in early August 1941, the remaining Jews of the town of Sădăgura and those from nearby villages were congregated in a school yard and, taking with them only what they could carry, were force-marched in the direction of the Dniester River toward Transnistria.[1] Around the same time, small groups of Jews who had fled with the retreating Red Army were overtaken by the rapidly advancing German and Romanian armies before they could reach safety. They were forced back and held in a camp in Sădăgura for a short while, before also being marched to Transnistria. Forced marches typically lasted four to five weeks, or longer, before the deportees, reaching transit camps such as Edineţi, Vertujeni, and Atachi, crossed into Transnistria and continued walking for a few more weeks toward their destination. While in transit, the Jews were brutalized, molested, and repeatedly despoiled of their possessions by military authorities as well as by the civilian population.[2]

A penal camp (*lagăr de detinuţi*) existed in Sădăgura on the grounds of the 12th Artillery Regiment. The camp commandant was Locotenent D. Burghelea. The camp had a number of barracks and was surrounded by barbed wire. Beds inside the barracks were multitiered to hold three times more people than the normal capacity. Some 1,500 Jews were held there from August to October 1941, many having been brought there from Cernăuţi police prisons or holding centers. The prison population was organized into platoons and companies, with their own respective leaders. The inmates had to procure food for themselves, because the camp administration did not issue rations. Endless roll calls, beatings, and hard labor (street cleaning, road repairing, and camp maintenance) made camp life difficult. By rotation, a number of prisoners were required to remove waste from camp lavatories using buckets, dishes, and cups, and even their bare hands, and transport it to a dumping ground outside the city. On October 15, 1941, the entire camp population was escorted by gendarmes to Cernăuţi.[3] At night, they were loaded onto a freight train and transported to Bălţi (in Bessarabia), where, after a short rest period, they were taken by train to Mărculeşti and placed in a

camp there. At Mărculeşti, they stayed for a few days in dirty and damaged houses, surrounded by barbed wire. Brought before representatives of various committees, they were searched and required to exchange money; jewels and other precious metals were bought for uncompetitive prices, if not confiscated. A convoy was formed and prisoners had to walk 30 kilometers (19 miles) to Cosăuţi on the Dniester River; they crossed the river at night over a pontoon bridge toward Iampol in Transnistria.[4]

Jews and non-Jews were interned in the Sădăgura camp for various infractions. For example, between November 1941 and May 1942, hundreds of Jews (men and women) from all over Bukovina were interned at Sădăgura for failing to wear a yellow star. Internment usually lasted 10 or more days.[5]

On June 1, 1942, there were 45 Jews (men and women) in the Sădăgura camp, most of whom had been recently transferred there from the Videle internment camp, in the Vlasca judeţ (today: Teleorman judeţ, 49 kilometers [30 miles] southwest of Bucharest), where they had been held since June 1941. A few other Jews were interned there because they were suspected of communist activity, whereas still others were there because they had been caught gathering food supplies for the Jews deported to Transnistria the previous year. The Police Bureau in Cernăuţi reviewed the files of the entire group and determined that there were "good grounds" for suspecting them of illicit activity, and thus they were eligible for deportation.[6] On June 5, 1942, 76 "undesirable" Jews from Bukovina province were interned in the Sădăgura camp for two days, as they awaited deportation to Transnistria alongside the 1,705 Jews from Cernăuţi; they all left on June 8.[7] The camp continued to hold other detainees until late June or early July 1942, when it moved to the town of Edineţi with a contingent of 264 prisoners.[8] The Romanian Army then repurposed the camp for its own uses.

The Red Army recaptured the area in April 1944. In May 1944, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and Hungarian and Czechoslovak Jews were held on the outskirts of Sădăgura, most likely in the former camp. Some of the Jewish POWs escaped into Cernăuţi looking for work, whereas others were enlisted into the Red Army and Czechoslovak armies and sent to the front in Hungary and beyond.[9] In 1945, the People's Tribunal in Bucharest sentenced

Bukovina's governor and other military authorities to many years of hard labor and confiscation of private property for crimes committed against the town's Jewish population.[10]

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Sădăgura's Jews can be found in the following publications: "Sadagura," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 1117–1118; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 279; "Sadgora," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 407–408; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3a: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bucovina şi Dorohoi* (Bucharest: Glob, 1945), particularly pp. 61–65 dealing exclusively with the town of Sădăgura; and Boris Nidergofer, *The Path of Death*, trans. Aliza Brayer (Tel Aviv: B. Nidergofer, 2009).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews interned in the Sădăgura camp are available at USHMMA, in collections DACkO (RG-31.006M), SRI (RG-25.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and FUCER (RG-25.021M). Relevant information in Soviet sources

can be found in ChGK (RG-22.002, reel 15, fond 7021, opis 79, delo 69, and delo 79). VHA holds 30 survivor testimonies, in several languages, about the fate of Sădăgura's Jews as well as the fate of Jews held in the Sădăgura camp.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See a list of Jews from this camp hospitalized in the Jewish Hospital in Cernăuţi, USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 22, fond 38, opis 6, delo 73, pp. 1, 3–4. The ill Jews were from the "Rosa camp," most likely the name of the school where they were held in Sădăgura.

2. VHA #33158, Michael Surkis testimony, August 17, 1997.

3. See Sădăgura camp registry, October 14, 1941, entries no. 436 and no. 442, USHMMA, RG-25.021M (FUCER), reel 100, file III-1075, n.p.

4. VHA #41577, Herbert Gropper testimony, March 17, 1998.

5. See a table listing their names, place of origin, and dates of internment and removal from the camp, USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 2, fond 307, opis 3, delo 75, pp. 369–371 (and verso).

6. See correspondence and annexed tables, USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 3, fond 307, opis 3, delo 14, pp. 210–213 (and verso). A handwritten insertion in the typed text indicates the opposite—that there were "not" sufficient grounds to suspect the listed Jews of any illegal activity.

7. Bukovina's governor General de divizie Corneliu Calotescu's report to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, June 12, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 196–198, 205.

8. See correspondence regarding the moving of the Sădăgura camp to Edineţi, USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 10, fond 307, opis 1, delo 2246, pp. 1–40.

9. VHA #25734, Jacob Lefkowitz testimony, February 4, 1997;

VHA #18062, Carl Berger Lieber testimony, August 6, 1996.

10. See survivors and witness depositions against, for example, Vladimir Rusu, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 15, fond 1241, vol. 1, pp. 136–145, and vol. 2, pp. 1–8.

ŞARGOROD

A small town and a raion center in the Moghilev judeţ in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, Şargorod (pre-1941: Shargorod; today: Sharhorod, Ukraine) is located 39 kilometers (24 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,664 Jews in Şargorod, representing 74 percent of the town's population. A general mobilization took place at the outbreak of the war against the Soviet Union in June 1941. Military-aged Jewish men were drafted into the Red Army, and others fled deeper inside the Soviet Union, but more than half of the Jewish population remained in the town.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Şargorod on July 22, 1941. Authority over the town was transferred to the Romanian civil administration in September 1941, and its name was romanianized as Şargorod. The prefects in the Moghilev judeţ were Constantin Dimitriu, Constantin Năsturaş, and Constantin Loghin, all army colonels. The deputy prefect, who later became the second praetor in Şargorod, was Iosif Dindelegan. Dimitrie (or Dumitru) Rusu was the first praetor. The commandants of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion were Aurel Dănulescu, Gheorghe Botoroagă, and Romeo Orăşeanu, all army majors. Plutonier Barbu (Ilie) Ciortuz and Sergent major Florian were the chiefs of the Şargorod gendarmes post.

Convoys of Jews deported from Bessarabia started arriving in Şargorod in early September 1941. In October 1941, additional convoys arrived from southern Bukovina (Suceava, Câmpulung, and Gura-Humorului). The convoys entered Transnistria via the Atachi crossing point to Moghilev-Podolsk. Just before crossing the Dniester River or after arriving on the other side, some Jews were robbed of their possessions. After a short stay in Moghilev-Podolsk, the convoys were sent on to Şargorod. Thanks to bribes offered to Romanian officials in Moghilev-Podolsk, the deportees were able to rent German trucks and carts to carry their smuggled luggage to Şargorod. People followed on foot, walking for three

days.

The Ukrainian Jewish community from Şargorod, which numbered approximately 1,100, offered hospitality to the arriving deportees. They first took in 700 Jews from Bessarabia in August 1941, then another 1,200 from Bukovina in October 1941, and an additional 900 Jews from Dorohoi (Bukovina) in mid-November 1941. Smaller groups fleeing from other detention sites, or those unable to march farther because of inclement weather, also arrived and remained in Şargorod. At the end of December 1941, approximately 7,000 Jews lived in town, in 337 houses with a total of 842 rooms; all public buildings (synagogues, schools) that were not completely destroyed were also occupied.

An open ghetto was formed at the end of 1941 in Şargorod's former Jewish quarters. Its limits were clearly demarcated through verbal instructions. Going beyond the stated boundaries without permission was punishable by shooting; seven Jews who were found roaming outside ghetto limits were indeed shot.[1] Wearing the yellow star was mandatory. Major epidemics erupted due to overcrowding, frigid temperatures, extreme hunger, and poor sanitation. At their peak in the winter of 1941, hundreds of people died every day of typhus, typhoid fever, and dysentery. In the beginning delousing facilities did not exist. Bodies were collected each day on a sleigh and left on the frozen ground; they were interred in the local Jewish cemetery in the spring of 1942.[2] Twelve Jewish doctors succumbed to typhus.[3]

Twenty-five leaders in the ghetto formed a council to respond to the tragedy. Another executive committee of five members, led by Dr. Meir Teich, a lawyer from Suceava, was set up as well. In the course of time, the councils expanded the canteen for the poor and established a bakery; set up general and contagious disease hospitals; established a pharmacy; and improvised a delousing station. Teams of nurses and doctors visited the sick in their homes and inspected houses daily.[4] These measures eventually brought the epidemics under control, but not before 1,500 deportees died. Other improvements in the ghetto were the restoration of a power station, a waterworks, and a steam bath. Drinking water was secured from old wells that were freshly cleaned, fenced in, and guarded to ensure that only clean buckets were used to draw water. A system for collecting sewage in closed barrels was put into

effect and public toilets were built. A soap factory was also built in 1942.

The Şargorod Jewish police force rigorously enforced discipline in the ghetto. This force was created to replace the Ukrainian police and the Romanian gendarmes who terrorized the population. Groups of laborers were recruited from the ghetto to undertake forced labor. Some worked inside the ghetto cleaning streets, offices, and public institutions; others were taken to work on nearby collective farms (*kolkhozes*), whereas still others performed road-building duties on sites away from the ghetto. In 1943, a few dozen workers were sent to dig peat in Tulcin and to build the bridge over the Bug River in Trihati, Oceacov judeţ. This work was very hard and dangerous, and a few of the forced laborers fell ill and died or were shot for allegedly trying to escape. Jewish workshops (*ateliere*) for tailoring, smithing, and shoemaking were set up in the ghetto.[5] Government instructions regulating Jewish life in Transnistria (Ordinance No. 23) prescribed that workers were to be paid German-issued scrip that circulated only in Transnistria (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS) at the rate of 2 RKKS per day for skilled labor and 1 RKKS per day for unskilled work, but this rarely happened. In most cases, remuneration came in the form of goods or food coupons. Occasionally Romanian authorities paid Jewish councils in produce (barley or cabbage), and on rare occasions money.

Religious life in the ghetto took place in the reopened synagogue. On the eve of Yom Kippur in 1942 prayers were said for the victims of the epidemics. Life-cycle ceremonies for weddings, Bar Mitzvah, and Brit Mila (ritual circumcisions) also occurred there. A market inside the ghetto permitted villagers to bring produce and to sell or exchange their goods for articles of clothing. The Jewish community also sold ghetto-manufactured goods like soap and received aid from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România,* CER). With the proceeds from such sales and the donations, the Jewish committee in Şargorod enlarged and modernized the orphanage that was established in 1942. The expanded orphanage housed about 200 children who received full care, medical attention, and education. Individual aid sent from Romania arrived in the ghetto from July 1942 onward.[6] According to a census of the ghetto

population, there were 3,085 Jews (not counting Ukrainian Jews who at the time numbered 1,800); in September 1943, there were 2,971 Jews deported from Romania (240 from Bessarabia, 2,731 from Bukovina).[7]

A partisan formation near Şargorod became active in the spring of 1943. In addition, a few ghetto inmates were partisans. When wounded, partisans turned to the ghetto for assistance in the form of treatment and medication. The ghetto also sent food to partisans hiding in the nearby forests. Romanian authorities suspected ghetto leaders of helping the partisans, but were unable to prove it. In December 1943, a commission from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), led by Charles Kolb, visited the ghetto and spoke with its leaders. Repatriations of orphans and deportees originally from the Dorohoi judeţ took place in successive waves from December 1943 to March 1944.

The Red Army liberated Şargorod on March 20, 1944. A few days later, the Soviet authorities robbed the ghetto of medicine and money and conscripted healthy men of military age into the Red Army or forced labor units. In 1945, Praetor Dindelegan, along with other gendarmes officers, was tried and sentenced to prison.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Şargorod can be found in the following publications: "Shargorod," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 1084–1085; "Shargorod," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1168–1169; "Shargorod," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 346; "Shargorod," *in Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 382–383; "Şargorod," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 511–516; Mordechai Altshuler, ed.,

Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 49; Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vols. 1–3 (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For an account of religious life in the Şargorod ghetto, see Iaacov Geller, *Rezistenţa Spirituală a Evreilor Români în Timpul Holocaustului* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2004), p. 356. A memorial book documenting the fate of Jews from Câmpulung in southern Bukovina deported to Şargorod is Veronica Bârlădeanu, ed., *Viaţa şi Martiriul Evreilor din Câmpulung-Bucovina*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Lucrare Colectivă, 1990). For the activity of the ICRC in Romania, see Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internationalǎ şi Romania, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources about the fate of Jews in the Şargorod ghetto are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), SRI (RG-25.004M), ANR (RG-25.002M), and AME (RG-25.006M). Ion Stănculescu's report regarding the state of the Jews living in ghettos in Transnistria is available at USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 147–151. Fred Şaraga's report of CER relief commission that met with Şargorod ghetto leaders in January 1943 is available in RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 106–156. CER's records are found in USHMMA,

RG-25.016M (ANR, fond CER). For partisan activity around Şargorod, see USHMMA, RG-68.112M (BLH), reel 100, file 11389; the same collection, reel 182, file 5520, contains a testimony about Şargorod ghetto. VHA holds 405 video testimonies, in 12 languages, from Holocaust survivors who passed through or remained in the Şargorod ghetto. An important published testimony on the Şargorod ghetto is the memoir of the former ghetto leader, Dr. Meir Teich, "The Jewish Self-Administration in Ghetto Shargorod (Transnistria)," *YVS* 2 (1958): 219–254.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #49978, Sarina Feyer-Ionescu testimony, July 18, 1999. For a more detailed account, see Meir Teich's memoir partially reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 337–339.

2. VHA #50017, Siegried Blaustein testimony, June 7, 1999; VHA #49964, Chaje-Sara Lucescu testimony, June 8, 1999.

3. Their names are listed in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 350.

4. Information note of the Moghilev judeţ medical service, October 17, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281.

5. "Lista meseriaşilor evrei întrebuinţaţi în ateliere," USHMMA, RG-31.011 (DAVINO), reel 20, p. 48.

6. Remittances, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1504, p. 115; see reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1564, p. 111; and reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1567, p. 484.

7. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al Evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345; for the September 1943 count, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1

Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

SAVRANI

Savrani (pre-1941: Savran), a township in the Savrani raion, Balta judeţ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Savran', Ukraine), is located a short distance from the Bug River. It is 41 kilometers (25 miles) northeast of Balta. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,101 Jews (representing 21.2 percent of the total township's population) in Savrani and 1,227 Jews in the Savrani raion. About half of Savrani's Jewish population retreated with the Red Army or fled deeper inside the Soviet Union at the outbreak of war in June 1941, but the rest stayed in the town. By March 1944, only three indigenous Jews lived in the Savrani raion (not including those held in the ghettos).[1]

The German and Romanian armies occupied Savrani on July 30, 1941. At the beginning of September 1941, the Romanian civil administration assumed sole control over Savrani; it romanianized the raion's township's name from Savran to Savrani (or Săvrani). Colonel Vasile Nica became prefect of the Balta judeţ, and his deputy was Alexandru Cojocaru. Locotenent-colonel Ştefan Gavăţ was commandant of the Balta Gendarmes Legion. The praetor in the Savrani raion was Dumitru Niculescu.

In October 1941, the local Ukrainian Jews of Savrani who had not already fled to Berşad were deported to Obodovca, a township 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) west of Berşad, in Balta's northern territory. A small number of mostly elderly people and children remained and were confined in a few abandoned houses on the township's outskirts. This ghetto was separated from the rest of the town by the Savranka River, a tributary of the Bug River, and was not encircled by barbed wire. The bridge over the river was guarded by Romanian gendarmes, and none could cross it without their permission. To relieve overcrowding in the Berşad ghetto and fight the typhus epidemic that erupted there in the winter months of 1941–1942, about 150 Jews were moved from there to Savrani at the end of 1942. Due to deaths in the camp, their numbers

decreased to 133 in March 1943.[2] In May 1943, an additional 127 Jews were released and transferred from the Vapniarca high-security concentration camp to Savrani.[3] Renting rooms in the houses of local Ukrainian villagers, they were grouped according to their region or town of origin in Romania. A second ghetto was thus created in Savrani. The two ghettos were separated by the river and were about a half-kilometer (547 yards) from each other. Close ties developed between the Jews from each ghetto, however.

Life in the ghettos was harsh, but particularly so in the first (the "Ukrainian") ghetto, which housed a large number of elderly, women, and children who could not or were not taken to work. Living conditions were poor and unsanitary; most people slept on the floor on a layer of straw. Overcrowding and lack of food facilitated the spread of typhus and typhoid fever, which struck Balta's villages in the winter of 1941–1942 and again in 1942–1943.[4] Jews found temporary work on villagers' farms or as cleaners in the Romanian administration buildings; skilled internees worked in the local tradesmen's cooperative and received scrip to exchange for food from the local grocery store. Wearing the yellow star on the chest was mandatory for every one who walked out of the ghetto area. Among the ghettos' inmates were former Romanian government functionaries, decorated war veterans, and widows of Romania's earlier wars.[5]

Thanks to their collective effort, their receipt of material and financial aid, and good relations forged with the local Romanian authorities, the Jews were permitted to open a soup kitchen for the needy among them. Jewish doctors from the second ghetto opened a small dental office and a medical consultation office in the house in which they lived. In addition, a small synagogue was set up in a room in a house in each of the two ghettos. The High Holidays were observed in the autumn of 1943. A Torah scroll and a rabbi were shared between the two ghettos. Individual and collective funds, as well as material aid (salt, coal, glass), sent from family, friends, and the Jewish communities in Romania via the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER), provided additional relief throughout 1943 and early 1944.[6]

The official leaders of the Jewish Committee of Savrani were Felix Schechter (colony chief), Mayer Iosipovici (secretary), Carol

Beiniş (labor service), and Nicolae Feckette (social services), assisted by members Henric Auflegher, Iosif Epştein, Sali Zaharia, and Filip Cohn.[7] Doctors Epstein, Auflegher, and Iosipovici, who were also the ghettos' doctors, were assigned as main doctors to villages in the Savrani raion.[8]

A network of partisans operated in the area. In the autumn of 1943, some Ukrainian-speaking Jews made contact with and assisted the partisans who attacked the local gendarmes post. The gendarmes discovered the collaboration between the partisans and the Jews in Savrani and arrested Carol Beiniş, the leader of the Jews who were involved. The other ghetto leaders secured his release from prison after presenting Locotenent Ştefănescu, the gendarmerie sector commandant, with a substantial bribe.

In November 1943, the Romanian government issued a repatriation edict for Jews deported from Transylvania and the Old Kingdom. Former state functionaries, widows and orphans of Romania's earlier wars, and orphans (under age 18) whose parents were killed in the deportations to Transnistria were also to be repatriated. From Savrani's (second) ghetto, 65 Romanian Jews who had been imprisoned in the Vapniarca camp were repatriated to Romania on December 21, 1943, and another 57 Jews, including some from the Dorohoi area, were repatriated on January 11, 1944.[9] There remained in the ghetto a few Romanian Jews from other parts of Romania. According to the September 1943 count, there were two Jews from Bessarabia and eight from Bukovina.[10] By mid-February 1944, there were 51 Jews (from Bessarabia and Bukovina), in addition to local Ukrainian Jews.[11] All the remaining Jews were liberated by the Red Army on March 27, 1944.

The Savrani forest was a densely wooded area south of Savrani township. It provided an excellent hiding place for partisans, and in the late autumn of 1943 a Roma (Gypsies) colony was temporarily moved to the area (closer to the village of Slyusareve) from the Golta judeţ to cut wood. The colony numbered 1,756 Roma and was housed in huts in the forest. After receiving axes and saws, the Roma rebelled against the gendarmes because of the miserable conditions in which they lived. They used the tools to produce wooden articles (washing basins, spoons) to sell for money or to be exchanged for food.[12] The gendarmes were

eventually able to subdue the Roma. From July 1942 to March 1943, 300 Soviet POWs from the Tiraspol camp were also deployed in the Savrani forest. They were brought there as woodcutters, employed by the Golta prefecture, and guarded by 35 gendarmes and 1 officer.[13]

The Red Army recaptured Savrani at the end of March 1944. By that point, the remaining Jews from Romania were in the process of being repatriated, while the Ukrainian Jews dispersed or remained in place. The following year, in April 1945, the Bucharest's People's Court tried Balta's military and civilian leaders for mistreating the Jews deported to Savrani.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews and Roma in Savrani can be gleaned from the following sources: "Savran'," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 7: 406; "Savran'," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklo pediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 885; "Săvran," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel hayishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 480–481; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53; and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); for a collection of documents relating to the deportation of Romanian Roma in Transnistria, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources about the fate of Jews, Roma, and Soviet POWs in Savrani are found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and DAMO (RG-31.008M). For a Jewish survivor's account, see Ihiel Benditer, *Vapniarca: Lagărele Vapniarca şi Grosulovo, închisoarea Rîbniţa, ghetourile Olgopol, Savrani, Tribudi, Crivoi-Ozero şi Trihati* (Tel Aviv: Anais, 1995).

A name list of 112 Jews imprisoned in Savrani ghetto, prepared by the Claims Conference in Tel Aviv, Israel, can be found at USHMM Resource Center, File no. RT-1124, www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/source_view.php?SourceId=29862. VHA holds 85 testimonies in four languages (English, Russian, Hebrew, and Ukrainian) from Jewish survivors of the deportations from Savrani and the subsequent ghettoization.

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NOTES

1. Census report, Savrani raion, February 28, 1944, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 675, p. 40 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/675, with page); for other census indexes, see pp. 12 and 19 in the same collection.

2. Census report, "Situaţia asupra numărului de populaţii specifică după naţiuni: ucrainieni, ţiganii," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/17/2358/1/711, pp. 2–3. The Jews were also counted, despite the title that refers only to Ukrainians and Roma.

3. See official correspondence announcing the release of Jews from the Vapniarca camp to three destinations in Transnistria: Olgopol, Savrani, and Tridubi; reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442–445 (Docs. 230-232).

4. See Prefect Nica's reports, "Proces Verbal," December 7, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/695, pp. 142–143, and the following report, December 4, 1941, on p. 145 (and verso).

5. "Tabel nominal de evrei din Jud. Balta intrând în prevederile

ord. Direcţiunii Muncii Nr.115647/943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/15, pp. 2–3.

6. "Tabel de remiterile facute evreilor din tara deportati in Transnistria si aflati la Savrani (Jud. Balta)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/2242/1/1567, p. 496.

7. "Tabel de membrii Biroului de Organiz. a Muncii Evreilor din Jud. Balta şi a Comitetelor evreieşti din Jud. Balta pe data de 1 Septembrie 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, p. 72.

8. See a list of Jewish doctors and their assignments in the Balta judeţ, "Referat," August 5, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/22, n.p.

9. For their names and place of origin, see "Tabel de evrei din Colonia Savrani care au fost repatriaţi în ţară pe data de 21/XII/1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/674, p. 47 (and verso), and "Tabel nominal de evreii din colonia Savrani care au fost repatriaţi în ţară pe data de 11.I.1944," in the same collection, p. 48 (and verso).

10. For the September 1943 count, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

11. Statistical figures provided by Savran praetor's office, USHMMA, RG-68.130M (OOYV), reel 2, M-39/27 (fond 2358, opis 1, delo 110), p. 90.

12. See correspondence between Slyusarevlo Forestry Office and Golta Prefecture regarding the incident, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 369, pp. 127 (and verso), 132, and delo 224, p. 68.

13. See "Contract," August 16, 1942, signed by Maior Grosu, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 20, pp. 5–7.

SCAZINEŢ

Scazineţ (pre-1941: Skazintsy), a village in the Moghilev raion, Moghilev judeţ (today: Ukraine), in the western part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is situated along the Derlo, a Dniester River tributary. It is 12 kilometers (7.4 miles) northeast of Moghilev. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 8,703 Jews in the raion of Moghilev, representing 39.7 percent of its population (census figures for Scazineţ are not available).

The German and Romanian armies occupied Scazineţ in July 1941. After a short period of occupation, the town came under Romanian administration, which romanianized the village's name from Skazintsy to Scazineţ (also Scazenţi, Scazinţi). In succession, Constantin Dimitriu, Ion C. Băleanu, Constantin Năsturaş, and Constantin Loghin, all army colonels, were Moghilev's prefects. Successive commandants of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion were Dănulescu, Romeo Orăşeanu, and Gheorghe Botoroagă, all army majors. The praetor in the Moghilev raion was Dr. Octavian Oancea.

On August 6, 1941, convoys of Romanian Jews deported from northern Bessarabia, roughly 21,000 people in total, were stationed in Scazineţ for a week, having just entered Transnistria through the Atachi-Moghilev crossing point. During that time, the very elderly and the sick among them were shot by Einsatzkommando units of Einsatzgruppe D and buried in an antitank ditch near the camp. Water was not provided to the rest of the Jews, and anyone who approached the nearby well was shot. After a week the Germans tried to force the Jews back across the Dniester River inside Bessarabia, via the southern Iampol-Cosăuţi crossing point. However, Romanian soldiers prevented them from crossing the river. For 10 days, they remained in limbo between Iampol and Scazineţ. The deportees were outdoors and in constant danger of being robbed, beaten, raped, and shot at by German and Romanian soldiers while preparing to cross the river or en route to a holding place. Neither authority provided food or water to those stranded,

and many Jews died during that period of great travail. After 10 days the remaining 13,000 (of the original 21,000 deportees) were placed in the Vertujeni transit camp on the Romanian side of the river.

From May 29 to June 2, 1942, 3,000 Jews from the Moghilev ghetto and an additional 1,000 Jews from smaller ghettos in the Moghilev judeţ, such as Vendychany, Yaruha, Ozaryntsi, and Krasnoe were marched to Scazineţ, where they were placed in a makeshift camp. Colonel Mihai Iliescu, chief of the Transnistria Inspectorate of the Gendarmerie, reiterated in May 1942 the deportation order to Scazineţ that had been issued by Transnistria's governor, Gheorghe Alexianu, in April 1942.[1] The Moghilev Jewish Committee was asked to prepare for the deportation of the designated ghetto inhabitants. After inspecting the Scazineţ barracks in advance of deportations, the leader of the Moghilev Jewish Committee proposed that the camp be turned into an agricultural settlement for Jews and be provided with land, cattle, and medical care. The recommendations were ignored.[2]

The camp was set up in the dilapidated military barracks of a former Red Army school, situated in a hilly area near the village. Surrounded by barbed wire, the camp was bisected by a road running through it. Six buildings on the road's west side were in slightly better shape than those on the other side, and most deportees were placed in them. Across the road were two heavily damaged buildings, lacking roofs, windows, and doors. The poorest and the sick were housed there. Lavatories were in an open field. Moving between the two parts of the camp was punishable by murder, and the few who attempted to cross the road were shot. Shortly after the camp's opening, Banderovci brigades (Ukrainian nationalist collaborators associated with Stepan Bandera) took over the guard duties from Romanian gendarmes.[3] A small Jewish police unit also operated within the camp.

Inside the camp, hundreds of deported Jews died of starvation, thirst, and disease (diarrhea, dysentery, scabies, and typhus). According to one account, Orăşeanu liked to address convoys entering the camp with these intimidating words: "I brought you here to die. You'll have nothing to eat but the grass on the ground, leaves on the trees, and lice on yourselves. When you finish that, you can start eating each other."[4] In-deed, the problem of feeding

prisoners was raised by Prefect Năsturaş to Governor Alexianu soon after deportations began. The latter replied that "they will work in fields, or wherever else is needed, and the kolkhozes will feed them."[5] His answer meant death for those too ill to work, those not taken to work (women, elderly, children), and those not requisitioned for labor for days or weeks. The only food the authorities allowed to be delivered a few times a week was a watery pea soup, which was transported in large barrels from Moghilev. The Moghilev Jewish Committee was entrusted with feeding the camp, but its resources were stretched too thinly to provide even a minimal amount for each prisoner. The Central Bureau of Romanian Jews in Bucharest (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) contributed very small sums toward the purchase of food for the camp.[6]

A market existed near the camp where Jews bartered personal items for food once a week, but Orăşeanu soon closed it down, probably for fears of contamination. Clandestine bartering continued at night, but all those involved risked their lives by doing so. Occasionally, local Ukrainians walking by the barbed-wire fence threw potato peels or fruit pits at the prisoners (a jam factory where local Ukrainians worked was not far from the camp). In the absence of any other means of procuring food, some prisoners ate grass and tree leaves. Trying to escape was extremely difficult and dangerous, yet a resourceful few managed to do so with help from local Ukrainians.[7] The prisoners observed Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur in September 1942. The observance occasioned the visit by a Jewish woman living in the better-off side of the camp. Her report reveals the conditions in which some of the Jews lived:

> I passed through a large building that was formerly used as a stockyard. A dead silence ruled this [part of the] camp, the atmosphere was heavy, the air filled with the stench of human urine and excrement. Deformed people, some of them naked, some covered in rags, some moving silently and looking like living scraps. I then entered a long and clean room in which the smell of death was also present. Stones of various sizes were placed on the room's floor and the believers who came to lift their prayers before God's face were sitting upon them.

> An improvised closet, made from four wooden planks, sat at the back of the room; a torn woman's skirt covered the Torah scroll …. Those praying were women, men, and older children, some of them bloated beyond recognition, almost moribund, while others were almost blue of color, their bodies covered in large skin-disease plaques. All were shaking from cold and sickness, nearly naked, with uncovered breasts, eyes popping out of sockets …. Suddenly the shape of a tall and skinny man appeared; he was the cantor. Walking toward the improvised tabernacle, he began to pray, crying and moaning from the bottom of his heart. The public also cried with him. The odor of death and decomposing bodies filled the air. Here and there a few cried out "*Shema Israel*" ("Hear, O Israel") and "*L'shanah haba'ah b' Yerushalayim*" ("Next year in Jerusalem").[8]

By July–August 1942, the number of camp inmates had decreased to 2,900 people.[9] The dead were buried unceremoniously near the camp in common graves. Those who were able to work did road maintenance, agriculture, and lime preparation. Scazineţ did not have a Jewish committee, but the Moghilev Jewish Committee coordinated certain aspects of camp life. The members of the Jewish labor office serving on the committee were Sigfried Jägendorf (president), along with Mihail Danilof, Dr. Ionas Kassler, Moses Katz, and Josef Laufer.[10]

In September 1942, Alexianu decided to dissolve the camp. The majority of the surviving Jews were marched on foot toward the Bug, while a small group of skilled workers returned to Moghilev. Only a few—the very sick or dying—remained in Scazineţ for a few more days until they died. The 1,500 who left the camp were placed in three villages near the Bug: Voroshylivca, Tivriv, and Krasnoe. From there, the surviving Jews from the Old Kingdom were repatriated to Romania in December 1943; the others were liberated by the Red Army in March 1944.

The Bucharest's Peoples' Tribunal tried and sentenced Orăşeanu and Danilof each to 15 years' hard labor in prison for war crimes against the Jews.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews

deported to Scazineţ can be gleaned from the following publications: "Skazintsy," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 20; "Skazintsy," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 904; "Scazineţ," in Jean Ancel et al., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 485–486; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), pp. 23, 48; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 2 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, published in association with USHMM, 2000). A memorial book mentioning the camp is *Bălţi Basarabia: A Memorial of the Jewish Community* (Balti: Jewish Union, 1993).

Primary sources documenting the Scazineţ camp are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), MAE (RG-25.006M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). VHA holds 68

testimonies in seven languages on the Scazineţ camp. A published testimony mentioning the Scazineţ camp is Siegfried Jägendorf, *The Jagendorf Foundry: A Memoir of the Romanian Holocaust, 1941–1944* (New York: Harper-Collins Publisher, 1991).

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NOTES

1. See Iliescu's letter informing the government of Transnistria that measures were taken to deport 4,000 Jews from Moghilev to the Scazineţ barracks, and see Governor Alexianu's instructions following his visit to Moghilev in April 1942 (summarized by Prefect Năsturaş), USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1488, pp. 57, 60–61 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1488).

2. See Jägendorf's report to the commandant of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion, March 26, 1942, reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 347–349.

3. VHA #45947, Iosif Adler testimony, September 1, 1998.

4. VHA #45650, Gisela Tamler testimony, September 10, 1998.

5. Năsturaş's confidential letter to Alexianu, June 4, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1488, p. 92 (and verso).

6. Jägendorf's memorandum addressed to the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews, September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289.

7. VHA #45947, Iosif Adler testimony, September 1, 1998; VHA #50186, Rebeka Bajora testimony, August 17, 1999; VHA #39389, Felix Garfunkel testimony, February 17, 1989; VHA #17412, Arieh Erez testimony, July 12, 1996; see also the memoir by the former head of Moghilev ghetto, M. Katz, reprinted in part in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 357–358.

8. *Bălţi Basarabia*, pp. 609–610 (in Hebrew); for a Romanian translation, see Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României*, vol.

2, part 2, 77.

9. “Situaţia numerică pe commune din jud. Moghilau a evreilor evacuaţi aflaţi în comunele mai jos notate,” USHMMA, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281.

10. Government appointment letter, “Decizia Nr. 385,” January 25, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1/26, p. 62.

SECURENI

Secureni, a town in the Hotin judeţ, in Bukovina province, in the northeastern part of Romania (today: Sokyryany, Ukraine), is located 7 kilometers (5 miles) from the Dniester River. It is 111 kilometers (69 miles) east-northeast of Cernăuţi. In 1930 there were 4,200 Jews in Secureni, representing 73 percent of the town's total population. By June 1941, the number of Jews had decreased, after some of the wealthiest and Zionist Jews were deported by the Soviet authorities to Siberia. The commandant of the Hotin Gendarmes Legion was Maior Traian Drăgulescu. The prefect of the Hotin judeţ was Joe Gherman, who was succeeded by Colonel Virgil Popovici.

The Romanian Army occupied Secureni on July 10, 1941. The first army units that entered the town denigrated the Jews and incited the local population to mistreat them. The locals abused the Jews for a few days, ransacking their homes, injuring some, and killing 87 who were thought to be pro-Soviet. Torah scrolls were desacralized and torn into pieces by vandals. Jewish leaders and rabbis buried the broken scrolls in the Jewish cemetery, as was the custom. Shortly after the occupation, the entire Jewish population was ordered to assemble in a place near the Jewish cemetery. Thinking they would be shot, the Jews discovered that the locals instead demanded their belongings. The Jews were not shot at that time, but were told to support Romania's war efforts against the Red Army. All returned to their homes, some of which had been looted.[1] A week after, in late July or early August 1941, the Jews were ordered to gather again, this time with the expressed purpose of deportation. The convoy was marched to Briceni, a town 26 kilometers (16 miles) southwest of Secureni.

From Briceni the convoy returned to Secureni, and its members were crowded into Jewish homes along a few designated streets. Twenty or more people occupied a single room. The Romanian authorities did not provide food or water, leaving every one to survive through barter. As soon as the convoy left Secureni for

Transnistria, via the Atachi-Moghilev-Podolsk crossing point, other convoys from Bukovina (from Briceni and Herţa) were directed to Secureni.[2]

In early August 1941, the Germans refused to accept more Jews in Transnistria (which they controlled at that time) and returned some across the Dniester into Bessarabia and Bukovina. The German decision set off a domino effect, resulting in massive crowds of Jews remaining stranded for days near the crossing points along the western shore of the Dniester River, where food, shelter, and water could be found only with great difficulty. On August 8, 1941, some 27,849 Jews were held in an open field between Secureni and Atachi. They came from villages and small towns in the Cernăuţi judeţ, Storojineţ judeţ, Rădăuţi judeţ, and Briceni judeţ. On August 11, 1941, a camp was set up in Secureni, in the town's former Jewish district, to which 20,852 Jews were sent. By August 15, a second camp opened at Edineţi, also in the Hotin judeţ, to alleviate the overcrowding in the Secureni camp.[3]

The Secureni camp became a hellish site in a matter of weeks. The Jews lived in misery and agony, needing written authorization to leave the camp in search of food and medicine. Having bartered their clothes for food along the way, a good number ended up poorly dressed (some almost naked), starving, thirsty, and dirty. The camp was not surrounded by barbed wire, but was guarded by gendarmes from the 60th Police Company. The commandant of the 60th Police Company and of the Secureni camp was Locotenent Augustin Roşca.[4] Because the military and civil administrative authorities in the Hotin judeţ had a great deal of difficulty coping with the large number of deportees, the prisoners suffered accordingly. In addition, Einsatzcommando 10B made repeated requests for Jews from the camp, on the pretext of needing them for labor.[5]

The camp exhibited some level of self-organization. It had a leadership committee and an internal Jewish police force, and the population was organized into groups led by representatives. Jewish doctors set up a primitive infirmary, but lacking medicine, its utility was dramatically reduced. A large, bare room became the "home for the elderly." A delousing oven and a public bath were soon installed as well. On a few occasions, 650 prisoners were taken to repair roads, clean streets, and harvest the fields. On one

occasion the Hotin prefecture allocated the camp some 1,400 kilograms (3,100 pounds) of sugar, 450 liters (475 quarts) of oil, 80 kilograms (180 pounds) of salt, and 200 loaves of bread; some county funds were allocated for the camp as well.[6]

After inspecting the camp in early September 1941, Colonel I. Mânecuţă, the Bukovina gendarmes inspector, reported on the dire situation inside the camp. Mânecuţă advised that there were 10,201 Jews (8,302, according to a different count), including many women, children, and elderly, in the camp. Although some had a few possessions, most were penniless, lacked cooking implements and medicine, were almost naked, and (probably because of the combined effect of these deprivations) were unable to work in exchange for food.[7] The camp also held 1,698 Jews from Lipcani (Hotin judeţ) who had been deported by the Soviet authorities to Iampol (south of Moghilev-Podolsk) prior to the outbreak of hostilities against the Soviet Union. The German Army pushed them back across the Dniester River into Bessarabia. They were interned on August 24, 1941. Colonel Mânecuţă described their state as "deplorable," being "without food for four days, broken, and full of lice."[8]

On August 19, 1941, the president of the Federation of Jewish Communities from Romania, Dr. W. Filderman, wrote to the Romanian Internal Affairs Ministry, asking that the Jewish authorities be allowed to send help: "At Secureni (Bessarabia) there have been gathered 25,000–30,000 Jews evacuated from localities including Storojineţ, Seletin, Putila, Plosca, Văşcăuţi, Vijniţa, Lujeni, Lipcani, etc. They lack shelter, food, clothes, and medical attention. Nobody is allowed to send them aid. The filth that reigns among them destines them all to death, but it can also become a dangerous threat to the public."[9] Indeed, some Jews perished in the camp due to disease, their bodies buried unceremoniously in unmarked graves. In September 1941, the Jews observed the High Holidays in the camp.[10]

Deportations from the Secureni camp started in the middle of October 1941, and the camp was closed in November 1941. The operation lasted about two weeks, during which time groups of 1,500 Jews left the camp almost every other day. The deportees marched to Atachi. On the way there, those who could not walk anymore because of age or illness were shot, their bodies buried in

holes dug in advance or simply abandoned on the side of the road. Further robbing and despoiling at the hands of the escorting gendarmes took place on the way to Atachi. Those who crossed over into Transnistria at Moghilev-Podolsk continued marching deeper into Transnistria amid freezing temperatures. Illness and crippling hunger prevailed.

A Romanian military court began investigating Praetor Margoş in the summer of 1942, after repeated denunciations accused him of robbing the Jews at the Secureni camp of their valuables in exchange for unfulfilled promises of privileges. At his orders, the Jews who complained about being robbed were shot.[11] In 1945, the People's Court in Bucharest tried and convicted former military leaders responsible for deporting Bukovina's Jews, including Roşca, the commandant of the Secureni camp.[12]

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Jews imprisoned in the Secureni camp can be found in the following publications: "Secureni," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 1155; "Sekuriani," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 896–897; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3a: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască: 1933–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel,

preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Moses Rosen, ed., *Martiriul evreilor din România, 1940–1941: Documente şi mărturii* (Bucharest: Hasefer, 1991); and Michael Stivelman and Raquel Stivelman, *A Marca dos Genocídios* (Rio de Janeiro: Imago, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in Secureni camp are available at USHMMA, in collections DACkO (RG-31.006M), SRI (RG-25.004M), and AJDC (RG-68.066M). Trial records pertaining to the Secureni camp can be found at USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 15, file 9614, vol. 1; and reel 123, file 21227, vol. 2. VHA holds 136 testimonies, in eight languages, from Jewish survivors who were held in the Secureni camp or passed through the town on the way to other camps.

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NOTES

1. VHA #49113, Ben Tsion Flom testimony, August 14, 1998.
2. VHA #29959, Esther Grauer testimony, June 8, 1997; VHA #47770, Liviu Beris testimony, November 29, 1998.
3. Reports "Nr. 528," "Nr. 862," "Nr. 619," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 36, 40, 46, respectively.
4. Report on the situation of camps and ghettos in Bessarabia and Bukovina prepared for General de divizie Ioan Topor, the Great Praetor of Romania, September 4, 1941, "Situaţia de numărul lagărelor de evrei aflate în Bessarabia şi Bucovina," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 74.
5. See correspondence reproduced in ibid., 5: 44.
6. Mânecuţă's report to the Office of the Great Praetor, based on earlier reports from the Hotin Gendarmes Legion, August 28, 1941, reproduced in ibid., 5: 71–72. Also, see schedule of fund allocations and other assistance from the prefect's office, USHMMA, RG-25.004 (SRI), reel 15, file 9614, vol. 1, pp. 182–197.
7. Report "No. 7438," September 11, 1941, reproduced in Ancel,

Documents, 5: 82–83.

8. Mânecuţă's report to the Office of the Great Praetor, reproduced in ibid., 5: 71–72.

9. Filderman letter, August 19, 1941, reprinted in Moses Rosen, *Martiriul evreilor din România*, p. 154.

10. VHA #29959, Esther Grauer testimony, June 8, 1997.

11. See investigation reports, USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 15, fond 30, opis 4, delo 230, pp. 1–12 (and verso).

12. See court depositions and declarations, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 15, file 9614, vol. 1, pp. 1–8; for Gherman's file, see pp. 139–167 in the same file and volume.

SEREBRIA

Serebria, a village in the Iarişev raion in the Moghilev judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Serebriya, Ukraine), is situated along the Serebriya River, a tributary of the Dniester. It is located 5 kilometers (3 miles) west of Moghilev-Podolsk.

The German and Romanian armies overran the village and its surroundings at the beginning of July 1941. After a short German military occupation, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Serebriya to Serebria. The praetor in the Iarişev raion was Gheorghe Oşeanu.

In the summer of 1942, a second wave of Jews was deported to Transnistria from a number of cities, especially Cernăuţi and Dorohoi, in the Bukovina province. Many of these Jews found out shortly before being deported that their previously obtained permits to remain in Romania had been revoked by a reevaluation commission operating with the support of the province's governor, General de Divizie Corneliu Calotescu. In addition to those whose permits to stay were revoked, there were others whom the Romanian authorities had deemed "dangerous" and "undesirable." Some 4,290 Jews were deported in June 1942 in transports on June 8, 11, 15, and 29.[1]

The transports of Jews from Bukovina converged in Cernăuţi. From there convoys of deportees were loaded onto trains. Crowded into freight cars, the Jews traveled from Cernăuţi to Atachi on the Dniester River. Robbed of possessions along the way, these Jews finally crossed the Dniester River and arrived at Moghilev-Podolsk; from there they walked in columns to Serebria, where a se lection camp had been set up for them.[2]

The Serebria camp was controlled by the Transnistria Inspectorate of Gendarmes, created especially to conduct a selection of the Jews arriving from Bukovina. The Moghilev

Gendarmes Legion closely guarded the camp. What ever its administrative purposes, the camp was clearly a facility for robbing the Jews. Central to the activity of the camp's civilian and military personnel was to "search" the Jews before deciding where to send them and how. The Jews were marched to the train station in Serebria, from where they and other deportees from the Moghilev ghetto were transported deeper inside Transnistria.[3] The camp was in operation from June 9 to July 1, 1942.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews held in the Serebria camp can be found in the following publications: Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2:8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews taken to the Serebria camp can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). VHA holds three survivor testimonies in two languages (Russian and Hebrew) from Jews held in Serebria or passing through the camp.

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NOTES

1. See the secret correspondence reporting on the deportation program from the Bukovina governor's office to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in Bucharest, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 196–215.

2. USHMMA, RG-50.572*0029, Maria Bulgara testimony, February 29, 2008.

3. For more information on Serebria camp, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 8, fond 2255, opis 1s, delo 254, p. 3 (and verso).

ŞIRIA/102 BRIGADE FOR JEWS

Established by the Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM) in August 1941, the 102 Brigade for Jews (*Detaşamentul de Evrei* 102, DE 102) consisted of approximately 1,000 Jewish men aged 18 to 50. They were drafted for forced labor by army recruitment centers in southwestern Romania (Timiş, Severin, Arad, Caraş, Hunedoara, and Mehedinţi) that were part of the VII Army Corps. A series of high-ranking officers commanded DE 102, the most notorious being Locotenent-colonel Nicolae Vitcu (June 1943 to April 1944). The DE was headquartered in Şiria in the Arad judeţ, 405 kilometers (251 miles) northwest of Bucharest, and was part of the 7th Pioneer Regiment, 3rd Pioneer Brigade.

As an exterior forced labor unit, DE 102 was divided into two companies (*companii*), with approximately 450 to 500 Jews per company, guarded by 60 soldiers (30 per company). Each company consisted of four platoons, and each platoon was subdivided into four sections of approximately 30 to 35 laborers.[1] Locotenent (reserve) Dumitru Popescu commanded the 1st Company; Locotenent (reserve) Mihai Botilă commanded the 2nd Company. One company's main office was at Pâncota and the other at Ghioroc (both in the Arad judeţ), but their platoons periodically moved to new locations as dictated by labor needs.[2] DE 102 was tasked with digging a system of water canals, 8 to 9 meters (26 to 29 feet) deep and extending more than 30 kilometers (over 18 miles) in length. The canals were created to connect the Mureş and Crişul Alb Rivers and to help prevent flooding.

The Jews' overall experience in the DE's camps and sub-camps was more tolerable in 1942, but became dreadful under Vitcu's command. Accommodations for the entire DE were at times extremely inadequate. MSM's policy was to avoid housing the Jews in non-Jewish villages. Instead, authorities were encouraged to place Jews in empty barns, ware houses, barracks, or abandoned houses, regardless of their condition, on village outskirts near work sites. Sleeping in rough, crowded, and dirty conditions was

typical. In winter, heating was nonexistent for the most part.

A daily digging quota was set at 2 to 3 cubic meters (71 to 106 cubic feet), depending on the season. The authorities obsessed about extracting this work quota at any cost. For a few weeks in May and June 1943, a new practice, well received by the forced laborers, was introduced that granted weekend leave to those workers who fulfilled their quota. The authorities were also pleased because the Jews worked eagerly to meet the forecasted work program, while the measure saved them money on salaries and board. Vitcu's arrival as commandant changed the working conditions as he introduced a regime of terror (the higher authorities worried that his harshness would adversely affect productivity).[3] Digging was done using pickaxes and shovels.

Dressed in their own clothes and wearing an armband (*brasardă*) as a distinctive sign, the Jews marched under escort to and from the canals with their tools. They typically worked 9 to 10 hours per day (fewer in the winter months), six or seven days a week. Food was generally poor, consisting of a bowl of bean soup and bread. (Monthly field reports recognized this deficiency, but generally blamed inadequate rations on the high cost of food, which was set at 60 lei per day.)[4] Drinking water was not readily available. Many who did not have the means or occasion to purchase additional food worked in a prolonged state of hunger. After 180 days of labor, the Jews who still had an unfulfilled labor requirement could be granted a maximum two-week break, depending on the discretion of the commandant.[5] Payment was a meager soldier's pay, 2 lei per day, in addition to meals and board.[6]

A Jewish shop existed at the main company base. Food and tobacco could be purchased from the shop by those with means. A small number of skilled Jews were retained as typists or clerks in the DE administration. Jewish doctors were requisitioned from the VII Army Corps area and assigned for 90-day cycles to staff the DE's infirmaries. Regional Jewish offices strived to supply medicine for the infirmaries.[7]

The physically demanding work soon took its toll. Illnesses spread, from blisters, sores, colds, and flu to widespread furunculosis, rheumatism, and ulcers.[8] Existing illnesses (such as

diabetes) were exacerbated by the harsh labor. Those needing urgent care were treated at the Jewish hospital in Arad, but the Romanian state refused to absorb the cost of the Jews' rehabilitation. A bath and delousing train periodically arrived at Şiria, providing probably the only times when Jews (and troops) could wash completely. Clothes gradually wore out. On hot summer days, laborers undressed and worked in undergarments, in part probably to preserve their clothes for the cold season.

When he took over the brigade, Commandant Vitcu made life considerably harder for the Jews in DE 102. He not only instituted severe beatings (25 or more lashes on the back) for the smallest violations of his imaginary code of behavior (not to mention tardiness or work negligence) but he also kept the workers in camps during the winter rather than sending them home. He only reluctantly agreed to the scheduled leave of 15 days for those who qualified for it. In addition, he insisted on having Jews return from the infirmaries as soon as possible or replacing those who were incapacitated with new conscripts. To his credit, he allowed Jews to observe the High Holidays in the fall of 1943 after they completed their work. Intellectuals (doctors, lawyers, even rabbis) were not exempt from manual labor, although the law protected them from hard physical labor. He increased the work schedule to 14 to 16 hours a day, regardless of the weather. At the same time, food rations were decreased, resulting in substantial savings to the DE's operational bud get. A military jail existed at Şiria where Jews working in the camp administration (the so-called *titraţi*) and troops sometimes spent days for various offenses.[9] Vitcu's periodic inspections in the field were brutal. On February 11, 1944, before the 7 A.M. roll call, Vitcu made a surprise inspection of Jews in the Pauliş commune. He found some 40 Jews still getting dressed. According to his postwar indictment, he ordered them to be lined up naked in the street, made them lie flat in the snow, and administered 25 lashes to each, to the utter dismay of the local population. Some soldiers applied gentler lashes, which attracted the commandant's wrath; they too were given 25 lashes in front of every one gathered there.[10]

After Vitcu's departure, in July 1944, DE 102 was moved near the Eastern Front, in Bătineşti, Putna judeţ (today: Vrancea judeţ), to build fortifications.[11] The Jews were removed from the DE at

the end of August 1944, after the coup d'état against Marshal Antonescu on August 23, 1944; their place was taken by Hungarian minorities. In May 1946, the Cluj People's Court tried and convicted Vitcu to 15 years of hard labor for the inhumane treatment of Jews while commandant of DE 102.[12]

SOURCES A number of published sources attest to the mistreatment of Jews in DE 102. Describing the experience of one Jewish survivor is Vali Corduneanu, "Fotoreporterul Emeric Robicsek—victimă şi martor al istoriei," www.banaterra.eu/romana/print/194. A book written by the Banat region pro-communist faction, Patriotic Defense (*Apărarea Patriotică*) also describes DE 102: Comitetul regional din Banat al Apararii Patriotice, ed., *Apărarea Patriotică contra teroarei fasciste* (Timişoara, 1945), esp. pp. 88–89 (on p. 89 there is a picture of the canal and its Jewish diggers). For a collection of documents regarding legislation surrounding forced labor for Jews, as well as documents about individual labor groups, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews enlisted in DE 102 are available at USHMMA, in collection RG-25.003M (AMAN), reels 98, 99, 105, 106, 107, and 345; other documents are available at RG-25.011M (AMAN), fiche *17*01 and *17*02. Graphic representation of the national system of forced labor for Jews is available as RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86. VHA contains a few testimonies from Jewish survivors of the DE 102 sites (Pâncota, Păuliş, Ghioroc).

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NOTES

1. For the names of Jews working in DE 102 on August 15, 1943, see USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 98, file 4155, pp. 131–173.

2. Graphic representations of the Jewish forced labor groups

within the VII Army Corps, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 345, file 36, pp. 3–7. For their general organization, see reports sent by the Jewish Office of the VII Army Corps, RG-25.003M, reel 105, file 4193, pp. 118–120, 141–142.

3. Report by Commandant of 3rd Pioneer Brigade, General Virgil Stănescu, to the National Defense Ministry, Corps Command, July 6, 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 105, file 4193, p. 246 (but see pp. 232, 245, 247 on how authorities commented on the new measure).

4. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 107, file 4196, pp. 84, 86.

5. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 99, file 4177, pp. 401–414.

6. Payment lists covering the period October to December 1943, for example, USHMMA, RG-25.011M*17*01, pp. 3–21 (and verso).

7. For a list of the Jewish doctors, see USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 98, file 4155, p. 101; for those working in the administration, see p. 109 in the same collection.

8. Charts reviewing medical situation of Jewish forced laborers, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 106, file 4194, p. 398; and reel 107, file 4196, p. 124.

9. Centralized reports on the disciplinary situation in the camps, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 107, file 4196, pp. 50, 62, 107, 143, 155.

10. Closing statement, Cluj Tribunal, September 5, 1949, USHMMA, RG-24.004M (SRI), reel 77, file 40028, vol. 24, pp. 105–109 and verso (esp. p. 107 verso); see also corroborating survivor testimony in the same collection, reel 86, file 40028, vol. 2, pp. 23, 32, 34, 40.

11. National Defense Ministry, Direction Fortifications, Communication No. 166.346, July 18, 1944, USHMMA, RG-25.011M*17*02, p. 197 (but see earlier communications, pp. 184–196).

12. Vitcu's appeal, USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 77, file 40028, vol. 24, pp. 1–2.

SLIVINA

Slivina is a village in the Varvarovca raion, Oceacov judeţ (today: Slyvyne, Ukraine), in the southeastern corner of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. Located on the west bank of the Bug River, Slivina is 49 kilometers (31 miles) northwest of Oceacov. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 275 Jews in the entire Varvarovca raion (census figures for Slivina are not available).

The German and Romanian armies occupied Slivina in the second half of August 1941. Operations aimed at eliminating "undesirable" groups of people from behind the front line occurred immediately after the occupation, but it is unknown whether any Jews fell victim to such treatment in Slivina. Authority over Slivina was transferred to the Romanian civil administration starting in September 1941. The prefect in the Oceacov judeţ was Locotenent-colonel Vasile Gorsky, who was succeeded by Colonel I. D. Constantinescu. The commandant of the Oceacov Gendarmes Legion was Căpitan Ion Florian. The deputy legion commandant was Locotenent Ion Domăşneanu, and the chief of the Police and Security Bureau was Sublocotenent Adrian Suciu. The praetor in the Varvarovca raion was Dan Grigore Anton.

In the fall of 1941, the Romanian administration established a penal camp in Slivina. It was the third prison center in the second internment region of Transnistria (*Regiunea II Internare, Centrul Nr. 3 Lagărul Slivina*), after the Vapniarca and Tiraspol detention camps. Consisting of a repurposed, dilapidated collective farm (*kolkhoz*), the camp had two large stables and a few smaller structures; it was encircled by three rows of barbed wire. Romanian gendarmes guarded the camp, occupying two houses outside the camp. Non-Jewish prisoners condemned for common law offenses were held in one stable, and the Jews were interned in the second stable. Occasionally, conflicts erupted between the two groups, which was incited (or at least permitted) by camp authorities. The first commandant was Locotenent Lucian

Popescu, who was followed by Locotenent Gheorghe Giugiuc, a lawyer, in the summer of 1942. Giugiuc instituted a very harsh regime in the camp, punishing any insubordination with 20 to 50 lashes; he even punished the gendarmes guarding the camp for making any kind gesture.

There were four categories of Jewish prisoners interned in the Slivina penal camp: Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina who fled along with the retreating Red Army in June 1941, Jews from Transnistria, Jews from Romania who committed "crimes" and were punished with deportation, and Jews who had been extradited by the police in Bucharest to the gendarmes headquarters in Odessa.[1] Groups of 40 or more of such "offenders" were periodically gathered from Romania and Transnistria and transported to Slivina (often by train in freight cars) throughout the spring and summer of 1942. A prisoner's family was sometimes deported with him or her to make the punishment more severe. The camp population was thus mixed, containing men, women, and children of various ages. The camp facilities were primitive at best or nearly un-inhabitable at worst.

On arrival, the detainees were stripped naked, had their possessions meticulously checked, and were then examined by a medical team. Such medical teams included Jewish military doctors who were either mobilized as army officers or were performing forced labor duties. Food in the camp was very poor. A small loaf of bread of 200 to 300 grams (7 to 10.6 ounces) mixed with straw, supplemented by a potato or a small fish, was the daily ration. Those few who brought in or received foodstuffs from home were able to supplement their daily in-take for a while, but most detainees relied entirely on what the camp provided. After months of incarceration, detainees were near starvation, and some 96 died of hunger.[2] Over the course of a few days, July 19–27, 1942, a total of 1,260 Jews in the Slivina camp were deloused.[3]

The Jews in the camp came from all social strata and professions. Some were doctors; others were builders and painters. Some had their tools with them and were ready to work in the field in which they were trained or in a similar field; others had none and needed to be provided with tools.[4]

It is unclear what activities prisoners undertook inside or outside

the camp during their internment. A formal Jewish committee does not appear to have existed. In December 1942, a group of 650 Jews (other reports give a figure of only 187) were marched under escort to Domanovca (Golta judeţ) in frigid temperatures.[5] Some died along the way, unable to keep up and stay warm. In the late spring of 1943, the German authorities established a labor camp for Jews on the grounds of the Slivina penal camp, so it is possible that the remaining non-Jewish detainees were also moved to other detention centers in Transnistria, such as the one in Tiraspol, for example.

After the war, in 1945, the Bucharest Peoples' Tribunal tried Popescu and Giugiuc for the inhumane treatment of prisoners in the Slivina camp while they were in command.[6] Giugiuc committed suicide in a police prison while awaiting trial.

SOURCES Additional information about the Slivina camp can be found in the following publications: "Slivino," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 909; "Slivino," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 289; "Slivina," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 483–484. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 55; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*,

vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). A song commemorating the experience of the Jews in the Slivina camp was produced by a Jewish survivor (available in "Slivina," *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, cited earlier). For more, see a collection of similar songs from other camps and ghettos in Transnistria in David Rubin, *Cântecul Popular Evreesc* (Bucharest: Editura Bucurim, 1946).

Primary sources regarding the fate of Jews in the Slivina penal camp are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008), and SRI (RG-25.004M). VHA holds 24 video testimonies in six languages from Holocaust survivors who passed through or remained in the Slivina camp.

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NOTES

1. Report Nr. 238 of Odessa Gendarmes Inspectorate to AMI, Office of State-Undersecretary, August 19, 1943, reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 433.

2. VHA #49829, testimony of Froica Wainstein, April 26, 1999.

3. See the name list of inoculated and deloused from the Slivina camp, "Tabel al tuturor lucrătorilor evrei care au fost inoculaţi antiholeric şi antitifos. Toţi aceştia au fost tunşi şi deparazitaţi prin etuvare, fierbere, şi petrolizare," USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 1591, opis 4, delo 202, pp. 1–6.

4. For name lists of Slivina camp inmates and their professions, see "Tabel nominal de indivizi evrei deţinuti în lagărul Slivina repartizaţi pe profesiuni, preum şi materialele şi uneltele necesare lor," USHMMA, RG-31.008M, microfiche, fond

1028, opis 1, delo 86, p. 69; see also "Tabel Nominal Model Nr. 1 de utilizarea evreilor din Transnistria lagărul Slivina," USHMMA, RG-31.008, microfiche, fond 1028, opis 1, delo 98, pp. 57–59.

5. Report of security service agent, December 5, 1942, reprinted in Achim, ed., *Documente privind deportarea ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2: 24–29 (esp. p. 26). See also December 1942 remittances sent from Romania to Jews in the Slivina camp and redirected to Golta where the Jews were transferred. USHMMA, RG-031.004M (DAOO), reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1509, pp. 187–191.

6. See indictment letter "Jurnal Nr. 426," March 19, 1945, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 41, file 108233, vol. 31, p. 287.

SLOBOZIA/LPRS NO. 1

Slobozia is in the Ialomiţa judeţ, 101 kilometers (63 miles) east of Bucharest, in southeastern Romania. After the attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Romanian Army created Slobozia POW Camp No. 1 (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Războiu Sovietici Nr. 1 Slobozia*), LPRS No. 1, on September 1, 1941. The camp was under the administration of the II Territorial Command, Army Staff, Bureau 2 (*Comandamentul II Teritorial, Stat Major, Biroul 2*). Located in an open field two kilometers away from the town of Slobozia, it consisted primarily of two large buildings—a former cavalry school barrack (*Cazarma Negru Vodă*) and a former mansion called "Fuerea House" (*Casa Fuerea*). There were also abandoned houses and barns. The compound was encircled by barbed wire and guarded by gendarmes (*santinele*). Between 3,500 and 4,000 POWs were imprisoned in this camp and in its subcamps in the Ilfov and Constanţa judeţe. There was also a special disciplinary camp (*lagăr disciplinar*) in Slobozia for recalcitrant prisoners.

The first camp commander was Locotenent-colonel Aristide Ursu (September 1941 to January 1942), seconded by Căpitan Mihai Rădulescu. Following Ursu's dismissal, Maior Chiricuţă took over in February 1942, but due to illness was replaced by Maior Aurel Mucenica in March 1942. Maior Gheorghe Chiribaşa commanded the camp from 1943 to 1944. The supply officers were Căpitan Victor Tomulescu, I. Mustăciosu, and Locotenent Nicolae Cernăianu; Sublocotenent Vasile Niţescu was the quartermaster, and Colonel Sandu Manolescu was camp inspector.

The living conditions in the Slobozia camp in the autumn and winter of 1941–1942 were harsh, particularly after the dismantling of other labor subcamps when ill prisoners returned to the main camp. The rooms were completely unfurnished, and most doors and windows were broken. Prisoners slept on the floor on a thin layer of straw. Thirty-five to 40 POWs were crammed into a room,

and 500 to 600 lived in each of the two large buildings. Shoeless prisoners strapped straw and wood onto their feet to walk. The camp did not have a dining hall or laundry. Due to a lack of organization, food supplies quickly ran out, so porridge made out of frozen potatoes, with an occasional bean or potato soup or uncooked corn grits, became the daily food. Lavatories were uncovered ditches in the ground. In contrast to the guard's equipped infirmary, the POWs' infirmary was an abandoned house, with only one bed and two rooms that were completely unfurnished.

During the typhus epidemic that erupted from late December 1941 to April 1942, the infirmary housed 80 sick prisoners. About 300 POWs, 10 to 12 guards, and 2 Romanian officers died in the epidemic.[1] As a result, a team of 16 to 20 conscripted Jewish doctors was brought to the camp on January 22, 1942, after the previous 6 Jewish doctors had completed their duty or had succumbed to typhus (Drs. Mochi Făgădău and Ferdinand Gothly were two of those six doctors). Having insufficient medicine and only scarce and primitive delousing equipment, the new doctors contracted typhus as well, and a few died. Heavy snowfall delayed the arrival of bathing trains, so the prisoners remained lice infested for weeks on end. Colonel Dr. Zambra, who tormented the camp's Jewish doctors, worsened the situation by introducing a "moral cure"—forcing ill POWs to line up in the morning in the bitter cold and to recite the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments 10 times.[2]

During the winters of 1941–1942 and 1942–1943, 415 Soviet POWs (393 soldiers, 22 officers) died from cold, hunger, and illness (including malaria, dysentery, enteritis, and typhus). The deceased prisoners were buried in the Slobozia Veche township cemetery, as well as in other cemeteries in the immediate vicinity of the work sites.[3]

Except for the prisoners deemed too weak to work and a few others who formed the Slobozia contingent—about 800 Soviet POWs in all—the rest of the prisoners were deployed to work in four places. A detachment of 1,500, commanded by Căpitan Dionisie Herlea, was placed in Giurgeni. Prisoners repaired train lines and took part in the building of a bridge over the Danube River at Hârşova. A second detachment of about 600, under

Locotenent-colonel Ştefan Vasiliu, was deployed along the 120-kilometer-long (nearly 75-mile-long) Giurgeni-Urziceni highway. Small road-building detachments were at Piua Pietrii, Ţăndăreni, and Urziceni, where they were housed in abandoned barns, barracks, schools, private homes, or lived outdoors. A third group of prisoners, formed exclusively of Soviet officers, was created at Fierbinţi (Ialomiţa judeţ). The Fierbinţi subcamp had 300 officers and 4 Serbian pi lots and was located in the technical school, but due to overcrowding, it was moved in November 1941 to Barbu Catargiu castle in Maia (Ilfov judeţ). Căpitan Ilie Constantinescu commanded this camp. The POWs worked on a farm in Maia.[4] A fourth group of about 1,000 POWs was allocated to landowners and small entrepreneurs (like Duru Tache, Georgescu Zamfir, N. Săceleanu) throughout the Ialomiţa, Ilfov, and Constanţa judeţe.

Slobozia gendarme units guarded the POWs, while employers were responsible for providing suitable living conditions, medicine, and meals. Money paid for prisoner labor went to the II Territorial Command for covering the camp's administrative and maintenance costs. Small amounts of 100 to 250 lei should have been paid directly to the working POWs at the end of each month, in addition to daily allocations of soap and tobacco, but often this was not the case. Living or working conditions in the subcamps did not improve for many months. This injustice, in addition to constant hunger and illness, reduced the POWs' effectiveness and motivation to work.[5]

The end of 1942, however, saw a slow but constant improvement in the general treatment of Soviet POWs at Slobozia, a trend that continued well into 1943. The new camp commanders —Mucenica and Chiribaşa—significantly improved the prisoners' accommodations, food, medicine, and hygiene. Although discipline was strictly enforced in the camp, some employers gave their laborers freedom to move about in the villages where they lived and worked.[6]

Prisoners refusing to work or those caught trying to escape were placed in the Slobozia disciplinary camp. Mostly Soviet but also U.S. and British POWs of various ranks were imprisoned in this camp. The regime in the disciplinary camp was strict: there were half-rations, daily recreation was limited to two hours, and only Russian-language newspapers or magazines, especially for

reeducation, were allowed.[7]

Physical abuses against Soviet POWs were common until 1943, when the authorities abolished the practice. Military personnel and employers were ordered to refrain from hitting or beating the prisoners without formally recording the incident. The new orders, which applied also to the treatment of Romanian soldiers, provided for a verbal warning for first offenders, five blows for a second offense, and imprisonment in the disciplinary camp for a third offense.[8]

On August 29 to 30, 1944, the Romanian 10th Infantry Division and Soviet troops fought against retreating German units around Slobozia. Some 340 Germans were taken captive. The Slobozia camp prisoners eagerly participated in the fight, partly to improve their standing before the Soviet authorities. A few Soviet POWs were armed and fought alongside regular armies, but most were handed over to the Soviet authorities on September 2, 1944.

Ursu and Rădulescu were court-martialed on September 19, 1943, for the typhus outbreak in the Slobozia camp. The court acquitted Ursu, but condemned Rădulescu to six months in prison.[9] In April 1946, Bucharest's People's Tribunal sentenced Ursu to five years' imprisonment for war crimes and inhumane treatment of Soviet POWs and Romanian personnel under his command. Ursu's sentence was revised and lengthened to 10 years in prison in May 1955.[10]

SOURCES For more information about the fate of Soviet POWs imprisoned in Slobozia, see Vitalie Buzu, "Lagărul de prizonieri sovietici de la Slobozia," http://ionelperlea.wordpress.com/2009/11/07/lagarul-de-prizonieri-sovietici-de-la-slobozia/; Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internaţională şi Romania, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997); and Andrei Şiperco, *Comitetul Internaţional al Crucii Roşii şi România, 1944–1947: Prizonierii de Război şi Internaţi Civili Germani, Unguri şi Austrieci; American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee şi Ajutorarea Evreilor* (Bucharest: Editura Oscar Print, 2009).

Primary sources are available at USHMMA, in collection SRI

(RG-25.005M), and in Moscow, at TsAMO and TsAFSB. For a list of deceased Soviet POWs in the Slobozia camp, see "Lagarul de Prizonieri 1 Slobozia, Judetul Ialomita," TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, pp. 3–45. Published primary sources on the Slobozia camp can be found at "Cum erau asasinaţi sistematic prizonierii sovietici din România: Lagărul de prizonieri No.1 Slobozia," parts 1 and 2, *Scânteia*, 10–11 (October 1944); and a short memoir by a former Soviet POW held in the Slobozia "Fuerea" House, A. Podvinskii, "V bede," *VIA* 7 (2009): 144–159.

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NOTES

1. Supply officer Victor Tomulescu's court deposition, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 126, file 24361, vol. 5, pp. 170–171 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/5, pp. 170–171); see also camp inspector Colonel Sandu Moldoveanu's court deposition, in the same collection and volume, pp. 172–174 (and verso).

2. On conscripted Jewish doctors, see Dr. Alfred Brüll's court deposition, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/5, p. 169 (and verso), and in the same collection and volume, see Dr. Aurel Steinberg's court deposition, p. 199 (and verso), Sergent major Ion Duţă's, p. 200 (and verso), and Dr. Maximilian Lesner's, pp. 295–296 (and verso).

3. "Lagarul de Prizonieri 1 Slobozia, Judetul Ialomita," TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, pp. 3–45.

4. Aristide Ursu's court deposition, June 1, 1945, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/5, pp. 157–159 (and verso).

5. Ibid.; see also in the same collection and volume, General Vasile Popovici's court deposition, pp. 175–178; for an example of a labor contract, see "Pro ces Verbal," December 8, 1941, in the same collection and volume, p. 238 (and verso); for a general overview of labor practices and support at the Slobozia camp, see also chief officer camp 7 Bucharest, Vasile Butmy's "Memoriu," in the same collection and volume, pp. 27–28; for guidance on POW payments and other

support, see also Vintilă Davidescu, Defense Ministry General Secretary, "Deciziune Nr. 2132," November 26, 1942, in the same collection and volume, pp. 50–51.

6. Camp commander Chiribaşa's report, "Nr. 61 din 3 Noembrie 1943," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/5, p. 11.

7. Camp commander Chiribaşa's "Buletin informativ şi contrainformativ pe timpul dela 25 Martie la 25 Aprilie 1944" and "Buletin informativ şi contrainformativ pe timpul dela 25 Aprilie la 25 Maiu 1944," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126 /24361/5, pp. 9–10; in the same collection and volume, see also Nocolaie Cernăianu's court deposition, June 2, 1945, pp. 162–164; Vasile Niţescu's court deposition, pp. 300–301 (and verso); and General de armată Constantin Pantazi's interrogation by Soviet authorities, TsAFSB, storage unit 18, 767.T.1.L. 108, pp. 119–121.

8. Camp commander Chiribaşa's report, "10 Iunie 1943," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/5, p. 12.

9. Ursu's court deposition, June 1, 1945, pp. 157–159 (and verso) and his "Memoriu," in the same collection and volume, pp. 310–311 (and verso).

10. See prosecution's request for Ursu's arrest, on August 20, 1945, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/5, p. 77 (also p. 79); the indictment document, "Actul de acuzare," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/7, pp. 123, 134–138; see transcript of court session, May 16, 1955, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/1, pp. 113–114 (and verso), and the court's concluding remarks, "Note de concluziuni," in the same collection and volume, pp. 115–121.

ŞMERINCA

Şmerinca (pre-1941: Zhmerinka; today: Zhmerynka, Ukraine), a town in the Moghilev judeţ, in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is less than 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) west of the Bug River. Şmerinca is 70 kilometers (43 miles) north-northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 4,630 Jews lived in Şmerinca, representing 17.8 percent of its population. Approximately 1,200 Jews remained in the town at the outbreak of war in June 1941, after the rest of the Jewish population relocated deeper inside the Soviet Union and Jewish men of military age were drafted into the Red Army.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Şmerinca on July 10, 1941. After the signing of the Tighina Agreement for the administration of Transnistria on August 30, 1941, Şmerinca fell under Romanian administration. The German authorities, however, controlled the Şmerinca rail station junction, which linked the northern part of Transnistria to Odessa in the south and Kiev in the northeast. The Romanian civil administration romanianized the town's name as Şmerinca (or Jmerinka) and appointed Colonel Constantin Dimitriu (1941 to 1942) and later Constantin Loghin, the former prefect of Berezovca judeţ (1943 to 1944) as Moghilev's prefects. It also allocated a Gendarmes Legion (*Legiunea Jandarmi Moghilev*), with four gendarmes platoons, and an entire Gendarmes Battalion (*Batalionul Jandarmi 11*) for the judeţ, from which the security of Şmerinca was maintained. The praetor in Şmerinca was Dr. Aurel Groza, and the chief of the praetor's office was Gheorghe Grosu.

At the end of August 1941, a Jewish ghetto was established in Şmerinca around the town's Jewish neighborhood, near the downtown market. Initially unfenced, it was eventually encircled by barbed wire. Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto without permission from the Jewish Council and local authorities. Convoys of Jews deported from Romania first arrived in Şmerinca in October 1941, occupying Jewish homes abandoned by their

former inhabitants. The Şmerinca-Odessa rail line divided Transnistria longitudinally, and Marshal Antonescu's plan was to deport all Jews to the east of this line by the end of 1941, with the goal of transferring them across the Bug River in the following year. Although the plan was not fully executed by the time set, of the 70,000 Jews (deported and local) who lived in Moghilev at the end of 1941, 17,500 (25 percent) had already been deported east of the Şmerinca-Odessa rail line by December 1941.[1]

The wearing of a yellow star sewn on the front of clothing and of an armband with a blue star was required of every Jew age 11 and older. Living conditions in the ghetto worsened during the winter months of 1941–1942, but the ghetto escaped the typhus epidemic that killed thousands of Jews throughout Transnistria. Food and wood for heating homes were in short supply.

The ghetto supplied forced labor to German construction companies that were rebuilding bridges, power stations, railroads, railcars, and ware houses in the area. The laborers worked under a regime of terror, receiving beatings for not working fast enough, while at the same time being poorly fed. Workers labored 24 hours a day, in shifts, and were usually paid 1 or 2 RKKS (*Reichskreditkassenschein*) per day (a loaf of bread cost on average 1.5 RKKS), in accordance with the Transnistria government's Ordinance No. 23, Article 6.[2]

The ghetto was led by a Jewish Council, headed by Iosif Jukelis and Adolph Herschmann. The Council oversaw the creation of ghetto departments, such as the departments of labor, food supplies, social care, and children's education. Under its administration and with support from the Relief Commission, Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisia de Ajutorare*, *Centrala Evreilor din Romania*, CER) in Bucharest, the ghetto was able to set up a soup kitchen for the needy, a dining hall, a hospital (with 12 beds), an ambulatory clinic (with 3 doctors), an infirmary for contagious diseases, a laundry with delousing facility, a hospice for the elderly, a school with nine grades (for 250 pupils studying in Russian, Romanian, German, and Yiddish), and a kindergarten (for 60 children aged 6 years old or younger). Ezra Krakopolskiy was a rabbi in the ghetto's prayer house. The ghetto also had a Jewish police unit and a jail, in addition to

various types of workshops (shoemaking, carpentry, and tailoring) and small factories (soap, nails, brushes, rope, liquor, and carbonated water). A Jewish theater was established in 1943. Among the ghetto's skilled specialists recognized for their advanced training were doctors Leib Drobner, Efsel Lapsker, Marc Lunchin, Ifim Lucianschi, Larissa Burstein, and Ana Neiner. There were also carpenters Avram Hochstädt and Elias Stolerman.[3]

Jews fleeing killing actions in the neighboring Reichskommissariat Ukraine, as well as the Jewish Soviet POWs who escaped from the Şmerinca POW subcamp, found refuge in the Şmerinca ghetto. There they received shelter, food, clothes, and medical attention. Almost 300 Jews from Brailov, for instance, were discovered hiding in the Şmerinca ghetto in the summer of 1942. The German authorities had these Jews sent back to Brailov, where they were shot on arrival, in December 1942. Although living conditions in the Şmerinca ghetto were better compared to other camps or ghettos, many basic needs went unfulfilled. Six to 15 people still lived in one room, and there were also 200 orphans in the ghetto's care. In December 1943, the Romanian gendarmes arrested hundreds of Jews from Moghilev and sent them to Şmerinca for hard labor. CER assisted the ghetto materially and financially, as did individual family members who sent money to their loved ones imprisoned in the ghetto.[4] Partisan supporters (if not formations) were active in the ghetto, particularly toward the end of the war. The ghetto's leaders protected the partisan movement and offered them assistance (medicine, foodstuffs).

A member of the Relief Commission of CER, Fred Şaraga, visited the Şmerinca ghetto on January 5, 1943. He found 3,274 Jews (1,200 local Ukrainian Jews and 2,074 Romanian Jews) in the ghetto and left lists of material aid to be shipped to the ghetto. The aid included clothing, medicine, and windows to help the inmates fight off the cold and related illnesses.[5] Other reports put the total number of Jews in the ghetto at 2,187 Jews (Stănculescu's January 1943 report), but this figure probably did not include local Jews.[6] A later count, in September 1943, found 271 Jews from Romania in the ghetto, without counting local Ukrainian Jews. In June 1944, three months after the ghetto's liberation, there were still more than 1,000 Ukrainian Jews living in the former ghetto.[7]

Despite playing a critical role in ensuring the ghetto's survival

until its March 1944 liberation, a Soviet military tribunal sentenced Şmerinca ghetto leader Herschmann to death on December 18, 1944, for collaborating with the occupation authorities.[8]

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of the Jews deported to Şmerinca can be found in the following publications: Vadim Altskan, "On the Other Side of the River: Dr. Adolph Herschmann and the Zhmerinka Ghetto, 1941–1944," *HGS* 26:1 (Spring 2012): 2–28; Albert Kaganovich and Martin Dean, "Brailov," in Martin Dean, ed., *Ghettos in German-Occupied Eastern Europe*, vol. 2 of *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, ed. Geoffrey P. Megargee (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with USHMM, 2012), pp. 1520–1521; "Zhmerinka," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1507; "Zhmerinka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 450; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 23.

Primary sources regarding the fate of the Jews and Soviet POWs deported and incarcerated in Şmerinca are available at USHMMA, in collections ANR (RG-25.002M), DAOO (RG-31.004M),

DASBU (RG-31.018M), PCMCM (RG-25.002M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). For names and dates of military officers in charge of gendarmes services at the platoon and battalion levels, see USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 24, file 59, pp. 36, 46; for Herschmann's Soviet trial record, see RG-31.018M, reel 8, case no. 10875; for Fred Şaraga's report following his visit to Transnistria and to the Şmerinca ghetto, see RG-25.004M, reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 112–114; for the names of a fraction of Jewish specialists incarcerated in the Şmerinca ghetto, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 227, and in the same collection, reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 23, n.p.; for individual money transfer receipts, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1504, p. 136, and in the same reel, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1506, p. 225.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Raport SSI "Nota," January 4, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.002 (PCMCM), reel 18, file 86/1941, pp. 325–327.

2. "Ordonanţa Nr. 23," November 11, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 20, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 1, p. 268 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/20/2361/1/1, p. 268); for salary rates according to various trades and professions, see "Tabel de Salarizare," RG-31.004M/1/2242/1/1, pp. 252–257.

3. Gendarmes Legion Moghilev, "Tabel nominal de evreii specialişti disponibili din raza judeţului Moghilev," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/23, n.p.; "Tabel nominal de medicii evrei aflaţi în ghetoul Moghilev şi în Judeţ," signed by Moghilev's prefect, Colonel C. Loghin, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, p. 227.

4. See financial records, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/5/2242/1/1504, p. 136; and USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6 /2242/1/1506, p. 225.

5. See "Raportul oficial al comisiunii evreeşti care a fost în Transnistria," January 31, 1943, signed Fred Sharaga,

USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 112–114.

6. "Raport în legătură cu situaţia evreilor aflaţi în ghetourile din Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 594–598.

7. "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

8. For Herschmann's interrogation file, see USHMMA, RG-31.018M (DASBU), reel 8, case no. 10875, pp. 19–56.

SOROCA

Soroca, the seat of the Soroca judeţ and raion in Bessarabia in eastern Romania (today: Soroca raion, Moldova), is located on the Dniester River. It is 138 kilometers (86 miles) northwest of Chişinău and 176 kilometers (109 miles) east of Cernăuţi. The number of Jews in the town of Soroca reached 5,452 in 1930, representing 36 percent of the total population, whereas the number of Jews in the Soroca judeţ in 1939 was 29,191. The Soviet authorities deported a few hundred Jews from Soroca to Siberia in 1940 because of their wealth and political views. Jews of military age were drafted into the Red Army in June 1941, and other Jews retreated with the Soviet administration deeper inside the Soviet Union at the outbreak of war, together about 1,135 people.[1] The remaining Jews, numbering about 4,000, remained in town.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Soroca at the end of June or the beginning of July 1941. An intensive campaign of "territorial cleansing" ensued, with a primary focus on Jews and communists. The Jewish population was rounded up and held in a few places within the Jewish area (the synagogue and Jewish hospital) in extremely crowded conditions and without food. Jewish businesses and cultural places were vandalized and Jewish books burned. The Einsatzgruppe D commando units 12 and 10a passed through the Soroca judeţ and town, killing Jews indiscriminately. Some 200 Jews were shot at that time in Soroca. Acting under German tutelage, but also independently, Romanian soldiers participated fully in the murder of Jews, especially in the villages surrounding Soroca.

The Romanian administration established itself in Soroca by early July 1941. The commandant of the Soroca Gendarmes Legion was Maior C. Cetăţianu until August 1941; he was succeeded by Maior Dumitru Iliescu. The chief of the Soroca police was Aurelian Isar. The prefect in the Soroca judeţ was P. Popovici.

Wearing the yellow star and a host of other restrictions on businesses and mobility were introduced immediately. The Jews were released from the temporary camps inside the town where they had been held and confined to a small area inside the town's Jewish district. An open ghetto comprised a few streets, guarded by police and gendarmes. Meanwhile, Jews from villages in the Soroca judeţ were gathered in the town's great synagogue.[2] It is unclear whether all the Jews who were in the town at that time (residents as well as those from the surrounding area) were then marched to the Cosăuţi Forest camp or only the rural Jews held in the Soroca synagogue were sent there. On July 24, 1941, the Soroca chief of police reported that "the city's Jews have been interned in camps,"[3] presumably in the town, whereas a report on August 11, 1941, states that the Soroca judeţ's Jews were "moved to a different camp," namely the camp in Târgu Vertujeni, without any mention of the Soroca town's Jews. As of September 1, 1941, the Jews in the Soroca judeţ were detained in the following places: 1,277 Jews in the Soroca town (ghetto), 10,737 Jews in the Mărculeşti camp, and 24,000 Jews in the Vertujeni camp, among them the rural Jews of the Soroca judeţ formerly held in the Cosăuţi Forest camp.[4]

The Cosăuţi Forest camp was on the Dniester River, a short distance away from the Cosăuţi-Iampol crossing point over the river. It was also only 5 kilometers (3 miles) north of the town of Soroca. The Jews brought to Cosăuţi remained there for up to six weeks, awaiting deportation to Transnistria. The camp, which was in the forest, was un-fenced but closely guarded and had absolutely no amenities. The authorities did not provide food or water, and in addition, the guards (to the lowest of ranks) embarked on a campaign of rape and despoliation using force, influence, and arms to obtain Jewish valuables and women. Hundreds of the Jews of the Soroca judeţ perished in the camp at that time from hunger, disease, exposure to the elements, suicide, or simply being shot for refusing to hand over personal items. Bodies were barely buried, if at all. Finally, by mid-August, the Jews were marched inland to the Vertujeni camp, due to the temporary suspension of deportations to Transnistria.[5]

After weeks of incarceration in the Vertujeni camp, enduring great deprivations that led to many deaths, the Jews of Soroca and

the Soroca judeţ, along with a thousand others, were deported to Transnistria along two routes: a northern route passing through the town of Soroca and onto the Cosăuţi bridge and another route that led southward to the Rezina-Râbniţa crossing point. Deportations began on September 16 and concluded on October 8, 1941. Convoys of 1,200 or more left the Vertujeni camp every other day for Cosăuţi, stopping for one night in Soroca, most likely in the dilapidated great synagogue.

A change of guard took place at Soroca. Căpitan Victor Ramadan, an officer from the Soroca Gendarmes Legion attached to the Vertujeni camp, escorted the convoys to Soroca. He returned to Vertujeni the following day and escorted another convoy the next day. The Soroca gendarmes took over the convoys in Soroca and marched them to the Cosăuţi Bridge. Marches from Vertujeni to Cosăuţi were brisk, lasting three days. A few wagons accompanied each convoy to carry luggage and the elderly, disabled, or small children. Those who could not keep up were routinely shot. All of this was in keeping with the orders of Bessarabia's chief gendarmes inspector, Colonel T. Meculescu, who provided strict deportation instructions, containing clear directions and a map, as well as a schedule.[6]

Searches and robberies took place again at the Cosăuţi customs point, where the Romanian administration installed a border checkpoint before reaching the bridge. Border guards carried out body searches and removed identity papers; the office of the Romanian National Bank exchanged foreign currency for a German-issued scrip that circulated only in Transnistria (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS) and purchased jewelry for derisory prices.

A contingent of an exterior brigade of Jews from the Regat undertook forced labor in Soroca at some point in 1943. A part of the 8th Roads Battalion was quartered in Floreşti, in the Soroca judeţ, where the Jews repaired roads in the area, working and living in harsh conditions.[7] Members of religious minorities in the Soroca judeţ were persecuted, among them Inochentists and Old Calendar Believers (*Stilişti*). They were tried in military courts in Iaşi and Chişinău. The Inochentists (112 in the Soroca judeţ) were deported to Transnistria in August 1942.[8]

While in Transnistria, Soroca's Jews were scattered in camps in the Moghilev, Ananiev, Balta, and Berezovca judeţe. The survivors returned to Romania in March 1944. The Red Army recaptured Soroca in April 1944. The People's Court in Bucharest tried and sentenced Iliescu and Ramadan to many years in prison for mistreating the Jews of Soroca.

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Soroca's Jews can be found in the following publications: "Soroca," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1218–1220; "Soroka," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel hayishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 2: 372–382; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Wolf Moskovich, "Soroca," in *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, available at www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Soroca; Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia şi Alte Câteva Întâmplări: Contribuţii la Istoria Încercării de Exeterminare a Evreilor* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947); Arkadii Mazur, *Stranít s˘y istorii sorokskikh evreev: Vtoraía˘polovina XIX veka i XX vek* (Chişinău: Editura Ruxanda, 1999); and Victor Eskenasy, "Despre 'pustiu' si Holocaust sau Soroca anului 1942," available at www.revista22.ro/

despre-pustiu-si-holocaust-sau-soroca-anului-1942-673.html. For forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2103). Information about the persecution of Christian religious minorities under the Antonescu regime can be found in Viorel Achim, ed., *Political Regimului Antonescu Faţă de Cultele Neoprotestante: Documente* (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews in Soroca are available at USHMMA, in collections ANRM (RG-54.001M and RG-54.004M), SRI (RG-25.004M), AMAN (RG-25.003M), IGJ (RG-25.010M), and DAOO (RG-31.004M). Under RG-50, USHMMA also holds a few oral history interviews by victims and witnesses of the persecution of Jews in Soroca. VHA holds 122 testimonies in six languages from survivors of the Soroca camp and ghetto.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. On the deportation of Jews from Soroca by the Soviet authorities, see the Soroca Gendarmes Legion synthesis report, June 1940, USHMMA, RG-25.010M (IGJ), reel 11, file 139, pp. 2–4. For name lists of Soviet deportees and those leaving with the Soviet administration, see also USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 129, files 313 and 314.

2. For their names, see "Tabloul sorocenilor din lagarul Soroca," USHMMA, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 5, fond 696.1, file 32; see also the name list in file 31. For a testimony, see USHMMA, RG-50.233*0101, Eva Peker testimony, March 1992.

3. USHMMA, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 5, fond 696.1, file 31, p. 16.

4. Statistical figures for Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Dorohoi

judeţ, reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 45–46.

5. USHMMA, RG-50.233*0042, Matvey Gredinger testimony, April 24, 1992.

6. Reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 84–87.

7. For details, see USHMMA, RG-54.004M (ANRM), reel 10, fond 706, inventory 1, file 522, p. 2; for treatment of Jews, see USHMMA, RG-54.001M, reel 19, file 4641; RG-25.003M, reel 41, file 7250.

8. See monthly reports August–December 1941 of the Soroca Gendarmes Legion, USHMMA, RG-25.010M, reel 11, file 139; statistical evidence for Bessarabia, 1941–1942, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 131, file 32; deportation order: RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 35, file 40010, vol. 89, pp. 23–25.

SPICOV

Spicov (pre-1941: Shpikov), a village in the Spicov raion, Tulcin judeţ (today: Shpykiv, Ukraine), in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located near the Bug River. It is 24 kilometers (15 miles) northwest of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 895 Jews in Spicov (representing 17.7 percent of the entire village population) and 1,291 Jews in the raion (amounting to 3.6 percent). Some of the Jewish men of military age from Spicov were mobilized by the Red Army while others retreated during the June 1941 invasion, but most stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Spicov on July 22, 1941. Spicov came under Romanian control in the fall of 1941, and its name and that of the raion were romanianized from Shpikov to Spicov. In succession, Colonels Ion Lazăr, Constantin Loghin, and Constantin Năsturaş were Tulcin's prefects. The Tulcin Gendarmes Legion commander was Căpitan Ion Fetacău. The praetor in the Spicov raion was Mi-hail Rusu. The mayor of Spicov was Odijenschi Ivan Emilian. He was later removed from office for assisting a Jew and allegedly possessing communist and Ukrainian nationalist literature.

In addition to Jewish community leaders, some of those killed immediately after the occupation by Einsatzgruppe D were local leaders and former and active Communist Party members. The remaining Jews were moved to one street, which became the ghetto after September 22, 1941, when Prefect Lazar issued Ordinance No. 3 for the internment of Jews of Spicov in a ghetto within three days (the fourth point in the ordinance). Jews from the surrounding area (e.g., Pecioara) were gathered there too, and it appears that a small contingent of Jews from Bukovina was also deported there.[1] The ordinance required that a Jewish police force be formed. In cases of Jewish disobedience, rebellion, or terrorism, the culprit and 100 other Jews along with him or her were to be shot. Further restrictions, particularly regarding travel, were issued

by the same prefect on November 17, 1941: Ordinance No. 6 severely sanctioned Jews who traveled without authorization and threatened with a court-martial all Romanian or Ukrainian authorities who permitted Jews to depart without papers.[2]

In the overcrowded ghetto, the Jews lodged everywhere they could (in homes, barns, and attics), with 15 to 20 people in a single room. Life in the Spicov ghetto was punctuated by a few regular occurrences. Every morning a number of Jewish men and women aged 14 to 60 were selected for forced labor. Men were taken to clean the village's streets, and women and schoolchildren cleaned offices and other administrative buildings. Their work was never compensated in money or food.[3] At night, police forces (Romanian and Ukrainian policemen and guards) raided Jewish homes and harassed and raped young women.

After almost three months, the ghetto was dissolved. In early to mid-December 1941, almost all of the Jews in the Spicov ghetto, some 850 in total (with the exception of 27, who were later expelled to the same place), were marched to Rogozna (today: Rohizna, 12 kilometers [7 miles] north of Spicov) near the Bug River, where they were held in the local ghetto.[4] The deportation was intended to minimize the potential for a large-scale typhus epidemic in strategic locations inside the Tulcin judeţ. In August–September 1942, however, the Rogozna ghetto internees were deported to the Pecioara death camp, where approximately 300 of Spicov's survivors of the most cruel and torturous regime in Transnistria were liberated by the Red Army in March 1944.

SOURCES Additional information about the Spicov ghetto can be found in the following sources: "Shpykov," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 1094–1095; "Shpykov," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 398; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 349; "Shpikov," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York

University Press, 2001), 3: 1172; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* and vol. 8: *The Regat and Southern Transylvania, January–August 1944, Anti Jewish Legislation, Addenda* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews in Spicov are available at USHMMA, in collection DAOO (RG-31.004M). Also at USHMMA is collection RG-22.002M (Selected Records of the Extraordinary State Commission to Investigate German-Fascist Crimes Committed on Soviet Territory, 1941–1945; GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1258, which contains various declarations about the murder and ghettoization of Jews in the Spicov raion. VHA holds some 70 oral testimonies about the Spicov ghetto in four languages (English, German, Russian, and Yiddish), which are available at USHMMA as well.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Meier Teich's memoirs, fragments of which are reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 309–314.

2. Colonel Ion Lazar, Tulcin judeţ prefect, "Ordonanţa Nr. 3," September 22, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 546, p. 65. For Ordonanţa Nr. 6, see in the same collection, reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 76, n.p.

3. VHA #50110, Sonya Perl testimony, August 19, 1999.

4. Tulcin Gendarmes Legion's report for December 1941, "Situaţia evreilor din judeţul Tulcin la sfârşitul lunei Decembrie 1941," reprinted as Doc. No. 127 in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 214.

STANISLAVCIC

The seat of the Stanislavcic raion, Stanislavcic is a small town in the Moghilev judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-occupied Transnistria (today: Stanislavchik, Ukraine). Located near the Murafa River, it is 62 kilometers (38 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 301 Jews in the Stanislavcic raion, all living in the town.[1] During the 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union, some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities, and fewer still were drafted into the Red Army, but most stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Stanislavcic on July 17, 1941. After a short German military occupation, during which time some of the town's Jews were maltreated and their houses robbed by the Nazi SS and Ukrainian collaborators, the Romanian civil administration took control of the region in September 1941 and established a ghetto. The name of the town and raion was romanianized from Stanislavchyc to Stanislavcic (occasionally spelled Stanislavcia). The praetor in the raion was Gheorghe Iosa.[2]

Jews deported from the provinces of Bukovina and northern Bessarabia in Romania arrived in Stanislavcic probably in late October 1941, typically after a period of forced marches. The majority of them entered Transnistria via the Atachi crossing point over the Dniester River and made a short stop in Moghilev-Podolsk, before being sent on foot farther east or northeast toward the Bug River. The convoys of deportees were robbed of many possessions at the entry point into Transnistria, as well as en route, adding substantially to their misery.

The Jews deported to Stanislavcic were crowded for a few months inside the homes of local Ukrainian Jews. At the beginning of 1942, however, a ghetto was created on the grounds of the town's former cultural center. The perimeter was surrounded by barbed wire, and Romanian gendarmes from the Stanislavcic gendarmes post acted as guards. The chief of the ghetto was Dr.

Arthur Kula, assisted by Dr. Koch. Both were Jews from Cernăuţi. The chief of the Jewish police was named Badia. Wearing the yellow star was mandatory for all Jews older than age 11. The artisans and skilled Jews, as well as those fit for work, were retained in the ghetto to meet local needs; the rest—the unskilled, elderly, women, and children—were relocated to a dilapidated cattle farm in Noschiveţ (today: Noskivtsi). Located 10 kilometers (6 miles) west of Stanislavcic, Noschiveţ was previously called Zatish'e, and it is by this name (spelled Zatişcea or Zatişa in Romanian) that it appears in many Romanian-language documents from the Holocaust period. This Zatish'e should not be confused with other locations in Transnistria by the same or similar name (for example, Zatyshne, Vinnitsa oblast', or Zatishshya, Odessa oblast').

The camp was situated just outside the Noschiveţ/Zatişcea village, on the grounds of a former manor house with elegant buildings and hunting grounds that had been turned into a farm after the Soviet Revolution. Having then moved to another nearby location, Alexandrovca (Oleksiivka, 2 kilometers [1.2 miles] southwest of Stanislavcic), the farm in Noschiveţ/Zatişcea was abandoned and soon became a ruin. When the Jews were brought there from Stanislavcic in the spring of 1942, the buildings that they occupied lacked doors, glass in the windows, beds, stoves, and running water. The entire farm looked significantly shabbier than the ghetto. The deportees improvised with what they could find to meet their basic needs. Led by Loew Shtivelman, the Jews in this camp were essentially left to die; they survived on charity, barter, seasonal fruit and vegetables left unharvested by the locals, and the rare arrival of a money order deposited on their behalf by a relative from Romania who had not been deported.[3] Many perished from hunger, cold, and disease in the following winters. A mass graveyard was created outside the camp for disposing of the many corpses.

Back in the Stanislavcic ghetto, those fit for work were enlisted for forced labor beginning in the summer of 1942. Some were taken to work for the German authorities in nearby Şmerinca (sorting captured goods in military ware houses or repairing railways); others removed snow or repurposed building materials from abandoned or badly damaged houses. The pay was the food

that the workers received. As unnutritious as it was, it still helped in their survival.

The Relief Commission from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews in Bucharest (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) visited Transnistria at the beginning of 1943, stopping on January 4 in Şmerinca, some 9 kilometers (5 miles) north of Stanislavcic. The commission, led by Fred Şaraga, learned from the Jewish leaders of the Şmerinca ghetto that 200 Jews were amassed in Stanislavcic and 1,500 were in Zatişcea. It does not appear the commission left any aid for them at that time, but future shipments of goods most likely included both ghettos.[4] By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Stanislavcic was 84, and there were 357 in Zatişcea (perhaps not counting the Ukrainian Jews in either place); on September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 81 Jews in Stanislavcic (all from Bukovina) and 331 in Zatişcea (206 from Bessarabia, 125 from Bukovina).[5] In February 1944, a total of 970 Jews deported from Romania were living in the entire Stanislavcic raion, some of whom (probably around 80 or more) were in the Stanislavcic ghetto and an additional several hundred were in the Zatişcea camp (the rest were from the Caţmazov ghetto).[6]

At the request of the liaison staff of the German Army for Transnistria (*Verbindungsstab der Deutschen Wehrmacht für Transnistrien*), the Romanian Labor Office in Odessa requested in April 1943 that the Moghilev Jewish Labor Committee produce a list of building specialists from the district, including from Stanislavcic. These Jews were to be sent to Trihati, a bridge-building site in the southeastern part of Transnistria. There the selected Jews were to undertake forced labor in building a railway bridge over the Bug, a project coordinated by the Reich's Traffic Directorate in Kiev (*Reichsverkehrsdirektion Kiew*). The Jews were transported by train, under guard, and had to bring their personal items (blanket, bowl, and spoon).[7] The work was demanding, and the living conditions were primitive. Sleeping in crowded barracks, the Jews were held in a fenced-in camp under strict supervision. Their promised pay consisted only of the food that they received. Many were barely dressed and in poor health soon after their arrival in Trihati, so when the cool temperatures arrived in October 1943, many suffered even more. The survivors

were returned to the Moghilev District in December 1943 or January 1944.

The repatriation of the Jews originally from Dorohoi and the Regat began at the end of 1943, with only a few Jews from Stanislavcic and Zatişcea qualifying for it; the remaining Jews were permitted to return to Romania at the beginning of March 1944, on the eve of Red Army's recapture of Stanislavcic on March 17, 1944. Those still in the ghetto were liberated at that time.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Stanislavcic and/or Zatişcea can be found in the following publications: "Stanislavchik," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 1233; "Stanislavcic" and "Zatiscea," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel hayishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 482, 439; I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004); and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vols. 1–3 (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and*

Survival (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HolMod* 2/8 (2010): 18–26. The International Association of Jewish Genealogical Socie ties, International Jewish Cemetery Project, provides a description of the Stanislavcic ghetto and the Noschiveţ/Zatişcea camp, along with a description of the related Jewish cemeteries: see "Stanislavchik, Vinnytsya oblast'," available at www.iajgsjewishcemeteryproject.org/ukraine/stanislavchik.html.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Stanislavcic can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). VHA holds forty-two survivor testimonies in four languages (English, Russian, Hebrew, German) from Jews held in the ghetto. A list of Jews from Stanislavcic who perished during the Holocaust is available at USHMMA, ReferenceCollection \EE3507\EE3507.PDF. The names of the Holocaust victims are extracted from Yizkor books for Galicia.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR*, p. 49.

2. For the praetors in the Moghilev judeţ, see USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, pp. 9–10.

3. See an example of one such money order for pharmacist Moishe Weinstein, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel

10, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1181, p. 115.

4. For a visitor's report, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 115.

5. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346, and for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

6. See population figures according to nationalities in the raions of the Moghilev judeţ, USHMMA, RG-31.011M, reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, p. 5.

7. For correspondence between the German and Romanian authorities regarding the Trihati bridge, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 23, p. 37 and the following unnumbered pages; for the list of specialists from the Stanislavcic ghetto in June 1943, see the same collection, reel, and fond.

STEPANCHI

Stepanchi, a village in the Copaigorod raion in the Moghilev judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Stepanky, Ukraine), is situated along the Nemiya River. It is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. This village should not be confused with Stepanky in the Balchi raion, Moghilev judeţ. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,903 Jews in the Copaigorod raion, most of whom were living in the town of Copaigorod; it is unknown whether any lived in Stepanchi (census data for the village of Stepanchi are not available).

The German and Romanian armies overran Stepanchi and its surroundings during the middle part of July 1941. After a short period of German military occupation, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Stepanki to Stepanchi (occasionally spelled Stepanca). The praetor in the Copaigorod raion was Ion Vodă.

According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, there were 371 Jews deported from Romania living in Stepanchi in October 1942.[1] An estimate by Siegfried Jägendorf, president of the Jewish Council of Moghilev (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM), says that 50 percent of the deported Jews in the Moghilev judeţ perished during the winter of 1941 from cold, hunger, and typhus, chief among other fatal diseases.[2] In 1945, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (*Chrezvychainaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissiia*, ChGK) found that of the Jews deported to Stepanchi some 180 perished there during 1941 and 1942.[3]

Those deported to Stepanchi were placed in a camp, which was repurposed from the village's collective farm (*kolkhoz*). By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Stepanchi was 221; it is not clear whether the Ukrainian Jews were included in this figure. On

September 1, 1943, without counting the Ukrainian Jews, there were 178 Jews in the camp (10 from Bessarabia, 168 from Bukovina).[4] In February 1944, 2,339 Jews deported from Romania were living in the entire Copaigorod raion; some were held in the Stepanchi camp.[5]

The repatriation of the Jews from the Dorohoi judeţ and the Regat took place in December 1943, and the orphaned Jewish children in Transnistria were returned. Only a few Jews in Stepanchi qualified for repatriation. The Red Army recaptured the village at the end of March 1944, liberating the camp. Some of the Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, but most made their way back to Romania amid great challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Stepanchi can be found in the following publications: "Stepanki," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 946; "Stepanki," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), pp. 301–302; "Stepanki," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 117; and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996);

Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2:8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Stepanchi can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and GARF (RG-22.002M). VHA holds eight survivor testimonies in two languages (Russian and Hebrew) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281.

2. Jägendorf memorandum, September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289 (esp. p. 265).

3. USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1239, p. 17.

4. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345, and for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

5. See population figures according to nationalities in the raions of the Moghilev judeţ, USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, p. 5 (see also p. 6 for population

figures according to professions).

STOROJINEŢ

The seat of the Storojineţ judeţ in the Bukovina province, in the northeastern part of Romania (today: Storozhynets', Ukraine), Storojineţ is located near the Siret River. It is 22 kilometers (13 miles) southwest of Cernăuţi and 180 kilometers (112 miles) northwest of Iaşi. According to Romanian censuses, in 1930 there were 2,480 Jews in the city and 15,397 in the judeţ; in 1939 there were 14,832 Jews in the Storojineţ judeţ; and in September 1941, there were 4,311 Jews in the judeţ.[1]

The Soviet authorities controlled the town from June 1940 to June 1941, closing Jewish private businesses, nationalizing Jewish estates, and shutting down religious services. On June 13, 1941, some 256 Jewish business owners and intellectuals from Storojineţ were deported to Siberia.[2] Before the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, military-aged Jewish men from Storojineţ were drafted into the Red Army. Although some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities, most stayed in place. The commandant of the Storojineţ Gendarmes Legion was Maior Gheorghe Berzescu. The commandant of the Storojineţ Army Territorial Center was Căpitan C. Cojan. The regional police inspector was M. Păun.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Storojineţ on July 4, 1941. The Jews were immediately apprehended. Some were shot when rounded up, and others were beaten when in custody. Jewish homes were looted and vandalized by soldiers and their neighbors. On July 5, after gathering the Jews in the central park, Romanian authorities divided them: women and children were locked in the building of the town's primary school, situated on Panca Street, whereas the men were housed in the high school boys' dormitory. Prisoners in both sites did not receive food or medical attention during their internment and were guarded continuously. They stayed there for 8 to 10 days. A few Jews obtained small favors from the authorities (Mayor Petru Bruja, for example), allowing them to leave the camp to search for food, but

most survived only with what they had with them. Refusing to place the Jews in a ghetto, Bruja resigned from office and was replaced by an antisemitic mayor, Dimitrie Rusu.

On July 20, 1941, the Jews locked in the two schools were gathered in a ghetto in town. The ghetto, formed in the southern part of the city, consisted of a few streets in the Jewish quarter (Gudiniţi, Ieronim, Malcinschi, Lumea Nouă, and the former Nicolae Filievici Streets). Vacated earlier, the houses had been robbed by the local population and were empty. Although the ghetto was not fenced in, strict measures were introduced. The Jews were forced to wear the yellow star, a curfew was set for 7 P.M., and leaving the ghetto usually required a special written permit signed by city or military authorities. Colonel Alexandrescu, commandant of the Storojineţ Army Recruitment Center, had authority over the ghetto as well. Peasants came into the ghetto to sell produce. Searching the ghetto for "communist Jews," the authorities placed certain Jews who had held positions during the Soviet administration in jail; they were returned to the ghetto two weeks later to be deported along with every one else. A primitive infirmary existed in the ghetto.

The Jews stayed in the ghetto until late September 1941, after the High Holidays. The news of imminent deportation produced a great panic; a few people committed suicide.[3] Deportations started in early October and ended on October 13.[4] Approximately 1,300 Jews were assembled at the train station in town and forced into freight trains, 90 people per railcar. Escorted by Romanian gendarmes, the trains took the Jews to Mărculeşti in the Soroca judeţ. From the train station everyone walked to the Mărculeşti ghetto, bringing only what they could carry. After a few days' stay in the ghetto, dwelling in and among small, filthy houses, with dead bodies buried at the entrance, the Jews walked to Soroca (while the sick were taken in wagons), before crossing into Transnistria at Iampol. On the way to Soroca, they slept in forests, eating what they could forage in the fields or obtain from bartering. It was the second half of October 1941, already cold and snowy, by the time they entered Transnistria.[5] A subsequent transport from Storojineţ went to Edineţi, in the Hotin judeţ. Before entering the Edineţi camp, which was fenced with barbed wire, the Jews came before representatives of the Romanian

National Bank. They were searched, their personal documents were confiscated, and their money and jewelry were exchanged for worthless German-issued scrip (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS), the currency of Transnistria. A day later, they too were taken to Transnistria and scattered among camps and ghettos in the Moghilev and Tulcin judeţe.

The authorities in Storojineţ retained a small number of Jews because their expertise was needed for running the city. Among them were a pharmacist, a dentist, blacksmiths, and electricians. They worked as forced laborers for the town's city hall, hospital, and other agencies.[6] On December 2, 1941, there were 34 Jews in the Storojineţ judeţ, of whom 31 lived in the city.[7] Preparations for a second wave of deportations of Jews from Bukovina began in the spring of 1942. On April 1942, after the authorities investigated the status of the 65 Jews in the Storojineţ judeţ, they decided that only 26 were to be retained; the remaining 39 Jews were deemed "deportable." On June 5, 1942, the Romanian authorities deported seven Jews from Storojineţ who in one way or another broke some laws or whose activities during the Soviet occupation had aroused official suspicion. They were transported to the Sădăgura camp, near Cernăuţi; from there they embarked on a train and were transported, along with Cernăuţi's Jews, to Atachi. From Atachi they were sent to Transnistria via Moghilev-Podolsk.[8]

A handful of Jews from Storojineţ survived the camps and ghettos of Transnistria and returned in March and April 1944, when the general repatriation of Jews deported from Romania occurred. The Red Army entered Storojineţ in late April 1944. The Bucharest's People's Tribunal convicted Bukovina's military and civilian leaders to many years of hard labor and confiscation of property for crimes committed against the Jews of Storojineţ.

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Storojineţ's Jews can be found in the following publications: "Storojineti," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1248–1249; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p.

303; "Storojinets," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 950; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contributii la Istoria Romaniei: Problema Evreiasca: 1933–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bucovina şi Dorohoi* (Bucharest: Glob, 1945); Moses Rosen, ed., *Martiriul evreilor din România, 1940–1941: Documente şi mărturii* (Bucharest: Hasefer, 1991); and Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente* preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Storonjineţ's Jews are available at USHMMA, in collections DACkO (RG-31.006M), SRI (RG-25.004M), IGJ (RG-25.010M), AME (RG-25.006M), and AMAN (RG-25.003M). For internment in the Sădăgura camp, see also FUCER (RG-25.021M, reel 100, file III-1075). Relevant information in Soviet sources can be found in ChGK (RG-22.002, reel 15, fond 7021, opis 79, delo 69 and delo 79). The ITS contains resettlement applications of Holocaust survivors from Storojineţ; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. VHA holds 90 testimonies, in seven languages, about the fate of Jews from Storojineţ judeţ and town.

NOTES

1. CER census figures, 1930–1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, fond 2694, vol. 17.

2. VHA #02654, Arnold Buxbaum testimony, May 18, 1995.

3. VHA #14356, Hilda Frenkel-Lockspeiser testimony, April 17, 1996.

4. Monthly information report for November 13, 1941, indicates that "all Jews had been removed from the district *judeţ*." USHMMA, RG-25.010M (IGJ), reel 3, file 27, p. 143.

5. VHA #02654, Arnold Buxbaum testimony, May 18, 1995.

6. See the table listing their names, professions, and institutions employing them, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 89, file 182, pp. 769–770; for further information regarding forced labor for Storojineţ's Jews, see reports generated by the MSM: RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 149, file 2950, pp. 73–75; and in the same collection, reel 25, file 6531, pp. 521 (and verso), 522.

7. "Situaţia evreilor rămaşi în Provincie, pe judeţe," USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 5, fond 307, opis 3, delo 10, p. 232.

8. Statistical figures and records of deportation prepared by the Bukovina Military Cabinet for the Presidency of the Council of Ministers of Romania, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 130–131, 196–197, 205, 217. For internment of Storojineţ Jews in the Sădăgura camp for various periods from October 1941 to June 1942, see RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 2, fond 307, pp. 369–377.

SUHA BALCA

Suha Balca (pre-1941: Suha Balka; today: Sukha Balka), a village in the Vaselinovo raion, Berezovca judeţ in the southeastern part of Romania-controlled Transnistria, is located about 34 kilometers (21 miles) north-northeast of Berezovca. German and Romanian forces occupied the village in mid-August 1941, and shortly afterward, by early September 1941, authority over the village and its surroundings was transferred to the Romanian civil administration. Under this new administration, the village's name was romanianized as Suha Balca (Suhaia Balca in some documents).

High-ranking representatives of the Romanian authorities in the Berezovca judeţ were Colonel Leonida Popp, who was appointed prefect in Berezovca, and his deputy, Sublocotenent Alexandru Smochină. The first commandant of the Berezovca Gendarmes Legion was Maior Ion Popescu, who was replaced by Octavian Ursuleanu. The head of medical services for the Berezovca judeţ was Dr. Aurel Juga. The praetor in the Vaselinovo raion, which included the village of Suha Balca, was Zacheu Buligă.

In late October and early November 1941, the Romanian authorities in Berezovca revamped a dilapidated Soviet state farm (*sovkhoz*) in Suha Balca and turned it into a government farm, known as *Ferma de Stat Suha Balca*. The farm served as a Jewish and Roma labor camp. Prisoners were placed in the several large buildings where animals and grain were once housed. The facility was enclosed and guarded by Romanian gendarmes led by a Romanian sergeant.

Initially, some 500 Jews deported from Romania were held on the farm, in addition to local Ukrainian Jews who were also brought there for forced labor. Work in the fields and inside the farm buildings (feeding animals, cleaning stables, refurbishing the farm) usually lasted for 12 hours a day, under strict discipline and surveillance. Jews imprisoned in this camp lived in filthy stables,

crammed into small spaces with small windows and barred doors. A layer of straw served as beds. When their daily work was done, the laborers were forced back to the stables and kept there behind locked doors. The food that the administration distributed was a watery soup and cornmeal mush. Clothes and other personal belongings were bartered in exchange for food to the point when many Jews were covered in rags. Due to these precarious work and living conditions, a large number of those imprisoned in the camp fell ill. Some died as a result of the cold during the extremely frigid winter of 1941. Typhus alone claimed dozens of lives and infected more than 100 prisoners. Alarmed at the danger that the epidemic in the camp posed to the local population and military personnel passing through or stationed in the area, the prefect of Berezovca, who was informed about the epidemic by a camp escapee, required that the camp be inspected immediately by a medic. A doctor then visited the camp, but his treatment was limited to isolating the ill and the dying in a cellar.

Local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) periodically demanded Jews from Suha Balca for forced labor in agriculture. Those unable to work or those ill were shot. At other times, Jews were murdered simply to relieve the population strain in the area in advance of the arrival of other convoys from Odessa and Romania. Thus, on September 23, 1942, 413 Jews from the Suha Balca camp were marched to Rastadt (8 kilometers [4.9 miles] west of Mostovoi), where they were murdered and their bodies incinerated by the ethnic German police (*Selbstschutz*).

In January 1943, workshops (*ateliere*) were set up in the camp, which were supplied exclusively with Jewish trained personnel (*specialişti*). There existed tailoring, hairdressing, electrical, accounting, and lathe workshops.[1] They were designed to be for-profit enterprises. The money from selling goods or services was intended to cover the administration's cost of keeping the Jews in Suha Balca and to improve living conditions (which never happened, with all improvements being funded by contributions from Jewish individuals and organizations). A committee for coordinating all Jewish labor in Berezovca was also formed in January 1943, with Dr. Bruno Gross as president. He was assisted by Efraim Fleişman, Rudolf Hirchem, and Marcu Kirenman (treasurer).[2] Iancu Lazarovici was president of the Jewish

Committee in Berezovca. Dr. Gross visited Suha Balca in February 1943, probably to gain information firsthand about the workshops that were created there.[3] In August 1943, at the request of the central labor office of the Transnistrian government, Jews from the Berezovca camps were sent to repair the Tulcin-Juralevca train track. The Suha Balca camp contributed 27 Jews to that effort.[4] The Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) assisted the Jewish laborers of Suha Balca by sending shovels and spades in November 1942 (they were received in January 1943).[5]

In the summer of 1942, Roma (Gypsies) from Romania were deported to the southern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. In July 1943, some 100 Roma families were transported from the Landau raion to Suha Balca to work in agriculture. Their number (about 1,200 individuals in total) far exceeded the farm's housing capacity, so most lived near the farm complex in primitive huts or lived outside exposed to the elements, without basic cleaning facilities and lacking food allocations for weeks.[6] Harvesters received (or helped themselves to) a small amount of food from the fields in which they worked, but those who did not or could not work (children, the elderly, or the sick) did not receive food. The fall of 1943 caught the Roma in Suha Balca unprepared for winter (as was the case in the winter of 1942, when many died of cold and hunger). Ion Stan, the Roma's representative, appealed to the governor of Transnistria for help. In a letter dated September 16, 1943, Stan revealed the desperate state in which his fellows lived:

> Given that the weather has changed and winter is approaching, we come before you to kindly ask that you consider our situation and take necessary measures. We are naked, all the clothes that we had have become rags, since from our arrival in Transnistria we work as honest people to support our families … We kindly ask you, Mr. Governor, to order that a means be found to clothe us, however little, and to house us in more humane conditions during the winter, since it is now impossible to live in huts. I would like to mention that almost all the men among us have fulfilled military service, fought in war, and currently have children at the front.[7]

Weeks later, Stan's plea reached the governor who, in dis-belief, ordered that the statement be verified first before sending an insignificant amount of aid (420 pairs of shoes) for the 2,620 Roma who were living in the Berezovca judeţ at that time. In their desperation, the Roma organized in January 1944 a workshop for manufacturing hair combs from cow horns. The aid that was acquired with the money made from selling the combs was insufficient and too late for dozens of Roma, who died in Suha Balca as a result of cold, hunger, and illness, weeks before their liberation in March 1944.[8]

According to various censuses, there were 97 Jews (Ukrainian and Romanian) in Suha Balca in January 1943 and 99 in March 1943. About the same number (105) was recorded in August 1943. In September 1943 there were 29 Romanian Jews (27 from Bessarabia, 2 from Bukovina). According to a letter from the Suha Balca farm administrator, Teodor Apolzan, there were 58 Jews and 804 Roma there on November 23, 1943.[9] The Red Army recaptured Suha Balca in the spring of 1944 and freed those who were still in the camp at that time.

SOURCES For more information about the fate of Jews and Roma deported to Suha Balca, see "Suha Balka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 958; "Suha Balca," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 481–482; "Suhaia Balka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 148; Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); for a collection of documents

concerning the deportation of Romanian Roma in Transnistria, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Primary sources describing the treatment of Jews and Roma in Suha Balca are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and DAMO (RG-31.008M).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See letter "Nr. 11883," December 31, 1942, signed by the chief of Berezovka administrative services, George Todiraş, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 18, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 24, p. 78 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M /18 /2361/1/24).

2. See "Decizia Nr. 385," January 25, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1/26, p. 62.

3. See the official letter informing of his permission to travel and visit Suha Balca, in the permanent company of a gendarme, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1/26, p. 34.

4. See the list of proposed Jewish workers: "Tabel nominal de evreii propuşi pentru detaşamentul de lucru," and the accompanying letter requesting them, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/590, pp. 81 (and verso), 83.

5. See official correspondence between local authorities and CER, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1/26, pp. 6–10.

6. See letter No. 2492, July 24, 1943, signed by Landau raion's praetor, Nicolae Albu, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAOO), microfiche, fond 1594, opis 3, delo 10, pp. 30–31.

7. See Stan's full letter, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19 /2361/1/591, p. 107.

8. See Leonida Popp's letter to Transnistria's government, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/591, p. 54; on cow horns, in the same collection and fond, delo 592, p. 136; see letter "Nr. 3203," January 20, 1944, on sweaters and shoes, p. 72, in

the same collection, fond, and delo.

9. See table titled “Suha Balca,” listing 97 names, probable date January 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/delo 590, p. 12 (and verso); for the March 1943 count, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347; “Tabel nominal Nr. 1 de intrebuinţarea a evreilor din judetul Berezovca Ferma Suha-Balca,” dated August 2, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1, delo 590, p. 65 (and verso); for the September 1943 count, see “Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439; see Teodor Apolzan’s letter “Nr. 408,” November 23, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004/19/2361/1/592, p. 15 (and verso).

SUHA VERBA

Suha Verba, a small village in the Mostovoi raion, in the Berezovca judeţ (today: Mostove, Ukraine), is situated in the southeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. The village's exact location is unknown, but based on archival documentation, it is near Mostovoi,[1] which is 107 kilometers (66 miles) northeast of Odessa and 163 kilometers (101 miles) northeast of Chişinău.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the surrounding area on August 10, 1941, and romanianized the raion's name as Mostovoi. The Romanian civil administration took over control in September 1941, and romanianized the name of the collective farm (*kolkhoz*) from Sukha Verba to Suha Verba (or Suhaia Verba). The prefect in the Berezovca judeţ was Colonel Leonida Popp. The deputy prefect was Sublocotenent Alexandru Smochină. The commandant of the Berezovca Gendarmes Legion was Maior Ion Popescu. The praetor in the Mostovoi raion was Dr. Victor Petrenciuc. The commandant of the Mostovoi gendarmes post was Locotenent Dumitru Pandrea.

Ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) populated the Mostovoi area. They underwent an intensive Nazification process concomitant with the deportation of Jews and Roma (Gypsies) in southern Transnistria. A branch of the SS Office for Ethnic German Affairs (*Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*, VoMi), the organization representing the economic and cultural interests of the *Volksdeutsche* in southern Transnistria, was based in Landau (in the Berezovca judeţ), not far from Mostovoi. The head of VoMi in Landau was Obersturmbannführer Müller. In the fall of 1941, VoMi set up a *Volksdeutsche* extermination force, Sonderkommando Russland (SkR). A section of SkR, Bereichkommando 20 (BK 20), was stationed in Lichtenfeld, a village 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) southwest of Mostovoi (today: probably Yasnopillya, Ukraine). Its commandant was SS-

Hauptsturmführer Franz Liebl (or Leibl, in some documents).[2]

In mid-April 1942, a remnant of the Odessa Jewish community, who had escaped the mass deportations from Odessa in January and February 1942, was deported to Mostovoi via Berezovca. Many of these Jews were picked up from Odessa's streets as they emerged from hiding or were discovered with false documents. They were initially held for questioning in Odessa's central prison. Those aged 16 to 48 years old, mostly men, were deported to the Vapniarca camp (in the Jugastru judeţ), whereas the other Jews were sent to Berezovca and then Mostovoi. Furthermore, if this deportation coincided with the deportation on April 11, 1942, of 548 Jews hospitalized in the Slobodca ghetto (just outside Odessa) and of Jewish orphaned children older than 10 around the same time, then these vulnerable categories of people were among the deportees.[3] The claimed number of deportees reaching Mostovoi was 1,200, suggesting they came in one or two transports. These Jews were sent by train, crammed into cargo cars, and despoiled before embarkation.

After two days of travel, they reached the transit camp in Mostovoi where they were held in an imposing building (the former residence of a noble family) that was called "the castle" or "palace" by the deportees. The camp was not surrounded by barbed wire, but was guarded by a small group of Ukrainian auxiliaries together with Romanian gendarmes. The rooms had unglazed windows; plumbing was nonexistent. Food was not given. For weeks, the Jews lived from begging and bartering small items that they had managed to retain after repeated searches; their own clothes soon followed in the exchange, exposing the deportees to the elements.[4] Weakened by hunger, cold, and diseases (a massive typhus epidemic had occurred months before they arrived and was still uncontained), the elderly and the young soon started to succumb. Because work opportunities and food were not forthcoming in Mostovoi, and anticipating the serious health implications for the residents of Mostovoi—civilian but especially military—resulting from another wave of epidemics, the Romanian authorities relocated all of these Jews to the Suha Verba kolkhoz at the end of May 1942.

The kolkhoz was a small farm located near several ethnic German villages. The area's *Volksdeutsche* were generally

unhospitable to the deportees, so barter was no longer a means of survival. The newly arrived Jews—many too young or too old or too sick to work productively—were perceived as a threat to the villagers' livelihood. Consequently, BK 20 came to the camp several times in June 1942, murdering every one they encountered, young or old.[5] It is unlikely that BK killed them on the grounds of the farm; most likely, the Jews were marched to a nearby lime quarry dotted by ravines. As was customary with other SS organized murders, the Jews were ordered to undress and deposit their clothes and belongings in a designated place before being shot. These possessions were claimed by the killers and the Lichtenfeld (and/or Suha Verba) residents to whom these items were subsequently transported.

The murder of the Jews in Suha Verba was reported by the Romanian gendarmes in a monthly report to the Government of Transnistria. Thus, Colonel Mihai Iliescu, chief gendarmes inspector in Transnistria at that time, informed his superiors in the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes on June 16, 1942, as follows: "On May 27–30, this year, some 1,200 Jews were transferred in the Huliaeovka [today: Hulyaivka] gendarmes sector to be placed in Mostovoi castle …. Because in the castle they had no work and were exposed to hunger, they were placed in Suha Verba kolkhoz in order to be used in the fields. All of these Jews were picked up by the SS Police from the German colony of Lichtenfeld and executed by shooting."[6] It is possible, based on this report, to approximate a date for the shooting as the middle of June 1942. A subsequent note, sent by the same Colonel Iliescu, reported the same incident, concluding that the Jews shot by the Lichtenfeld village SS Police in Suha "have disappeared."[7] Although this expression was often used euphemistically in reports to suggest killing, in this particular case it may actually state a fact, namely the cremation of the bodies in Suha Verba's limekiln. One of the few existing limekilns in the Berezovca judeţ that appears to have been used in the cremation of bodies was in Suha Verba (along with the one in Mostovoi).[8] This is the only known extermination episode to have occurred at Suha Verba. The camp ceased to exist after June 1942.

The Red Army recaptured the area in April 1944. The People's Tribunal in Bucharest tried and condemned to prison years many

of Berezovca's leaders, including Popp, Popescu, and Iliescu, for handing over or sending Jewish convoys in the direction of ethnic German villages, knowing that the Jews would be exterminated by the SS police units.[9]

SOURCES More information regarding the fate of Jews in Suha Verba can be found in the following publications: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For studies treating Transnistria's ethnic Germans' participation in the Holocaust, see Eric C. Steinhart, "Creating Killers: The Nazification of the Black Sea Germans and the Holocaust in Southern Ukraine, 1941–1944" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, 2010), available at https://cdr.lib.unc.edu/indexablecontent/uuid:cbc90aec-ecd8-497a-b823-c7778ef9401b); Eric C. Steinhart, "Creating Killers: The Nazification of the Black Sea Germans and the Holocaust in Southern Ukraine, 1941–1944," *BGHI*, 50 (2012): 57–74; and Andrej Angrick, "Rolul Unităţilor 'Sonderkommando R' şi 'Volksdeutschen Selbstschutz' în exterminarea evreilor în Transnistria," in Wolfgang Benz and Brigitte Mihok, eds., *Holocaustul la periferie: Persecutarea şi nimicirea evreilor în România şi Transnistria în 1940–1944*, trans. Cristina Grossu-Chiriac (Chişinău: Cartier, 2010), pp. 119–

130.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews in Suha Verba are available at USHMMA, in collections SRI (RG-25.004M) and DAOO (RG-31.004M). German prosecution records from the BA-L, Collection B 162, concerning the activities of the German leaders of BK 20 Lichtenfeld in Transnistria are available in copies at USHMMA, RG-14.101M (BA-L, Collection 162), 4731. VHA holds two testimonies (in Russian and Ukrainian) from Jewish Holocaust survivors who attest to the destruction of the Jews in Suha Verba. A filmed testimony of a witness to the mass shooting of the Jews in Suha Verba is also available in the archives of Yahad-in-Unum, in Paris: witness no. 1567UK, date of recording August 12, 2012, place of recording Kudryavka, Ukraine.

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NOTES

1. See the list of localities in Transnistria, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 7, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 37, p. 7 (under Mostovoi raion).

2. See the outline of VoMi's EG and SK units for Transnistria, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 311, file 801, p. 321.

3. See correspondence and statistical figures from the Odessa Evacuation Office, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1487, pp. 100, 103; about the orphaned children's deportation to Mostovoi, see in the same collection, reel, and fond, pp. 42, 126, 127, 129, 222.

4. See the April 1942 report of the Siguranţa and Information Bureau, Berezovca Gendarmes Legion, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 83, file 23004, vol. 13, p. 145.

5. See diary entry, June 1942, in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 211.

6. See Information Note No. 189, June 16, 1942, reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 274.

7. See Information Bulletin for Transnistria covering the period June 15–July 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel

83, file 23004, vol. 13, p. 147.

8. See attesting documentation in Steinhart, “Creating Killers,” p. 353, n. 1033.

9. See court depositions against Leonida Popp, USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 26, file 39181, pp. 248, 252–253; and in the same collection, reel 83, file 23004, vol. 13, for Popescu and Iliescu.

ŞUMILOVCA

Şumilovca, a village in the Berşad raion in the Balta judeţ, in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Shumyliv, Ukraine), is situated on the Bug River. It is located 61 kilometers (38 miles) north of Balta.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Şumilovca at the end of July 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the area beginning in September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Shumilovka to Şumilovca (or as in some documents, Şumilova on Şumilovo). The praetor in the Berşad raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

A camp, often termed a colony (*colonie*), for Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romania was set up in Şumilovca in the fall of 1941. Having entered Transnistria via the bridge at Iampol, most of the deportees had then marched for several weeks to Şumilovca, resting in open fields in wintry conditions; some perished along the way of cold and hunger or were shot for their inability to keep up.[1]

The Şumilovca camp was on the grounds of the local collective farm (*kolkhoz*). Its buildings (barns and cowsheds) had been badly damaged by war. A handful of Romanian gendarmes aided by local Ukrainian auxiliaries guarded the camp; German soldiers from across the Bug visited the camp on occasion. The soldiers treated the deportees brutally, confiscated their belongings at will, and sexually assaulted the young women.[2] There was a ban on movement outside of the camp; violators were severely punished. Epidemics (especially typhus), hunger, cold, and exhaustion led to many deaths, especially during the first two years of internment (1941–1942); many Jews continued to die thereafter, but at a slower pace.[3] It is claimed that 450 people perished under these conditions.[4] Barter, begging by the most destitute, and the generosity of local non-Jews helping those who sought aid were the key means of survival for many. Tolca Friedman was the

camp's head.[5]

Able-bodied men and women undertook forced labor in various forms, including in agriculture and on military fortifications. If at all, workers were recompensed with a handful of produce.

It is claimed that the total number of Jews in Şumilovca was at some point 750.[6] The census of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) in March 1943 listed Şumilovca as having 160 Jews; in April, the number was 153. On September 1, 1943, the camp was not listed among locations where deported Jews were sheltered.[7] In October of the same year, however, the Balta gendarmerie recorded that there were 174 deported Jews in Şumilovca—59 men, 76 women, and 39 children—and described the site as a ghetto.[8] The Red Army recaptured the village at the beginning of March 1944, immediately liberating the camp. Some Jews were conscripted into the army, while the rest of the survivors made their way home amid many challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Şumilovca can be found in the following publications: "Shumilov," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 1097; "Shumilov," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 350; "Shumilov," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 400; and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), pp. 30–31. For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–*

1944 (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Şumilovca camp can be found at USHMMA, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). VHA holds six survivor testimonies in four languages (English, Hebrew, Russian, and Ukrainian) from Jews held in the camp for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #24894, Ḥanah Meler testimony December 15, 1996.
2. The sexual assault on Jewish women in Şumilovca is mentioned in VHA #15010, Sarah Garden testimony, May 10, 1996; and VHA #26677, Miryam Ḳlayn, February 4, 1997.
3. VHA #46155, Dora Gertsenshtein testimony, August 3, 1998.
4. "Shumilov," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 7: 400. The source evidence for the claim is ChGK's report, April 1945, available in USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 86.
5. List of ghetto and camp leaders in the Balta judeţ, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562. Another list of ghetto leaders in the Balta judeţ can be found at

USHHMA, RG-68.130M (DAOO-YV), reel 2, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 666 (M-39/32), p. 142.

6. ChGK's report, April 1945, available in USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 86.

7. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; for the April 1943 census, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, p. 11; for the absence of Şumilovca from the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 456.

8. Statistical figures of Jews in the Balta judeţ ghettos, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 588.

SUMOVCA

Sumovca, a village in the Berşad raion in the Balta judeţ, in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Sumivka, Ukraine), is situated on the Bug River. It is located 62 kilometers (38 miles) north-northwest of Balta.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Sumovca at the end of July 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the area beginning in September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Sumovka to Sumovca (Şumovca or Sumofca in some documents). The praetor in the Berşad raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

A camp, or colony (*colonie*), for Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romania was set up in Sumovca in the fall of 1941 on the grounds of the local collective farm (*kolkhoz*). Before arriving in Sumovca, most of the deportees had marched to Sumovca for weeks, resting along the way in open fields in wintry conditions. The buildings (barns and cowsheds) on the farm had been badly damaged by war, yet the deportees occupied them for lack of other quarters. A handful of Romanian gendarmes aided by local Ukrainian auxiliaries guarded the camp. The soldiers grabbed whatever they wished from the deportees, treating them brutally. There was a ban on movement outside of the camp; violators were severely punished. Epidemics (especially typhus), hunger, cold, and exhaustion led to many deaths, especially during the first two years of internment (1941–1942); many Jews died thereafter, but at a slower pace.[1] It is claimed that 250 people in the Sumovca camp perished in these conditions.[2] Wearing the yellow star was obligatory. Aron Silman was the camp's head.[3]

Barter, begging by the most destitute, and the generosity of local non-Jews helping those who sought aid were the key means of survival for many.[4] However, two Jews who left the camp to beg in the village were shot by Romanian gendarmes who met them on

the road; the victims' bodies were summarily thrown into the Bug River.[5] Humanitarian aid sent by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) in Bucharest may have reached this camp in 1943. Able-bodied men and women undertook forced labor in various forms, some in agriculture and still others inside the camp. If at all, workers were recompensed with some produce.[6] Some form of communal religious life existed in the camp; marriages also occurred.[7]

At a point in early 1942, the number of Jews in the camp was 163 (37 men, 42 women, and 84 children). CER's census in March 1943 included Sumovca as having 140 Jews. On September 1, 1943, the camp was not listed among locations where deported Jews lived; this fact, however, does not mean that the deportees had left or that only Ukrainian Jews remained there.[8]

Roma (Gypsies) deported from Romania in the summer of 1942 were scattered within the territory of the Berşad raion, coming to live in primitive huts by the winter of that year. Some were placed in Sumovca. Evidence suggests they lived inside the camp, alongside Jews, and worked on the kolkhoz in Sumovca and nearby Voitovca. At the end of 1943 many fled the camp for fear of encountering German soldiers retreating from the other side of the Bug.[9]

The Red Army, aided by a partisan group active in the area, recaptured the village at the beginning of March 1944, immediately liberating the camp. Some Jews were conscripted into the army, while the rest of the survivors made their way home amid many challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Sumovca can be found in the following publications: "Sumovka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 956; "Sumovka," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 306; "Sumovka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 142; and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na*

okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944) (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For a collection of documents on the persecution of the Roma deported from Romania, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Sumovca camp can be found at USHMMA, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), and DAOO (RG-31.004M). VHA holds 11 survivor testimonies in three languages (English, Hebrew, and Russian) from Jews and Roma held in the camp for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #44243, Fridah Bricher testimony, August 2, 1998; VHA

#13617, Sara Eidelman testimony, March 25, 1996; and VHA #21911, Golda Shtrakhman testimony, September 18, 1996.

2. "Sumovka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 7: 142. The source evidence for the claim is ChGK's report, April 1945, available in USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 113.

3. List of ghetto and camp leaders in the Balta judeţ, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562.

4. VHA #31759, Rakhil' Iudkovskaia testimony, May 20, 1997.

5. August 25, 1943, entry in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 12.

6. VHA #30960, Anna Dekhter testimony, May 20, 1997.

7. VHA #20494, Khana Toibman testimony, October 2, 1996.

8. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; for the absence of Sumovca from the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 456.

9. VHA #33904, Vasilii Radu testimony, September 10, 1997. See also Achim, *Documente privind deportarea ţiganilor*, 2: 402–403 (Doc. 560).

TÂRGU JIU

Târgu Jiu, the administrative seat of the Gorj judeţ in the southwestern part of Romania, is situated along the Jiu River, about 408 kilometers (253 miles) southwest of Iaşi and 233 kilometers (145 miles) northwest of Bucharest.

In 1939, a camp was set up in Târgu Jiu for a group of Polish refugees (army personnel and civilians) who fled before the Soviet invasion of their country. Starting in the summer of 1940, however, the camp was repurposed as a detention site for political prisoners from Romania. It came under the direct control of the Romanian Interior Ministry (unlike labor camps, for example, which were under the control of the Romanian Army General Staff [*Marele Stat Major*, MSM]). The Interior Ministry oversaw the camp's finances and administration. The commandant of the camp was Colonel Gheorghe Zlătescu, who was succeeded by Colonel Leoveanu. Soldiers from an infantry company in Târgu Jiu guarded the camp. A number of army barracks, dark and drafty, comprised the camp, which was surrounded by barbed wire.

Jews suspected of communist activity were sent to the Târgu Jiu camp throughout 1940 and early 1941. In addition to Jews, the camp held Legionnaires, Jiu Valley miners (strike organizers), and other people deemed "suspect" in the eyes of the governing authorities. (The Legionnaires were members of the fascist movement, Legion of the Archangel Michael, [*Legiunea Arhanghelului Mihail*], founded in 1927 by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. From its inception, the movement was extremely antisemitic, xenophobic, and anticommunist.) After a period of detention, the Jewish prisoners were transferred to a labor camp in (or near) Bumbeşti 19 kilometers (12 miles) northeast of Târgu Jiu. While there, they worked as forced laborers in a stone quarry (breaking stones with sledgehammers) for a railway segment between Bumbeşti and Livezeni. They slept in primitive huts and were fed each day a few slices of bread and a watery soup produced from boiled horse heads and hooves. The non-Jewish

detainees held in the barracks of the Târgu Jiu camp demanded that they too be brought out to work or that the Jews be brought back to that camp, because they believed that outdoor work provided better chances of surviving the detention. In the end, the non-Jewish detainees were brought to the Bumbeşti camp and lived and worked in the same conditions as the Jews.[1] The number of Jews and non-Jews incarcerated in the Târgu Jiu camp in early 1941 were as follows: communists (691, of whom 48 were women), suspects (587, of whom 71 were women), striking miners (47), and Legionnaires (181, of whom 6 were women), totaling 1,506 people.

Just before the German-Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Jews living in cities or towns close to the front line in the eastern part of Romania (in Moldavia) were deported to a number of camps inside Romania, including Târgu Jiu. With the relocation of its former detainees to Bumbeşti, the camp was empty so there was space available. A number of community presidents and rabbis were among the deportees. The deportations were hasty, with the Jews given little time to gather essential possessions in the one rucksack or hand luggage they were permitted to carry. Mostly Jewish men of various ages (some 16 or younger) were sent to the Târgu Jiu camp at that time, and transports took place over a period of a few weeks in mid-June and early July 1941. People were transported in train freight cars, doors and windows locked, under military guard. In addition to this humiliation, the cars were overcrowded and had no toilet facilities. Water and food were not provided, and the deportees had to obtain food from their own resources. The following groups of Jews from Moldavia were deported to Târgu Jiu camp: 266 from Dorohoi, 112 from Lespezi, 229 from Botoşani, 91 from Vaslui, 362 from Fălciu, and 431 from other Moldavian districts (judeţe). On August 7, 1941, a total of 1,501 Jews were incarcerated in the camp.[2]

Samuel Kruk with another inmate in a leather workshop in the Târgu Jiu labor camp, which housed Jews and communists, 1942–1943. USHMM WS #00029, COURTESY OF MUZEUL NATIONAL DE ISTORIE AL ROMANIEI.

The Jewish deportees undertook forced labor while in the camp, being assigned to various local institutions and enterprises in and around Târgu Jiu. With the weather turning cold in October 1941 and the labor camps unprepared for winter habitation, not to mention that the Jews lacked winter clothes (they had been deported in their summer clothes), the authorities reduced the number of Jews in the labor brigades by sending many back home. Still, in November 1941, 710 Jews (648 men, 59 women, and 3 youths) with various skills were still in the Târgu Jiu camp. Plans

were made to keep most of them over the winter (and into 1942) as workers in the camp's workshops. Of these, 152 were deemed "unable" (untrained or too old) to work, and another 127 paid a fee and could avoid working in exchange for their meals.[3]

News about the the poor administration of the camp and the beating and starving of its prisoners reached the office of the State Undersecretary of the Interior Ministry, General de Corp de Armată Constantin (Piki) Z. Vasiliu, prompting him to inspect the camp in April 1942. After his inspection, he recommended that the camp commandant be replaced and meals improved.[4]

In September 1942, 400 Jews remaining in the Târgu Jiu camp were transferred to the newly opened camp for political detainees in Vapniarca (Jugastru judeţ). Another 700 Jews suspected of communist activity (among them former detainees who had been released earlier) were gathered from all over the country (many were on forced labor duties at that time) and sent by train to the Vapniarca camp in Transnistria together with the detainees from the Târgu Jiu camp.

Among the political prisoners interned in the Târgu Jiu camp were a number of Baptists from the Bălţi judeţ in Bessarabia. They were interned for refusing to abandon their faith and for allegedly serving the communist authorities while Bessarabia was under Soviet control (between June 1940 and June 1941).[5] They, too, were deported to the Vapniarca camp.

In March 1944, the Jews sent to Transnistria as political detainees were repatriated to Romania. Seven hundred Jews from that group were transported back to the Târgu Jiu camp. Although most had served their sentences, there were among them some 80 Jews who had not served their time; these prisoners were housed separately from the rest, but none were released from the Târgu Jiu camp on their return to Romania. Their release came in early September 1944 after Romania changed sides in the war on August 23, 1944. Used to keep German and Hungarian POWs, the camp was shut down in 1948.

The People's Court in Bucharest tried and sentenced to prison many officers responsible for the mistreatment of prisoners in the Târgu Jiu camp. Among those punished by the court was Vasiliu, who received a death sentence and was executed in 1946.[6]

SOURCES More information about the fate of Jewish and non-Jewish political detainees interned in the Târgu Jiu camp can be found in the following publications: Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Ottmar Traşcă, *"Chestiunea Evreiască" în Documentele Militare Române, 1941–1944* (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2010). For a collection of documents regarding the forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013). On the persecution of Christian religious minorities under the Antonescu regime, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Political Regimului Antonescu Faţă de Cultele Neoprotestante: Documente* (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jewish and non-Jewish political prisoners incarcerated in the Târgu Jiu camp are available at USHMMA, in collections ANR (RG-25.002M), AMAN (RG-25.003M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). A portfolio of eight lithographs depicting the Târgu Jiu camp is available as part of

USHMM's Permanent Exhibit (Douglas Smith Collection, Acc. No. 2013.395.2.1). VHA holds 32 recorded testimonies, in seven languages, from survivors of the Târgu Jiu camp.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #02775, Vasile Bordeianu testimony, May 23, 1995.
2. See figures for the Târgu Jiu camp in a confidential report on camps in Romania, "Situaţia Lagărelor," USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, pp. 18–19.
3. "Situaţie de evrei internaţi în lagărul Târgu Jiu, la data de 1 Noiembrie 1941," USHMMA, RG-25.002M, reel 17, file 86, p. 257 (see also p. 259).
4. General de Corp de Armată Constantin Z. Vasiliu's court declaration, USHMMA, RG-24.004M (SRI), reel 34, file 40010, vol. 59, pp. 1–2.
5. Information note No. 1546, Chişinău Gendarmes Inspectorate, March 3, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 128, file 120, p. 47.
6. For court depositions and decisions regarding a number of officers indicted because of crimes against political detainees in the Târgu Jiu camp, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 20, file 40011, vol. 8; for the court investigation and condemnation of Zlătescu, see in the same collection, reel 22, file 40011, vols. 26 and 28; and reel 150, file 40011, vol. 45; for investigations into camp guards, see reel 22, file 40011, vol. 41 in the same collection.

TÂRGUL VERTUJENI

Târgul Vertujeni, a village in the Soroca raion, Soroca judeţ (today: Târgul Vertiujeni, Floreşti raion, Moldova), in northeastern Bessarabia, is located along the western bank of the Dniester River. It is 117 kilometers (73 miles) northwest of Chişinău, 71 kilometers (44 miles) southeast of Moghilev-Podolsk, and 22 kilometers (14 miles) southeast of the town of Soroca. According to the 1930 Romanian census, there were 1,843 Jews in Târgul Vertujeni, representing 91 percent of the village's population. At the outbreak of war against the Soviet Union in June 1941, many Jews from Târgul Vertujeni fled across the Dniester and retreated with the Red Army, but some remained in place. Romanian and German authorities set up a transit camp for Jews and a camp for prisoners of war (POWs) in Târgul Vetujeni.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Târgul Vertujeni in early July 1941. Immediately after the occupation, some of the remaining local Jews were rounded up and killed as part of an ethnic and political cleansing operation behind the front line undertaken throughout the Soroca judeţ by Romanian troops and Einsatzgruppe D. Târgul Vertujeni was 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) north of the smaller village of Vertujeni. Very often, the two locations are confused in written sources, but usually Târgul Vertujeni (also spelled Vârtejeni or Vertijeni) is intended.

A transit camp was created in Târgul Vertujeni for Jews deported from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia to Transnistria. In August 1941, the German authorities unexpectedly returned a few columns of deported Jews from Transnistria. After weeks of marching without food, water, and shelter, some 13,500 Jews, who spent several more weeks in and around Moghilev-Podolsk, re entered Bessarabia via the IampolCosăuţi crossing point, on the night of August 17, 1941. Once in Romanian hands, they were marched to the Târgul Vertujeni camp. Soon Jews concentrated in other camps in Bessarabia were also directed there. Thus, on August 19, 1941, a convoy of approximately 1,600 Jews from the

Alexandru cel Bun transit camp in Rediu (today: Rediul Mare, Donduşeni raion, Moldova) was sent to the Târgul Vertujeni camp.[1] On August 20, another convoy of about 3,500 Jews from the Rubleniţa transit camp (today: Rubelniţa, Soroca raion, Moldova) was also directed there. All of these Jews, some 23,000 in total, were concentrated in Târgul Vertujeni for later deportation to Transnistria.

The commandant of the camp was Locotenent-colonel Alexandru Constantinescu. A platoon of gendarmes guarded the camp, which was surrounded by barbed wire. The camp included part of the Jewish neighborhood of the village, but also extended into an open field. The Jews were crowded into the ransacked houses of local Jews. Because there were insufficient houses for the large number of deportees, many Jews slept outside. Although some bread was distributed, food was scarce, and most prisoners starved. To survive, the few Jews who still had something valuable to exchange for food bartered their possessions with locals. Guards prevented the local population from approaching the fence, so food like onions and cold pieces of cornmeal were tossed over the fence, usually by groups of youth. On a few occasions, able-bodied Jews were taken out of the camp and forced to work. Some carried stones from the bank of the Dniester up the hill where the village was, and others then paved a road with those stones.[2] Those who died in the camp of illness and starvation were buried in the local Jewish cemetery in communal graves. Villagers who owned horse-drawn wagons were asked to carry the corpses to the cemetery.

The deportation of the Târgul Vertujeni camp inmates to Transnistria started on the morning of September 12, 1941. Two routes were to be followed, as instructed by Bessarabia's chief gendarmes inspector, Colonel Teodor Meculescu; his orders originated from General de divizie Ioan Topor, the Romanian Army's Great Praetor. One route went north toward Cosăuţi, whereas the second route went south toward Rezina, both crossing points into Transnistria. Convoys of 1,600 Jews were to be marched under escort to the two destinations, leaving the camp every other day. A few wagons were provided to carry luggage and those who could not walk (the elderly, sick, and infirm). Escorting gendarmes were instructed to shoot stragglers or anyone

trying to escape. The dead bodies were summarily covered with dirt or simply abandoned as the column marched on.

A second camp at Târgul Vertujeni, the POW Camp No. 5 (*Lagărul de Prizonieri Nr. 5*), operated from September 1941 to February 1944, when its inmates were transported to Tiraspol. Information about the precise location of this prisoner camp has not yet emerged. It was probably based within or very near the gendarmes barracks and functioned as a small detention center until early 1944. Most likely, Jews, POWs, and others convicted of "subversive activity" were held there. The commandants of this camp were Locotenent-colonel Vasile Agafie (1941–1942) and Locotenent-colonel Mihail Cireş (1943).[3]

In late 1943, members of Christian religious minorities (mainly Baptists, along with other groups) unrecognized by the Romanian regime who originated from Bessarabia were interned in Camp No. 5. They were imprisoned because they refused to abandon their religious faith and convert to the Christian Orthodox faith (or to other state-recognized sects). Just as Jews were the subject of false accusations, they too were routinely accused of harboring anti-Romanian sentiments and acting against the national interest of the Romanian state. A chain of command reaching the office of Bessarabia's governor, General de divizie Olimpiu Stavrat, and involving the police and the gendarmes, was required for the arrest, trial, and internment of the Baptists. The period of internment in the camp was usually open-ended or until the authorities obtained the prisoner's signed declaration renouncing the unrecognized faith.[4]

The Red Army liberated Târgul Vertujeni in April 1944.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Târgul Vertujeni can be found in "Vertujeni," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 2: 351–352; "Vertujeni," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1389; Marius

Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bucovina şi Dorohoi* (Bucharest: Glob, 1945); Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986). For the fate of Christian religious minorities in Romania, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Politica Regimului Antonescu Faţă de Cultele Neoprotestante. Documente* (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013), which is a compilation of more than 500 documents pertaining to the persecution of neo-Protestants; Ovidiu Creangă, "Religious Minorities during the Holocaust in Romania: Baptists and Molokans in Cetatea Albă," paper presented at the 43rd Annual Convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, Washington, DC, November 2011; and Dorin Dobrincu, "Religie şi putere în România. Politica statului faţă de confesiunile (neo)protestante: 1919–1944," *RPSR* 7: 3 (2007): 583–602.

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews and religious minorities imprisoned in Târgul Vertujeni are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and ANR (RG-25.002M). VHA holds more than 100 video testimonies in five languages from Jewish survivors who passed through the Târgul Vertujeni camp. Testimonies from witnesses of the Târgul Vertujeni camp are available at Y–IM: T34M, testimony of Fiodor Ivanovitch Scoarta, May 29, 2012; T35M, testimony of Maria

Ivanovna Istratuc, May 29, 2012; T36M, testimony of Gheorghe Ion Cherchez, May 29, 2012; T37M, testimony of Dumitru Alexandru Pascar, May 29, 2012; T100M, testimony of Dimitri Kolesnik, May 18, 2013; and T101M, testimony of Sergei Lujantski, May 18, 2013.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Report "Nr. 120966," August 21, 1941, from the office of the Praetor of the 3rd Romanian Army to the office of the Great Praetor of the Romanian Armies, document reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 56.

2. VHA #49113, Ben Tsion Flom testimony, August 14, 1998.

3. For a complete list of camp personnel, see "Lagărul Prizonieri Nr. 5 Vârtejeni-Soroca," USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 24, file 59, pp. 31–32.

4. See tables with those arrested, home searches reports, trial files, and sentences in USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 24, fond 7687, opis 1s, delo 810, pp. 1–11; and in the same collection, delo 811, pp. 1–5 (and verso), delo 812, pp. 1–6, delo 813, pp. 1–12, delo 814, pp. 1–5, delo 815, pp. 1–7, delo 816, pp. 1–5, delo 817, pp. 1–7, delo 818, pp. 1–5, delo 819, pp. 1–6, delo 820, pp. 1–14, delo 821, pp. 1–5, delo 822, pp. 1–6, delo 823, pp. 1–7, delo 824, pp. 1–5; and trial files and accompanying documentation in the same collection, delo 679, pp. 7–19 (and verso for each page).

TARUTINO

The seat of the Tarutino raion, the town of Tarutino is in the Chilia judeţ, in southern Bessarabia, in the southeastern part of Romania (today: Tarutyne, Ukraine). It is 92 kilometers (57 miles) south-southeast of Chişinău and 125 kilometers (78 miles) west-southwest of Odessa. In 1930, there were 1,546 Jews in Tarutino, representing nearly 27 percent of the town's total population. A de cade later, the total number of Jews was believed to have remained approximately the same. The Soviet authorities deported some of Tarutino's Jews to Siberia because of their allegedly "capitalist" and/or Zionist dispositions. Other Jews from the town retreated with the Soviet authorities, and still others were drafted into the Red Army in June 1941. How many of Tarutino's Jews remained in place is unclear, with some evidence suggesting a mass exodus before the arrival of the Romanian and German armies.[1]

The German and Romanian armies occupied Tarutino at the beginning of July 1941. The local population began ransacking Jewish properties even before the Romanian soldiers entered Tarutino. The looting continued after the town's occupation: soldiers as well as civilians broke into the Jews' homes and confiscated money and valuables. Men and women of all ages were also attacked and beaten. After these events, some historians believe the Jews were rounded up and gathered in a field on the town's outskirts and held there for a short while. While in this "transit camp," some men were recruited for forced labor and sent to work. Under the pretext of being photographed for identity cards, the rest of the people were then seated on benches before a "camera" covered with a large black cloth. They were mercilessly gunned down, their bodies transported to an unmarked mass grave and buried by the few men spared for forced labor.[2]

On August 7, 1941, about 1,200 Jews, most likely from rural areas in southern Bessarabia—Cahul, Ismail, and Chilia Nouă—were brought to Tarutino.[3] Because of the temporary cessation of deportations to Transnistria in August 1941, these Jews were

crammed into large buildings in the town's Jewish area. The ghetto thus created was guarded by gendarmes from the Cetatea Albă and Chilia legions.

According to a count of the Jews on August 30, 1941, there were still close to 1,000 Jews held in southern Bessarabia's ghettos, as follows: 316 in the Chilia Nouă ghetto, 96 in the Ismail ghetto, 524 in the Cahul ghetto, and smaller numbers in the Bolgrad and Vâlcov ghettos.[4]

Orders for the deportation of all Jews from southern Bessarabia were issued in early October 1941 by the Gendarmes Inspectorate for Bessarabia, based in Chişinău. According to this deportation plan, convoys of Jews leaving the five ghettos from southern Bessarabia on October 15 were to begin a four-day march to Tarutino where, after consolidating into larger convoys, the Jews were to march for another four days along a route leading to Tighina on the Dniester River.[5] The plan's initial phase—the southern convoys' march to the Tarutino ghetto—was followed. On October 23, 1941, the chief gendarmes inspector for Bessarabia, Colonel T. Meculescu, issued a new set of instructions for the deportation of the Jews in the Tarutino ghetto, which was set to begin on October 25. At that point, the ghetto had 2,270 Jews (most likely the 1,200 brought there at the beginning of August plus the 1,000 or so who arrived from the southern ghettos). The inspector ordered that two large convoys leave Tarutino on October 25 and October 27 and begin a three-day march to the more southern crossing point at Purcari-Iasca (and not at Tighina, as previously planned), some 70 kilometers (43 miles) northeast of Tarutino. Meculescu ordered the gendarmerie authorities in the Cetatea Albă and Chilia legions to cleanse southern Bessarabia of Jews and bury those shot for not keeping up, warning of severe penalties if he found "a single Jew in the rural or urban territory after the closing of the operations."[6] The Tarutino ghetto closed down at the beginning of November 1941. After crossing the Dniester River, the convoys were marched in the direction of the Bogdanovca death camp, in the Golta judeţ.

In May 1942, a forced labor detachment was created with Jews from the Regat. The detachment was incorporated into the 4th Roads Battalion, which was headquartered in Tarutino. The Jews repaired roads in the area, working and living in difficult

circumstances until the fall of 1943, when the forced labor detachment moved westward, across the Prut River, into the Regat.[7]

In April 1944, the Red Army recaptured Tarutino, at which time the few Jewish survivors returned from Transnistria to Tarutino.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Tarutino's Jews can be found in the following publications: "Tarutino," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 3 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); "Tarutino," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel hayishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 2: 357–359; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia şi Alte Câteva Întâmplări: Contribuţii la Istoria Încercării de Exeterminare a Evreilor* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947). For the forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Tarutino's Jews are available at USHMMA, in collections RG-54.001M (ANRM), SRI (RG-25.004M), PCMCM (RG-25.013M), and AMAN (RG-25.003M). For a memorial book recounting the fate of Tarutino's Jews, see Nisan Amitai Stambul et al., eds., *Akkerman ve-ayarot ha-mehoz; sefer edut ve-zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Society of Emigrants from Akkerman and Vicinity, 1983), especially pp. 289–291. The book is available at http://yizkor.nypl.org/index.php?id=1180; a part of the book translated into English is available at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/akkerman/Akkerman.html#TOC190.

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NOTES

1. Yehuda Bronfman, "Tarutino during the Shoah," in *Akkerman ve-ayarot ha-mehoz*, pp. 289–290.

2. Jean Ancel, "Tarutino," in *Pinkas ha-kehilot*, 2: 358–359. This information has yet to be corroborated by other sources.

3. USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 24, fond 20725, vol. 4.

4. USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 657, vol. 32.

5. Deportation instructions for the Jews of southern Bessarabia, USHMMA, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 22, pp. 53–60 (esp. pp. 55–60). Each convoy's itinerary and schedule were carefully indicated and clearly marked on the map of the area accompanying the instructions (pp. 61–63).

6. See Meculescu's instructions for the deportation of the Tarutino ghetto, USHMMA, RG-54.001M, reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 22, pp. 64–66; for accompanying departure/arrival schedules and map, see pp. 67–68.

7. See the MSM's dispositions, May 2, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.013M (PCMCM), reel 22, file 1, pp. 396–398.

TĂTĂREŞTI

Tătăreşti, seat of the Tătăreşti raion, Chilia judeţ, in southern Bessarabia, in the southeastern part of Romania (today: Tatarbunary, Ukraine), is 141 kilometers (88 miles) south-southeast of Chişinău and 114 kilometers (71 miles) southwest of Odessa. In Romanian Holocaust-era sources, the town is sometimes spelled Tătăraşi, probably reflecting an earlier variance, and it is occasionally assigned to the Cetatea Albă judeţ, which reflected the pre-fall 1941 territorial organization of Bessarabia. The Chilia judeţ was created in the fall of 1941 from territories belonging to the Cetatea Albă and Ismail judeţe. It is sometimes erroneously called the Chilia-Nouă judeţ, after the name of the eponymous raion that was found in Ismail judeţ until 1939. Finally, Tătăreşti town in the Chilia judeţ should not to be confused with the present town of Tătăreşti that is north of Cahul, in Moldova.

The Romanian and German armies occupied Tătăreşti in the first part of July 1941. Immediately after its capture, the town's Jewish population, as well as the handful of Jews from nearby villages, was rounded up and concentrated in a camp, probably on the town's outskirts but within its limits. Their numbers reached close to 500 people and included people of all ages. A coordinated operation of "territorial cleansing" (*curăţarea terenului*) of political enemies behind the front line began in Bessarabia and Bukovina by early July. During that campaign, some Jewish and non-Jewish civilians in the Chilia judeţ (or more accurately, Cetatea Albă judeţ, as it was at that time) were shot by Romanian and German soldiers as alleged communists or Soviet collaborators.

Although the existence of the Tătăreşti camp is documented in Romanian sources, little information has survived about its physical description or location. The camp was sometimes referred to as "Tătăraşi-Chilia camp" and was guarded by gendarmes from the Chilia Gendarmes Legion, which was commanded in 1941 by

Maior Mihalache. The position was also held at one time by Căpitan Ion Vetu, assisted by Căpitan Petre Gheorghe.[1] Căpitan Vetu also was the commandant of the Tătăreşti camp.

On August 9, 1941, SS Untersturmführer Heinrich Fröhlich, based with the German Army headquarters in Chişinău, brought to Tătăreşti an oral order from Marshal Ion Antonescu calling for the extermination of the Jews in the camp. According to his SS officers file, Fröhlich was born in Neu Zuczka (today: Neyzuchka, 6 kilometers [3.7 miles], northeast of Czernowitz, Ukraine). As a *Volksdeutsche*, he was fluent in Romanian, which made him presumably a trustworthy messenger of Antonescu's order.[2] After consulting briefly with superiors in the Chilia Gendarmes Legion (probably with Maior Mihalache) and obtaining their permission, Căpitan Vetu drew up a protocol, cosigned by Fröhlich, and proceeded to organize the shooting of the Jews.[3]

The coded language used to recount the extermination of the Jews has generated some confusion as to the number of Jews shot. The protocol, for example, implies that all 451 Jews in the camp were to be shot. The reports from the Chişinău Gendarmes Inspectorate immediately following the killing of the Jews paint a different picture, however. The chief gendarmes inspector for Bessarabia, Colonel Teodor Meculescu, transmitted by telephone this message to his superiors on August 13, 1941: the Jews of the Tătăraşi camp were shot because, "having been taken to work in the fields, and refusing to work, they became aggressive."[4] A week later, on August 19, 1941, Meculescu wrote a secret note informing the Romanian Army's Grand Praetor that the number of Jews shot from the Tătăreşti camp was 118 Jews; the remaining 333, having "disappeared," were being "followed."[5]

The camp was closed in August 1941. By September 1941, the praetor of the Tătăreşti raion declared the area under his jurisdiction to be free of Jews.[6] The remaining Jewish houses became the property of the Romanian state.[7] In December 1941, Căpitan Vetu became a scapegoat for the regime's rare attempts to demonstrate the implementation of law and order. He was sanctioned for robbing the dead Jews of some of their valuables (gold watches, rings, and cash).[8]

The Red Army recaptured Tătăreşti in May 1944.

SOURCES More information concerning the Tătăreşti camp for Jews can be found in the following sources: Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5 (New York: Beate Klars-feld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia şi Alte Câteva Întâmplări: Contribuţii la Istoria Încercării de Exeterminare a Evreilor* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Tătăreşti camp are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), ANR (RG-25.002M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). FUCER (RG-25.021M, reel 88, file III-946) also holds information about the Tătăreşti camp, including documents concerning the trial of the camp commandant, Căpitan Vetu.

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NOTES

1. List of commanding personnel in the Cernăuţi, Chişinău, and Odessa Gendarmes Inspectorates, 1941–1944, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 24, file 59, p. 30.

2. Frölich SSO (SS Nr. 388272).

3. Protocol description reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 75–76 (Doc. No. 29). The signed handwritten transcript is reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 39. The incident

involving the two officers was relayed in December 1941 by a ministerial commission assigned by Antonescu with investigating the abuses (i.e., robbing of the Jews by unauthorized personnel) in the Chişinău ghetto and along the deportation routes; also reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 67 (Doc. No. 19).

4. Report reproduced in Ancel, ed., *Documents*, 5:42.

5. Ibid., 5:48.

6. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 21, fond 7517, opis 1c, delo 2, p. 80.

7. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 21, fond 7516, opis 1s, delo 10, p. 16 (and verso).

8. USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 24, file 20725, vol. 5; see also RG-25.021M (FUCER), reel 88, File III-946.

TATAROVCA

The village of Tatarovca (today: Berezhanka, west of Obodivka, Ukraine), located in the Obodovca raion, in the Balta judeţ, is approximately 40 kilometers (25 miles) southeast of Tulcin. Tatarovca's total population at the end of 1941 was 890 people, mostly Ukrainians.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the area by the end of July 1941, subsequently transferring control over it to the Romanian civil administration in September of the same year. The village's name was romanianized from Tatarovka to Tatarovca. The prefect in the Balta judeţ was Colonel Vasile Nica, and the praetor in the Obodovca raion was Dumitru Sofian.

The Romanian administration established a ghetto in Tatarovca in the late fall of 1941. Most of the ghetto's approximately 1,200 inmates were Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina.[1] The ghetto was initially set up on the grounds of the local collective farm (*kolkhoz*), and people were housed in dilapidated barns. Gradually, a small ghetto was established in the village of Tatarovca in 1942, as the deportees searched for better housing. Aided by Ukrainian auxiliaries, Romanian soldiers guarded it. Both on the kolkhoz and in the ghetto, the Jews lived in extremely crowded conditions, with a few families sharing a single room. The chief of the Tatarovca ghetto was Hersh Hendel.[2]

Starved and frozen, the inmates endured catastrophic conditions. A devastating typhus epidemic that erupted in December 1941 among the deportees killed nearly one thousand people of all ages; children became orphans as their parents succumbed to the disease.[3] The epidemic spread beyond the ghetto to the Obodovca raion, but was more deadly in the ghetto.[4]

Although cases of typhus occurred periodically throughout 1942 and 1943, the situation improved somewhat thanks to the measures that the deportees themselves took with the limited resources that they had at their disposal. Survival was made possible through

barter, begging, and the generosity of a few locals; some men and women worked as forced laborers in agriculture, being recompensed with some produce, if at all. The Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) provided some humanitarian aid on one or two occasions in 1943. The same organization also facilitated the transfer of individual sums of money from relatives not deported to a small number of deportees in the Tatarovca ghetto.[5]

Partisan groups became increasingly active in the area in the fall of 1943. One such group made contact with some Jews in the Tatarovca ghetto.[6]

The number of deportees in the ghetto in March 1943 was 350, probably not including the Ukrainian Jews; in May, the number dropped to 105 (31 men, 42 women, 32 children). A subsequent census, on October 20, 1943, recorded that the number of Jews was still 105.[7]

Soviet forces recaptured the area and liberated the ghetto in March 1944. Some Jewish survivors from the Tatarovca ghetto were then drafted into the Red Army, while most others returned to Romania.[8]

SOURCES Additional information describing the fate of the Jews deported to Tatarovca can be found in the following publications: Yitzhak Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the*

Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Tatarovca can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and ANR (RG-25.002M). See also Chernivtsi Jewish Survivors Organization Affidavits gathered by the Association of Former Prisoners of the Fascist Camps and Ghettos of the Chernivtsi Region, Ukraine (USHMMA, RG-31.020, microfiche no. 2, folder 2). VHA contains five Russian and Hebrew-language survivor testimonies, including the testimonies of German Bel'zer, February 23, 1997 (#27850); Zahavah Helman, March 17, 1998 (#41950); and Iakov Koifman, June 20, 1996 (#16648). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about ghetto inmates likely incarcerated at Tatarovca.

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NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Ita Czin, Doc. No. 52164066; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Ester Blaustein, Doc. No. 52285013.

2. List of ghetto and camp Jewish leaders in the Balta judeţ, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562. Another list of ghetto leaders in the Balta judeţ can be found at USHMMA, RG-68.130M (DAOO-YV), reel 2, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 666 (M-39/32), p. 142.

3. VHA #6331, Ita Shustimova testimony, November 16, 1995.

4. The account of the typhus epidemic is well preserved in the medical reports of the Balta Health Service, December 1941–May 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711; for the prefect's report after his inspection of the Obodovca raion in December 1941, see reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 659, pp. 142–143.

5. For receipts after such remittances, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 4 and reel 12.

6. VHA #33952, Eti Talis testimony, October 6, 1997.

7. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347; for the May 1943 census, see USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 16, file 205, p. 446; for the October census, see USHMMA, RG-26.006M (AME), reel 11, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 588.

8. Affidavit by Grigory Yekhilevich Kravets, born 1943 in the Tatarovca ghetto, USHMMA, RG-31.020, microfiche no. 2, folder 2; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Stephan Eckstein, Doc. No. 50965449.

TECUCI

Tecuci, seat of the Tecuci judeţ, in the southeastern part of Romania, is located 67 kilometers (nearly 42 miles) northwest of Galaţi and 188 kilometers (almost 117 miles) northeast of Bucharest. According to various Romanian censuses, there were 2,912 Jews living in the Tecuci judeţ (out of a general population of 181,172 residents, or 1.6 percent) at the end of 1939; in September 1941, there were 2,476 Jews in the judeţ, and in May 1942, there were 2,317.[1]

Immediately after the joint German-Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, some 200 Jewish men (ages 18–60) from Tecuci's rural areas were sent to the Târgu Jiu camp for political detainees in freight cars (337 kilometers, or 210 miles, southwest of Tecuci).[2] The basis for the deportation of these Jews (as well as of many other Jews from Moldavia) was General Ion Antonescu's Order No. 4147, according to which adult rural Jews living between the Siret and Prut Rivers were to be interned in camps in the southern part of the country as a security measure. The same order also stipulated that the remaining rural Jews be deported to district capitals, and accordingly, the rural Jews of the Tecuci judeţ were deported to the city at the end of June.[3] On July 1, 1941, they and the Jewish residents of the city were interned in an open ghetto in Tecuci.

The ghettoization came in response to Ordinance No. 10399 issued by the Tecuci judeţ Prefect, Colonel I. Stamatiu, and countersigned by the mayor of Tecuci, Colonel N. Ionaşcu, and Colonel P. Zamfirescu, commandant of Tecuci Garrison. The Jews were forced to take up residence within established boundaries between a few streets and the Bârlad River in the town's eastern part. This area was known as the Jewish quarter (*Cartierul evreiesc*) and it was in effect an open ghetto. Restrictions on the movement of these residents between 8 P.M. and 7 A.M. were imposed. The same ordinance also announced that 20 Jewish leaders from the Tecuci Jewish community were to be taken as

hostages ("*ostateci*") and held separately for the good behavior of the entire community.[4] Additional evidence for hostage taking comes from documents found in the International Tracing Service (ITS), according to which the city had a "hostage camp" (*Geisellager*).[5] The Romanian state became the owner of what ever Jewish properties remained in the small towns or villages and the former owners were not permitted to even attempt to retrieve property from them; some urban Jews, too, were expropriated of houses and businesses.[6] Jews had to be registered in the Jewish quarter before they could travel outside of the city. All Jews were told that if they engaged in acts of "sabotage, terrorism, or aggression," they would be shot.[7] Leaving the city without a permit signed by the prefect was prohibited, and the wearing of the yellow star was instituted for a period of time in the fall of 1941.

From August 1941 to August 1944, Jewish men ages 18–50 years old were periodically taken from the ghetto to undertake forced labor for various state institutions and factories. The Tecuci Military Recruitment Center (*Centrul de Recrutare Tecuci*), whose responsibility was to enroll Jewish men for mandatory labor, enlisted 1,134 Jews for work in August 1941. Some Jewish workers ended up working for the Romanian Army, others were requisitioned in industry, while still others were allocated to road building and embankment fortifications.[8] Ghetto conditions in Tecuci remained in effect until August 1944 when Romania switched sides in the war. After the war, Israel was a destination for some of Tecuci's Jews.[9]

SOURCES For further information about the Tecuci ghetto and the Jewish history of Tecuci, see "Tecuci," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1300; and "Tecuci," Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Romanyah: entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), I: 138–139; Medy Goldenberg, *Evreii din județul și orașul Tecuci* (Bucharest: self-published, 2000). See also Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of*

Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust, vol. 4 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 2 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); and Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in collaboration with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary source material documenting the fate of Jews in Tecuci can be found digitally at USHMMA, in collections RG-25.030M (ANR-G), RG-25.016M (CER), and RG-25.021M (FUCER). Additional primary source material can be found in USHMMA, RG-68.029M (ACMEOR) and RG-25.002M (ANR). VHA holds four testimonies from Jewish survivors of Tecuci. See also YVA, O11/308. The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from Tecuci; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. Cf. census figures assembled by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews, Statistical department, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, fond 2694, vol. 18, pp. 14, 28, 41.

2. USHMMA, RG-25.030M (ANR_Galaţi), reel 24, file 5, pp. 28, 325 (see also pp. 4, 346).

3. For a copy of Antonescu's order, see Ancel, ed., *Contribuţii*, vol. II, part 2, p. 276.

4. Ordinance No. 10399, July 1, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.030M (ANR_Galaţi), reel 23, file 4, p. 2

5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Jakob Feldman, Doc. No. 53517991.

6. USHMMA, RG-25.030M (ANR_Galaţi), reel 24, file 5, p. 22.

7. Ibid.

8. For distribution of Jewish labor in Tecuci, see USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 325, file 927, pp. 31–32.

9. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Schmuel Perl, Doc. No. 53138616; and ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Hana Michel, Doc. No. 53668083.

TEIŞ-TÂRGOVIŞTE

Teiş is a village near Târgovişte in the Dâmboviţa judeţ in the southern part of Romania. It is 80 kilometers (50 miles) northwest of Bucharest and 295 kilometers (183 miles) southwest of Iaşi.

Immediately before the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Jews living near the military operations or in areas deemed strategic from an economic point of view were concentrated in camps deeper in the Regat. Such was the case of the Jews from northern parts of Moldavia and southern Bukovina, as well as the Jews from the petroleum-rich region around Ploieşti in the Prahova judeţ. As a "security measure," the Jews from both areas, along with the Jews of Târgovişte, were concentrated in the Teiş-Târgovişte camp, in the Dâmboviţa judeţ.

A forced labor camp for Jews was established at Teiş some-time in July 1941. The camp was commonly referred to as Teiş-Târgovişte or Teiş-Dâmboviţa in the documents from the era. A count of the Jews in internment camps in the Regat at the beginning of August 1941 listed the Teiş camp as holding 93 communists, 28 suspects (Legionnaires, most likely), and 1,121 "Jews evacuated from Ploieşti."[1]

A few Jews from the Făgăraş judeţ were brought to the Teiş-Târgovişte camp in August 1941, as were a small group of Jews originally from Dorohoi and Bivolari (Iaşi judeţ). In all, the number of Jews in the camp reached close to 1,242 people, all of whom were men between the ages of 16 and 60.[2] The majority of the internees (the Jews of the Ploieşti area) were force-marched to the camp for 50 kilometers (31 miles), guarded by armed gendarmes. Among them were professionals and skilled workers, including professors, lawyers, doctors, and factory workers. There were also a number of World War I veterans, some having distinguished themselves with medals for acts of bravery, and ranked officers, including reservists in the Romanian Army.[3] The camp was controlled by the Dâmboviţa Prefect's Office (*Prefectura*), but was ultimately under the authority of the

Romanian Internal Affairs Ministry.

Surrounded by fences, the Teiş-Târgovişte camp consisted of five or six large barracks, rudimentary in construction and furnishings. Hundreds of people lived in each barrack, sleeping on multitiered beds. There existed a kitchen and a dining hall. Meals were basic—tea and a slice of bread for breakfast, a bowl of soup for lunch and dinner. Large groups were sent to work in the fields in columns, under escort, or worked in the camp under the eyes of armed gendarmes. Some supervised visitation was periodically allowed, and some newspapers were delivered to the camp from time to time. To prevent epidemics, a general cleaning day was instituted for washing, shaving, and repairing clothes. Roll calls took place in the mornings and evenings. Four people died while in the camp. Some cultural activities were permitted in the camp after working hours. Ilie Paiser, one of the internees, composed a "camp hymn" that was sung by the internees.[4]

In early September 1941, the Internal Affairs Ministry's undersecretary, General de divizie Ion Popescu, asked that rabbis and Jewish community leaders be freed from forced labor camps, including from the Teiş-Târgovişte camp, so they could raise funds and coordinate collections among the Jews for the country's military efforts.[5] Furthermore, a National Defense Ministry order (No. 19.048) from September 24, 1941, released the Jews of Ploieşti from the camp, but forbade those under the age of 50 from returning home to the petroleum region. They were forced to resettle in urban centers in other parts of the country (Galaţi, Brăila, Craiova, Braşov, Botoşani, Bacău, Arad, and Timişoara, among other places).[6] Once in those places, they became available to local recruitment centers for forced labor. Indeed, many were soon drafted into new forced labor detachments that operated until August 1944, when Romania entered the war on the side of the Allied forces.

The camp population, therefore, decreased substantially in October and early November 1941, when most of the inmates were relocated. Some 424 Jews, however, were retained for forced labor at the Central Supplies Ware house (*Depozitul Central de Materiale*) in Găeşti, a few kilometers south of Teiş. There they formed three work companies, each company with its own commandant, and worked in loading and unloading materials.

With the exception of some 50 workers who were still needed in the Supplies Ware house, most were sent away by November 1941. Like those before them, they too were not allowed to return home, but were relocated elsewhere in the country and were then absorbed into local or exterior forced labor detachments.[7]

The Teiş-Târgovişte camp was closed in December 1941.

SOURCES More information about the fate of the Jews held in the Teiş-Târgovişte camp can be gleaned from the following publications: "Ploiesti," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 218–224; Ion Şerbănescu, ed., *Evreii din România între anii 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *1940–1942. Perioada unei mari restriştii* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 1997), 3: 300–306; Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 4 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For the forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom published in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews interned in the Teiş-Târgovişte camp are available at USHMMA, in collections ANR (RG-25.002M), AMAN (RG-25.003M), and FUCER (RG-25.021M). For a survivor's account of the Teiş camp, containing the camp's hymn, see Eliahu Paizer, *Cîntecul barăcii* (Jerusalem: Cenaclul Literar "Menora," 1969). A con temporary newspaper report is Mihail Marcu, "Cum au fost internaţi în lagăr evreii ploieşteni," *CuIs*, January 18, 1945.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. "Situaţia Lagărelor," August 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, p. 19.

2. For an October 1941 list of names containing 1,229 Jews interned in the Teiş camp, including the names of 4 Jews who died in the camp, see USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 144, file 2413, pp. 17–48.

3. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 140, file 2370, p. 474 (and verso); for name lists containing 986 internees arranged according to their military training and profession, see RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2411, pp. 76–124.

4. Eliahu Paizer (Romanian spelling: Ilie Paiser)'s account of camp life, drawn in sketches, available at www.gazetadambovitei.ro/cultura/holocaust-dambovitean-marturie-evreiasca-din-lagarul-de-la-teis/.

5. USHMM, RG-25.002M, reel 17, file 86, p. 108.

6. See order issued by the Romanian National Defense Ministry, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2411. For lists of Jews from the Teiş camp relocating elsewhere in Romania, see RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2413.

7. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2413, pp. 437–444; see also in the same collection, reel 141, file 2371.

ŢIBULOVCA

Ţibulovca, a village in the Obodovca raion, Balta judeţ (today: Tsybulivka, Ukraine), in the northwestern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is situated on both sides of a small tributary of the Bug River. Ţibulovca is 37 kilometers (23 miles) southeast of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 754 Jews in the Obodovca raion, representing 2.49 percent of the entire raion's population (census data for Ţibulovca are not available).

The German and Romanian armies occupied Ţibulovca in mid-July 1941. The village came under Romanian administration in September of the same year. Under this administration, the village's name was romanianized from Tzibulovka to Ţibulovca and, alternatively, Ţibulovca Nouă (New Tzibulovka) and Ţibulovca Veche (Old Tzibulovka), because of the stream that divided the village into two parts. Each side had a Jewish camp/ghetto. The prefect in the Balta judeţ was Colonel Vasile Nica, and his deputy was Alexandru Cojocaru. The commandant of the Balta Gendarmes Legion was Locotenent-colonel Ştefan Gavăţ. The praetor in the Obodovca raion was Dumitru Sofian. The chiefs of the medical service in Balta were Maior Dr. Gheorghe Filipaş and Dr. Vera Decuseară.

Beginning in October 1941, convoys of Jews from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia (entering Transnistria via Iampol), as well as Ukrainian Jews from Transnistria—some 26,000 Jews in total—were marched to destinations in the Balta judeţ closer to the Bug. Of those, 10,000 Jews who had arrived in the area by mid-November 1941 remained in the Obodovca raion. After weeks of marching from one place to another in search of their assigned place of deportation, many of the Jews were starving and freezing, with little material or financial reserves left to barter for food.[1]

Because of unsanitary conditions, a major typhus epidemic erupted at the end of November 1941 among the deportees and spread among the villagers. Local and district-level authorities,

including the general hospital in Obodovca, were completely unprepared to handle the large-scale epidemic. The Obodovca raion had the highest rate of typhus in the Balta judeţ: of approximately 22,300 inhabitants in the raion, there were 1,300 cases of typhus detected by December 1941. This figure most likely does not include the Jews deported to the raion. On his visit to the Obodovca raion on December 7, 1941, the prefect, accompanied by Dr. Filipaş and Dr. Decuseară, found that the Jews had not yet been placed in camps or ghettos (presumably some of them were living in barns, stables, pigsties of collective farms, or abandoned school buildings near villages), and that measures had not been taken to delouse or isolate those infected with typhus. The lack of hospitals, doctors, medicine, and functioning communal baths meant that little could have been done even for the local population, let alone the Jews. The prefect's medical team recommended measures aimed at stopping the epidemic, but their implementation took months. Part of the solution to the problem, Dr. Decuseară maintained, was confiscating medical instruments and medicine from the deported Jewish doctors in the Obodovca raion to use in the local clinics.[2] The measure reflected the common belief among Romanian officials that the Jews were to be blamed for the spread of typhus. In the prefect's words, "the causes for the outbreak of typhus are: the bringing of Yids (*jidani*) from Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Transnistria in these counties (*raioane*) without being first deloused and disinfected."[3]

After a group of Jews were murdered in the basement of a house in Ţibulovca, the gruesome memory of their deaths, combined with rumors that villagers were unfriendly to the Jews, spread fear among the Jews, who avoided going to the village.[4] Still, a camp was gradually formed in a dilapidated chicken farm in which were crammed some 2,000 Jews from various passing convoys. The camp was fenced with barbed wire and guarded by Ukrainian policemen and Romanian gendarmes. Barns and other buildings in the farm lacked roofs, doors, and windows. There were no washing facilities, and melted snow provided drinking water. Heaps of rubble or destroyed structures became public latrines. Approximately 1,820 Jews died from November 1941 to January 1942 of hunger and disease, particularly typhus and typhoid fever

(also malaria). Their frozen corpses were collected every few days and transported by sleigh to a ditch or an open valley for burial. These burials, however, did not occur until warmer days when the ground was less frozen; wild animals and birds tore apart the bodies awaiting interment. Life in the camp was insufferable. A few Jews committed suicide. Others bartered what ever they could for the poor food that villagers had (bread, sweet beets, pig lard, and potatoes).[5]

In the spring of 1942, the Government of Transnistria ordered that deported Jews organize for labor duties and set up workshops. At that time the Jews who could find work as tailors, smiths, or seasonal workers with the locals left the camp and moved in with them. They worked in exchange for housing and a little food. The remaining Jews moved into the homes of local Ukrainian Jews or other abandoned houses, with several families sharing a room; thus the Ţibulovca ghettos were formed.

A Jewish committee was formed in Ţibulovca. The Jewish labor committee in Ţibulovca Nouă included the chief of the colony, Professor Martin Reinisch; the deputy chief, lawyer Bercu Steinfeld; trea surer Jora (or Iora) Engler; and secretary Moritz Nagler. Ţibulovca Veche's chief was Herş Weinisck. These and other intellectuals in the ghetto had held positions in state institutions prior to deportation.[6] Jews who before being deported had practiced or studied medicine were recruited to work as local doctors throughout the Balta judeţ. Thus, Dr. Heinrich Anderman of the Ţibulovca Veche ghetto worked as the doctor in Britava, and Dr. Eti Aschenazi from the same ghetto was the doctor in Pasaţeli II (both in the Balta judeţ).[7] Medicine for the needs of the Jews in the Ţibulovca ghettos was procured from the Obodovca ghetto, which was larger and better equipped. A Jewish police unit also was formed, its main duty being that of gathering laborers for work duties on farms or for road repairs. The Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) sent financial and material aid to Ţibulovca Veche (for further distribution to both ghettos), and family members who had not been deported sent money to individuals in the ghettos.[8]

On May 5, 1942, there were 208 Jews in Ţibulovca Nouă and 182 in Ţibulovca Veche.[9] At the end of 1942 and beginning of

1943, there were 270 Jews in Ţibulovca Nouă: 88 men, 149 women, and 33 children. In the same period, there were 214 Jews in Ţibulovca Veche: 72 men, 88 women, and 54 children. By September 1943, the combined number of Jews in Ţibulovca Nouă and Ţibulovca Veche was 390 (17 from Bessarabia, 373 from Bukovina), excluding Ukrainian Jews.[10]

In early March 1944, 51 orphans under the age of 18 were repatriated to Romania from the Ţibulovca ghettos.[11] A few weeks later, the Red Army liberated Ţibulovca. Surviving Jews returned to their homes, walking long distances or riding on military vehicles. The Red Army recruited able-bodied male Jews to work near the front line digging trenches or in coal mines inside the Soviet Union, neither of which appealed to the Jews who survived the Ţibulovca ghettos.

SOURCES Additional information about the Ţibulovca ghettos can be found in the following sources: "Tsibulevka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 1046; "Tsibulevka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 337; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), pp. 335–336; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 49; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM,

2000); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986). For information about rescuers of Jews in Ţibulovca, see Israel Gutman et al., eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations* (Europe, part II) (Jerusalem: Keterpress, 2011), 5: 366–367, 395–396 (articles are also available at http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/familyList.html?placeTemp=Tsybulevka&results_by=family&placeFam=Tsybulevka&languag

Primary sources documenting the fate of local and deported Jews in Ţibulovca are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and ANR (RG-25.002M). At USHMMA, there are approximately 35 oral testimonies (in seven languages) of Jewish survivors, including two testimonies of Ukrainian rescuers of Jews from Ţibulovca (Yevdokiya Kostyuk, and Tudosiy and Olga Litovchuk).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See correspondence from the Balta prefecture to the Government of Transnistria, Medical Service, December 4, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 659, p. 145 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/659, p. 145).

2. "Proces Verbal," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/16 /2358 /1/695, pp. 142–143 (esp. p. 143).

3. Prefect report, December 4, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/659, p. 145 (verso).

4. VHA #49523, Bernhard Guttmann testimony, March 24, 1999.

5. VHA #3364, David Finger testimony, June 20, 1995; VHA #5363, Henia Donenfeld testimony, August 10, 1995.

6. "Tabel de membrii Biroului de Organizarea a Muncii Evreilor din Jud. Balta şi a Comitetelor evreieşti din Jud. Balta pe data de 1 Septembrie 1943," USHHMA, RG-31.004M/6

/2242/1/1562, n.p.; "Tabel nominal de evreii din raionul Obodovca care au fost funcţionari de stat şi familiile lor," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/15/2358/1/110, pp. 12–13 (and verso).

7. "Referat," August 5, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/22, n.p.

8. "Tablou de remiterile de ajutoare colectiv de la 18 Februarie 1942 până la 12 Decembrie 1942," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents* 5: 306–314 (esp. p. 311). For individual aid, see "Tabel de remiterile facute evreilor din tara deportati in Transnistria si aflati la Ţibulovca Veche (raion Obodovca, jud. Balta)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1567, p. 494; and for Ţibulovca Nouă, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/4/2242/1/1501, p. 160.

9. "Numărul evreilor din Jud. Balta pe raioane," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/2358/1/717, p. 42 (verso). A count, "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Trasnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346, gives a different figure (490 Jews for both ghettos). For the May 5, 1943, census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi în lagărele din Judeţul Balta, la 5 Mai 1943," USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 16, file 205, vol. 2, pp. 446–447.

10. "Situaţie numerică de numarul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

11. Tables with names and ages of the repatriated children are available in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 553–556.

TIMIŞOARA/LP NO. 17

Timişoara was the main city in the Timiş judeţ, in the southwestern part of Romania. An important administrative and cultural center in the (Romanian) Banat region, the city is located some 410 kilometers (255 miles) northwest of Bucharest. Colonel Alexandru Nasta was the prefect of the Timiş judeţ, and Eugen Pop was the mayor.

In the autumn of 1940, while Romania remained neutral, the German construction company, Organisation Todt (OT), built a large prisoner of war (POW) camp in Timişoara with local labor. The camp was located on the east side of the Timişoara-Arad Highway (today: Romanian National Road 69) on the city's northern outskirts. The camp was built on the Kopony estate, an area of 17 hectares (42 acres) belonging to the aristocratic Kopony family.

The camp was surrounded by two high barbed-wire fences, almost 9 meters (29.5 feet) apart. Watchtowers equipped with machine guns were placed in three of the camp's four corners. Large wooden barracks were built in the camp. The exact number of barracks is unknown, but the number of 50 is often cited. Each barrack was 100 meters long and 10 meters wide (328 × 32.8 feet) and could hold 100 people in crammed conditions. The camp's normal capacity was estimated to be between 5,000 and 6,000 people. Some of the barracks were used as ware houses, and there was a cafeteria and an infirmary. The Kopony mansion, a large two-story building, housed the camp's commanding office. The nuns running the Marienheim monastery (of the Roman Catholic Order of Notre Dame) neighboring the camp also ran a small hospital for camp prisoners in an adjacent building belonging to the monastery.

Oberst Henblein (or Heublein) commanded the Wehrmacht troops stationed in Timişoara in preparation for the German attack on Yugoslavia in April 1941. After the attack, Yugoslav Army POWs were transported to Timişoara by rail. The POWs were

initially placed in smaller temporary holding camps near Timişoara at Săcălaz, Remetea, Bucovăţ, and Moşniţa Nouă where they were separated by nationality. Serb POWs were concentrated in the main camp at Timişoara for deportation to Germany as forced laborers, whereas Yugoslav POWs of Romanian, German, Hungarian, or Croat origin stayed in those holding camps for a few more weeks before their repatriation to Yugoslavia, Hungary, or Germany. During this period of confinement, the Romanian authorities staged cultural and religious activities for ethnic Romanian prisoners and offered them educational materials in the Romanian language.[1] Serb POWs received less humane treatment. Some died from battle wounds or sickness, or in escape attempts (they were usually shot), but most suffered from starvation.[2]

After the joint German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the camp came completely under Romanian jurisdiction and was renamed prisoner camp (*Lagărul de Prizonieri*, LP) LP No. 17. The camp was administered by the VI Territorial Command under the command of Colonel Cavaropol. Beginning in September 1941, Soviet POWs captured on the Eastern front were also sent to LP No. 17. The total number of prisoners reached almost 7,000 over the three years of Romanian control. Living conditions inside the camp were poor. The POWs lacked shoes and clothing, and the rations were not nutritious. The approach of the frigid winter of 1941 wreaked havoc among the many POWs whose health had already been weakened after weeks of detention and poor treatment since their capture. That winter a typhoid fever epidemic claimed a small number of victims. The subsequent winter, 1942, however, revealed the ineffectiveness of the camp authorities' preparation; despite the preventive measures taken to combat epidemics like typhus, dozens of POWs, soldiers and officers alike, perished that winter. The total number of victims recorded by the Soviet authorities for that and the following winter (1943) was 95: 73 were regular soldiers, 21 were officers, and 1 was a noncommissioned officer. It is likely that the total number was higher.[3]

In accordance with the orders of Colonel I. Stănculescu, commander of all POW camps in Romania, state-owned and private entities were permitted to hire POWs as laborers. The

Furnir Deta, a factory producing veneer, employed Soviet labor from LP No. 17. While working in the factory and benefiting from a greater degree of freedom, some POWs escaped and crossed the border into occupied Yugoslavia, where they eventually joined groups of Josip Broz Tito's Partisans.

The camp remained under Romanian jurisdiction for several months after August 23, 1944, when Romania joined the Allies against Nazi Germany. Surprised by the sudden decision to switch sides, the Wehrmacht garrison in Timişoara surrendered without a fight, while German and Hungarian forces tried unsuccessfully to recapture the city. In September 1944, a delegation of the regional organization, "Patriotic Defense" (*Apărarea Patriotică*), distributed humanitarian assistance (food, medicine, cigarettes, and money) to the POWs. The camp was formally handed over to the Soviet authorities with the arrival of the Red Army in Timişoara in October 1944. The Soviets operated the camp to confine some 30,000 to 35,000 Hungarian and German POWs before their deportation as forced laborers to the Soviet Union. In March 1945, major epidemics of typhus, typhoid, and dysentery resulted in the deaths of as many as 9,000 Axis POWs at this site. The camp formally closed in 1946.

SOURCES More information about the fate of the Soviet POWs held in LP No. 17 in Timişoara can be found in the following publications: Constantin C. Gombos and Ioan Rado, *Dincolo de sârma ghimpată, Lagărul … Din istoria lagărului de prizonieri din Timişoara, 1941–1945* (Timişoara: Eurostampa, 2011); and Vali Corduneanu, "Lagărul de prizonieri din Timişoara —o istorie care se cere cercetată şi scrisă," available at www.stindard.ro/historicum/cordun1.pdf; for a more general study of the Soviet POWs in Romania, see Vasile Popa, "Prizonierii Sovietici în România (1941–1944)," available at www.once.ro/sesiuni/sesiune_2007/9%20prizonieri_popa.pdf; for a description of the ICRC activity among the POWs in Romania, see Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internaţională şi Romania, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources regarding the fate of the Soviet POWs in Timişoara LP No. 17 are available at TsAMO. The Romanian

press published propagandistic, but useful, articles on the camp: *Timpul*, *RTim*. Also useful is the following pro-communist publication from the Banat region: Comitetul regional din Banat al Apararii Patriotice, eds., *Apărarea Patriotică contra teroarei fasciste* (Timişoara, 1945), esp. 92–94. A photograph of the camp appears on p. 92. For Romanian transcripts of the Soviet interrogations of Antonescu government officials regarding camps for Soviet POWs in Romania and the treatment of Soviet POWs therein, see Radu Ioanid, ed., *Lotul Antonesu în ancheta SMERŞ, Moscova, 1944–1946* (Iaşi: Polirom, 2006).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. "Traiul celor 4000 prizonieri Români proveniţi din fosta armată Jugoslavă," *Timpul*, May 15, 1941, p. 3. The figure of 4,000 includes ethnic Romanian prisoners from Curcani and Vlaşca. For the latter camp, see photos in *Timpul*, May 18, 1941, p. 1; and in the same newspaper, May 15, 1941, p. 1. There were additional camps for Yugoslav POWs of Romanian origin in Curcani (Ilfov judeţ), Odăile (or Odaia, Teleorman judeţ), and Bălănoaia (Vlaşca judeţ, today Teleorman judeţ), A. Dumitrescu Jippa and Octavian Matea, "Timocenii printre noi," *RTim*, 1943, pp. 53–57.

2. In countering such claims, see "Hrana prizonierilor sârbi din lagărele din Timişoara," *Timpul*, May 18, 1941, p. 3.

3. "Dosarul cuprinzând tabelele nominale ale ostaşilor din armata Rosie decedaţi în lagărele din România. Intocmite in conforminate cu adresa nr. A.G.M. 132 din 5 Decembrie 1944 a Comisiunei Aliată de Control din Romania," TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, p. 2; but see also in the same collection a list of deceased prisoners, "Lagarul de prizonieri 17 Timişoara," pp. 545–554.

TIMIŞUL DE JOS/LPRA NO. 18

Timişul de Jos, a village in the Braşov judeţ, is in the central part of Romania in a mountainous region, 9 kilometers (5.5 miles) south of Braşov and 134 kilometers (83 miles) northwest of Bucharest.

A camp for American prisoners of war (*Lagărul de prizonieri de război americani*, LPRA) was established in Timişul de Jos by the spring of 1943. After the bombing raid on the Ploieşti oil refineries on August 1, 1943, the camp admitted its largest number of prisoners of war (POWs) in September and October 1943. In addition to U.S. prisoners, the camp also held five Yugoslav POWs (officers and noncommissioned officers, [NCOs]), two British NCOs, and two British civilians (actually Zionists from Palestine who had parachuted into Europe on an Allied mission). Before arriving at Timişul de Jos, the prisoners had been held in a transit camp in Bucharest. The German authorities in Romania asked for and were handed a small group of U.S. and British POWs to be taken to the Reich for interrogation. The POWs in question were returned unharmed to Bucharest three weeks later and transferred to Timişul de Jos.[1]

The camp commandant was Căpitan Gheorghe Butoliu, who was succeeded by army majors Mihai Cavaropol and Alexandru Mateescu. Initially a subcamp of the Vlădeni camp for Soviet POWs (*Lagărul de Prizonieri Sovietici,* LPRS), the Timişul de Jos camp became independent and was assigned the designation LPRA No. 18 at the beginning of 1943. It was occasionally referred to as Timiş or Timiş-Braşov.

LPRA No. 18 consisted of several large structures, some residential and others auxiliary (cafeteria, laundry, and showers). The houses were formerly used as resorts for Romanian state employees. A Catholic chapel existed on the grounds. A barbed-wire fence surrounded the camp, and a few Romanian gendarmes stood guard.

The prisoners were airmen of the United States Air Army Forces (USAAF) and the Royal Air Force (RAF). After capture, they were searched, their uniforms removed, and valuables confiscated. In accordance with the 1929 Geneva Convention, they were housed according to rank. Officers were quartered in a large residential house, similar to a villa, whereas the NCOs occupied a smaller house (and later two houses). The officers' house was equipped with a large dining room, a clean kitchen, and two bathrooms with showers and flush toilets. The bedrooms were clean and comfortable. Nutritious meals were served three times a day, and supplementary food could be bought from an inn across the camp. Officers received monthly stipends allocated by the Romanian Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM) in lieu of regular salaries in conformity with the Geneva Convention of 1929. In September 1943, there were 19 officers, and by January 1944 there were 40; the latter number remained stable in June 1944 and likely beyond. The Senior Allied Officer (SAO) was Major William H. Jaeger.

The NCOs' situation was less comfortable. Lodged in crowded and less sanitary conditions, they received a stipend insufficient to supplement their inadequate meals. Such meals consisted mostly of ersatz coffee, bean soup, bread, and mashed potatoes. Poor bathing and cooking facilities added to their frustration. Two POWs were shoeless, and all of them lacked warm winter clothing. A few NCOs soon displayed signs of malnutrition and required hospitalization. The number of NCOs grew from 44 in September 1943 to 70 in January 1944. The camp spokesman was Sergeant Fred D. Randall and then later Captain Wallace C. Taylor assisted by Dutch Rear Admiral (*schout-bij-nacht*) L. A. C. M. Doorman (an escaped POW from the Reich). The number of NCOs rose to 120 prisoners in May 1944.[2]

Some cultural life existed for the NCOs. A Romanian Catholic Mass was celebrated a few times, and later English Protestant services were held as well. The POWs were free to listen to the radio in the dining room. Walking, exercise, playing cards, and other games were allowed. Interaction with Romanian civilians or the Soviet POWs who served as camp orderlies was restricted.

Representatives of the Swiss Legation in Bucharest, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and the

Romanian Red Cross (*Crucea Roşie din România*, CRR) visited the camp a few times between late September 1943 and June 1944. They observed the living conditions, noted complaints, and evaluated the commandants' disposition. The inspection reports were transmitted to the U.S. Legation in Bern and relayed to the U.S. State Department.[3]

The reports resulted in substantially improved conditions for the NCOs. Beginning in January 1944, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister Mihai Antonescu and other Romanian authorities responded by increasing the NCOs' stipends, improving rations, and allowing aid packages. Mail exchanges became possible as well.[4] In March 1944, the MSM, together with Marshal Ion Antonescu, approved Romanian-language instruction for POWs and for movies to be shown.[5] Monsignor Andrea Cassulo, the papal nuncio in Romania, donated money for the POWs' Christmas celebrations in December 1943. Marshal Antonescu and his wife, Maria, visited the camp in March 1944. He promised additional privileges for the POWs, including visits throughout the country, provided they pledged not to escape.[6]

In fact, there were a few escape attempts, none apparently successful. The first attempt in October 1943 was not punished, but subsequent attempts incurred severe penalties, including the sacking of a camp commandant and increased camp restrictions. It became common practice to beat recaptured escapees and send them for correctional punishment to the Slobozia camp for Soviet POWs (LPRS No. 1), located 102 kilometers (63 miles) east of Bucharest. On November 16, 1943, six U.S. and two British NCOs escaped from Timişul de Jos. Recaptured shortly thereafter, they were beaten and transported to Slobozia where they spent 30 days in confinement under strict discipline.[7] Sergeant Reginald Douglas Collins and Staff Sergeant Huntley made a last attempt to escape on August 22, 1944—a day before Romania switched sides in the war and the anticipated release of all prisoners—by hiding in a disguised closet in a camp dormitory. A thorough search of the camp revealed the two concealed prisoners, who were then severely beaten by Mateescu and his staff, in violation of the Geneva Convention.

Health care was available inside the camp and at nearby hospitals. A general practitioner and a dentist periodically visited

the camp. Prisoners with more serious medical needs were treated at military hospitals in Braşov, Sinaia, and Ploieşti. They also received visits and support from the Protecting Power delegates.

The POWs were released from the Timişul de Jos camp shortly after August 23, 1944, when Romania switched sides in World War II. All prisoners were transferred to a camp in Bucharest and left Romania safely at the beginning of September 1944. On his repatriation to the United Kingdom, on January 5, 1945, Sergeant Collins made a formal charge against Mateescu for maltreating him following his attempted escape.[8]

SOURCES Further information regarding U.S. and other Allied Powers POWs held in the Timişul de Jos camp (LPRA No. 18) can be found in Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internationalã şi Romania, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997). Şiperco's volume includes a group photo displaying American POWs at the military hospital in Sinaia. Among the photographed prisoners is the ICRC delegate, Charles Kolb, along with a few CRR representatives, who were visiting that day. Regarding the imprisonment of U.S. POWs and those of other Allied Powers in the Slobozia correctional camp, see Vitalie Buzu, "Lagărul de prizonieri sovietici de la Slobozia," at http://ionelperlea.wordpress.com/2009/11/07/lagarul-de-prizonieri-sovietici-de-la-slobozia/.

Primary sources documenting the experience of U.S. POWs and those of other Allied Powers in Timişul de Jos (LPRA No. 18) are available at USHMMA, in collection PCMCM (RG-25.013M). A substantial collection of camp inspection reports regarding U.S. POWs in Romania can be found at NARA, Records of the Office of Provost Marshal General (RG-389), box 2155. On the mistreatment of one of the British civilians in the camp, see "Ill-treatment of British civilian internee at prisoner of war camp, Timisul de Jos near Brasov, Romania, April 1944," dated February to November 1945, WO 311/934, TNA; and UNWCC, available at USHMMA as RG-67.041M.

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NOTES

1. U.S. Legation, Bern, to U.S. Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, October 13, 1943, NARA, RG-389 (Provost-Marshal General's Office), box 2155, n.p. A name list of most of the U.S. POWs follows the letter.

2. Airmail letter, U.S. Legation in Bern, to U.S. State Department, Special War Problems Division, June 28, 1944, NARA, RG-389, box 2155, n.p.

3. Reports of September 28, 1943 (Camp Report No. 1), October 30, 1943 (Camp Report No. 2), and January 20, 1944 (Camp Report No. 3), NARA, RG-389, box 2155. Summary transmissions of these reports between the Swiss and the American agencies, including other reports about subsequent visits made by delegates of the CCR and ICRC, can be found in the same location.

4. Reports by ICRC delegate, Charles Kolb's camp visits, November 29, 1943, and January 5, 1944, NARA, RG-389, box 2155, n.p. Also, see the visits of CRR's staff, Mrs. Ioan, January 24, 1944, in the same location, n.p.

5. MSM Order, March 7, 1944, and Marshal Antonescu's approval, USHMMA, RG-25.013M (PCMCM), reel 6, file 175, p. 45. See also ICRC letter, November 17, 1943, NARA, RG-389, box 2155, n.p.

6. Copy of telegram, April 14, 1943, NARA, RG-389, box 2155, n.p.

7. Such incidents are noted in various camp reports: see, for instance, the reporting regarding the attempt of the eight prisoners to escape on November 16, 1943, in Camp Report No. 3, January 5, 1944; and in Kolb's report following his camp visit on November 29, 1943, NARA, RG-389, box 2155, n.p.

8. Collins affidavit, USHMMA, RG-67.041M (UNWCC), reel 22, folders PAG-3/2.0: 114–117 United Kingdom vs. Romanians, Registered No. 1–2, fr. 2954–2956.

TIRASPOL

A raion and judeţ center, Tiraspol (today: in Moldova), in the western part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located near the Dniester River. Tiraspol is 92 kilometers (57 miles) northwest of Odessa. According to the 1939 Soviet census, Tiraspol had 11,764 Jews, about 30 percent of the city's total population. At the outbreak of war against the Soviet Union, some of the Jews retreated with the Red Army (to Odessa, for example) and some military-age men were drafted into the army, but most stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Tiraspol on August 8, 1941. Together they established Transnistria's first military and administrative capital at Tiraspol before moving it to Odessa in February 1942. Soon after the occupation, a large number of local Jews and active communist leaders were rounded up and shot by Einsatzgruppe D, assisted by Romanian Army troops. This killing operation was aimed at eliminating "undesirable" groups of people from behind the front line. The victims, who numbered approximately 10,000, were buried in unmarked mass graves. An agreement between German and Romanian officials, signed at Tighina, near Tiraspol, on August 30, 1941, gave Romania immediate control over Transnistria. Authority over Tiraspol was transferred to the Romanian administration at the beginning of September 1941. The prefect in Tiraspol was Colonel Georgescu Pompiliu, and the commandant of the gendarmes was Maior Nicolae Iacobescu. Căpitan Ion A. Ionescu, succeeded by Locotenent Ionel Popescu, was the city's police chief and the Tiraspol ghetto's military commandant.

Approximately 1,100 Jews deported from Romania crossed the Dniester River into Transnistria at the Tighina-Tiraspol crossing point during the deportations of 1941 and 1942, according to the Transnistria Gendarmes Inspectorate's report of September 9, 1942.[1] After a short stop in Tiraspol in miserable conditions, the Jews were marched to camps near the Bug in the Golta judeţ,

where many perished due to cold, illness, and starvation, and many others were shot. A small ghetto was established in Tiraspol in early 1942 to house Jews who would serve the growing needs of the Romanian and German officers and institutions in the city. The initial ghetto population was not more than 30 people, all Jewish specialist workers brought from other ghettos, particularly the Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto.[2] Gradually, the ghetto grew to 100 Jews (men, women, and a few children), and by the end of 1943, there were 256 inmates. Of them, 156 were from Romania, the rest being Ukrainian Jews deported from other places in Transnistria.[3] The ghetto area expanded as the number of deportees increased. At one time it included only a few houses, amounting to 18 rooms, and then it gradually extended to a few streets.[4] A fence was eventually erected, and the ghetto was under the constant guard of three to four Romanian gendarmes.

Life inside the ghetto at first was filled with restrictions, but over time the Romanian authorities' interdictions were relaxed. Going in and out of the ghetto was not allowed without a permit, and permits were usually granted only for work purposes. Food was brought into the ghetto by two representatives who were permitted to leave under escort to buy food. Ghetto roll calls occurred regularly.[5] A dentist by the name of Goldsman (Romanian: Goldţman) headed the ghetto, after taking over from Izrael Silberman, who proved to be a corrupt leader. A committee was formed from Goldsman's colleagues—Bandel, Evitco, Leo Drux, Iancu Braunstein, and Marcu Maier—as well as a few dedicated women, who assisted him in running the ghetto.

Local Romanian authorities came to rely on the services provided by the Jews. For that reason, the authorities, beginning with Maior Iacobescu, provided for some basic necessities and made certain the Jews were treated fairly by employers. Most of the Jews worked in the newly created ghetto workshops (*ateliere*), as well as in several of the city's offices, small factories (soap and canning), restaurants, and the train station. Among the workshops, the most established were the tailoring, boot-making, hairdressing, and dress and lingerie shops. A dental office and a medical office also functioned in the ghetto.[6] The ghetto covered part of its expenses from the money obtained from selling the workshops' products and from rendering services to the government and the

army. Private sums of money and packages from family members or friends who remained in Romania were also usually received, even if with delays.[7] The Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) also provided food and clothing packages in the second part of 1943.

In 1943 a Torah scroll smuggled into the ghetto was read by a rabbi from the ghetto, assisted by a cantor (a doctor from the Regat), in religious services.[8] Jewish High Holidays in 1943 were observed, and a number of art shows were staged to increase morale among deportees.

In addition to the ghettoized Jews, other Jews were held in 1943 in Tiraspol's forced labor centers and prisons. One hundred Jews from Transnistria were jailed in the city's prison for committing various offenses. Some 400 Jews (of whom 156 were brought from the Tulcin judeţ peat fields) worked as temporary forced laborers in an army uniform recycling center. Another 100 worked in a collection center where different products were gathered before being sent to Romania, and another 100 worked in a vehicle repair center. The living situation of these Jews was far worse than of those living in the ghetto. They lacked nutritious food, clothing (some were partly naked), and basic accommodations.[9] Two large camps of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) existed in Tiraspol and held 5,820 POWs.

Repatriations of Jews originally from the Dorohoi judeţ and the Regat, and of former state functionaries and war veterans, took place in December 1943 via Tiraspol, which had become a repatriation center for Jews from the central and southern regions of Transnistria.[10] Orphaned children, up to 15 years of age, from the Balta ghetto orphanage and other orphans from the Tiraspol judeţ were also repatriated through Tiraspol in early March 1944. Before boarding trains destined for various cities in Romania, the deportees were deloused, clothed, and fed nutritious food. This was made possible due to the efforts of CER, whose representatives worked in partnership with the Tiraspol ghetto committee members and with Romanian military and civilian authorities in Tiraspol and Tighina.[11]

At the end of 1943, several delegations visiting Transnistria

came to the Tiraspol ghetto, among them representatives of CER, a group of Catholic clergy led by Andrea Cassulo (the papal nuncio in Romania), and a group from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

The German authorities retook control of the city and its bridges at the end of March 1944. Although the ghetto had been disbanded a few months earlier, many convicted Jews remained in the city's prisons and were not released before the Germans came. The Germans shot most of them, approximately 1,000, before the Red Army liberated Tiraspol on April 12, 1944. The People's Court in Bucharest investigated Tiraspol ghetto leader Izrael Silberman and Romanian military officials in Tiraspol for the inhumane treatment of Jews.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Tiraspol can be found in the following publications: "Tiraspol," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 981; "Tiraspol," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1308; "Tiraspol," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopdiia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 195; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews*

and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Iaacov Geller, *Rezistenţa Spirituală a Evreilor Români în Timpul Holocaustului* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2004).

Primary sources regarding the fate of Jews in the Tiraspol ghetto are available at USHMMA, in collection DAOO (RG-31.004M). For the Tighina Agreement, see RG-31.004M, reel 18, fond 2359, opis 1c, delo 1, pp. 61–62 (and verso); additional lists of Jews from the Tiraspol ghetto can be found at RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22; for CER's involvement in the repatriation of Romanian Jews, including the orphaned children, from Transnistria via Tiraspol, see RG-25.016 (ANR, fond CER), reel 1, file 4 and 5, as well as reel 7, file 52 in the same collection; for the repatriation of Jews from Tiraspol ghetto, see also RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 17, fond 680.1, file 4643.2; Romanian court investigations against Izrael Silberman are located at RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 39, file 40030, vol. 11 (continuing into reel 40, file 40030, vol. 11), and for court investigations into the shooting of Jews and Russian citizens in Tiraspol, see RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 41, file 108233, vol. 31; and reel 125, file 21535, Operating Archive vol. 7. The Soviet Extraordinary Commission's report on Tiraspol can be found at RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 14, fond 1026/32. VHA holds 153 video testimonies in nine languages from Holocaust survivors who passed through the Tiraspol ghetto.

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NOTES

1. Report No. 9.318, USHMMA (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 152.

2. Name lists of Jews in the Tiraspol ghetto: "Tabel de evreii din ghetoul Tiraspol," June 9, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1488, p. 122 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1488, p. 122).

3. "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie

1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

4. For a list of allocated rooms in the ghetto and the families occupying them, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3 /2242 /1/1488, p. 123 (verso).

5. List of instructions governing the ghetto: "Consemn pentru garda şi evreii din Ghetoul Tiraspol," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1488, p. 124.

6. VHA #40708, Chana Klinger testimony, February 9, 1998; for Jewish workers employed in various institutions, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/22, n.p.

7. "Stat nominal pentru plata evreilor meseriaşi de la ghetoul Tiraspol pe luna Martie 1942," USHMMA, RG-31.004M /9/2255/1/1227, p. 11 (see also p. 12 for April 1942 payments).

8. VHA #23467, Salo Sternhell testimony, December 22, 1996.

9. "Report asupra repatrierii evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria, prin punctul Tighina-Tiraspol," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 527–538 (esp. pp. 528–350).

10. For a name list of war veterans, disabled, widows, and state functionaries, see "Tabel nominal de evreii: văduve, invalizi, decoraţi de război, pensionari şi fosti funcţionari de Stat aflaţi în Ghetoul Tiraspol," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/14 /2264s/1/10, p. 35.

11. "Raport asupra repatrierii copiilor orfani evrei din Trasnistria prin punctual Balta-Tiraspol," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 576–586.

TIRASPOL/LPRS NO. 5 AND NO. 11

Tiraspol, a city in the Tiraspol judeţ in the western part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is situated on the eastern side of the Dniester River, Tiraspol is located about 92 kilometers (57 miles) northwest of Odessa.

After the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Tiraspol was occupied on August 7, 1941. Subsequently, the Romanian civil administration of Transnistria established its first capital at Tiraspol, before moving its capital to the larger city of Odessa in February 1942.

A Romanian camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) was created in Tiraspol in the fall of 1941, followed by a second camp shortly thereafter. Following the occupation of Transnistria, the Romanian gendarmerie searched the area for Soviet soldiers. In one such instance, 300 Soviet soldiers were captured in the Odessa raion in November/December 1941. Officers were sent to the camp in Tiraspol, and the rest were sent to the Soviet POW camp in Timişoara (in western Romania).[1] Tiraspol's two camps and their respective subcamps were under the jurisdiction of the Headquarters Rear Area for the East (*Comandamentul Etapelor de Est*).

By the spring of 1943, there were 5,820 Soviet POWs held in Tiraspol's two camps and subcamps. The first camp in Tiraspol was known as Camp No. 5 (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici Nr. 5*, LPRS) until late 1943, when its name was apparently changed to Camp No. 12. The camp commandants were Maior Ion Lăzăroiu (1942 and 1943), followed by Maior Nicolae Grosu (1942) and Locotenent-colonel Constantin Manoliu and Constantin Bantaş (in 1943). Camp No. 5 had 3,996 Soviet POWs in the following eight subcamps: 426 prisoners were held in the building of a Tiraspol train station; Sucleia, 1,405 prisoners; Calcatova-Balca, 736 prisoners; Pavlovca, 110 prisoners (all subcamps in the Tiraspol judeţ); Taşlâc, 155 prisoners (Dubăsari

judeţ); Golta, 285 prisoners (Golta judeţ); Odaia, 414 prisoners (Tulcin judeţ); and Şmerinca, 465 prisoners (Moghilev judeţ).

The General Inspectorate of Gendarmes allocated 21 officers (including the commandants), 22 noncomissioned officers (NCOs), and 644 troops for the running of Camp No. 5 and its subcamps. Additional personnel (officers and soldiers) ran the Şmerinca and Taşlâc subcamps.

The second camp in Tiraspol was known as Camp No. 11 (*Lagărul de Prizonieri Nr. 11*). Commanded by Locotenent-colonel Victor Ioanid, it held 1,824 Soviet POWs and comprised the following subcamps distributed around Transnistria: Birzula (Râbniţa judeţ), 250 prisoners; Odessa, 287 prisoners in six smaller camps; Vacarjani with 30 prisoners, Manarov/Mândrova with 50 prisoners, and Manheim with 50 prisoners in the Odessa judeţ; Elsass (Tiraspol judeţ), 50 prisoners; Bilaevca (Ovidiopol judeţ), 107 prisoners; and Tighina (Tighina judeţ, Bessarabia), 199 prisoners. A total of 16 officers (including the commandant), 13 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and 340 soldiers (supplemented as needed) were allocated for the running of Camp No. 11 and its subcamps.[2]

Living conditions in the camps and subcamps were harsh. During the frigid winter of 1941–1942, Soviet POWs suffered extreme cold, sleeping on the floor or on self-made beds of hay and wood, in unheated rooms. They lived in overcrowded conditions, lacked winter clothes, and were fed meals that were not nutritious. These factors, combined with the camp commanders' general lack of interest in the POWs' condition, led to the widespread incidence of illnesses, such as tuberculosis and typhus. Delousing facilities did not exist until the camps became a health hazard to the gendarmes and the local population. By that time, dozens of POWs had already died. The situation improved only slightly in the spring of 1942, when Soviet POWs were outfitted with better clothes, deloused, and were assigned doctors (usually Jews undertaking forced labor) to care for them. However, medical supplies were in short supply for civilians and prisoners because Romanian soldiers received priority.

Throughout 1942, Soviet POWs from Tiraspol's camps were deployed as forced laborers throughout Transnistria. The

employment of prisoners was by contract between the camp commandant and either a judeţ prefect (or a representative from the prefect's office) or a director of an enterprise. The contract typically stated what type of work was involved, the number of prisoners required, the number of gendarmes allocated to guard the prisoners, and the labor remuneration. The contract also stipulated each party's responsibility regarding the prisoners' food, maintenance, and transport, but these stipulations were rarely met.

At the end of 1941, 554 Soviet POWs (ages 17 to 40) were brought from Tiraspol Camp No. 5 to the Şmerinca POW camp to work for German railway construction firms. The Romanian authorities took over most of the administration of the Şmerinca camp from the Germans in January 1942 and allocated 1 officer, 2 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), 1 doctor, and a contingent of 30 gendarmes to guard the prisoners. The prisoners were crammed into three wooden barracks, each barrack having three rooms, and they slept on communal bunkbeds. The rooms were dirty and lice infested. Pea or lentil soup (distributed by the Germans) was served three times a day for working prisoners and twice a day for those stationed in the camp. Two hundred grams (7 ounces) of bread per prisoner per day were also given. Prisoners suffered from furunculosis and scabies, due to the lack of washing facilities, soap, delousing equipment, and medicine, in addition to illnesses resulting from vitamin deficiencies.[3] In the summer of 1943, Moghilev judeţ's prefect, Colonel Modest Isopescu, requested that prisoners be transferred to farms to work in agriculture and that they be replaced by deported Jews.[4]

In the summer of 1942, Golta's prefect, Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, hired 800 Soviet prisoners from Tiraspol Camp No. 5 to work as laborers in Golta's state farms (*sovkhozes*) and forests.[5] Payment per day/per prisoner was established at 120 lei (or 2 *Reichskreditkassenschein* [RKKS], with the rate increasing in March 1943), which covered meals, tobacco, and soap. Working hours were from 6 A.M. to 7 P.M. in the summer season (shorter in winter), with a one-hour lunch break and some additional free time on Wednesdays and Sundays for personal hygiene (washing clothes, medical checkups, etc.). Working prisoners were entitled to an additional 150 lei (or 2.25 RKKS) per month as a form of salary. In a rare gesture of kindness, the hiring authorities ordered

that each prisoner be given a half roll of sponge cake (*cozonac*) for Easter in April 1943.[6] On the Soviet POWs' return to the camp in Tiraspol in May 1943, the farms provided bread and sheep cheese, which were distributed in small portions to each prisoner.

As observed by one Soviet POW held in the German-run camp at Nicolaev and subsequently transferred to Tiraspol, the Soviet prisoners in Romanian hands received generally more humane treatment than those held in German camps across the Bug River.[7] Members of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), including one of its leaders, Dr. Edouard Chapuisat, visited POW Camp No. 5 Tiraspol in May 1943. The ICRC representatives encouraged Romanian camp authorities to allow the Soviet POWs to send and receive correspondence and to introduce Russian-language newspapers in the camp, which were previously forbidden.

On April 12, 1944, the Red Army liberated Tiraspol.

SOURCES More information about the fate of the Soviet POWs held in Tiraspol Camps No. 5 and No. 11 can be found in the following publications: A. Shneer, "Sovetskie Voennoplennye V Plenu Soiznikov Natsistskoj Germanii," in *Materialy Mezhdunarodnoj Nauchnoj Konferentsii "Interpretatsii Razlichnykh Aspektov Vtoroj Mirovok i Velikoj Otechestvennij vojny v Sovremenoj vostochno-evropejskoj istoriografii*" (Kishinev: KEP YCM, 2010), pp. 57–73; P. Polian, "Sovetskie Voennoplennye-evrei—pervye zhertvy Kholokosta v SSSR," in P. Polian and A. Shneer, eds. *Obrechennye pogibnut': Sud'ba sovetskikh voennoplennykh-evreev voVtoroj mipovoj vojne. Vospominaniia I dokumenty* (Moscow: Novoe Izdatel'stvo, 2006), pp. 9–71; and Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internațională şi Romania, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997). Şiperco's volume includes a group photo showing Soviet POWs in Tiraspol, Romanian authorities, and Edouard Chapuisat, the ICRC representative.

Primary sources regarding the fate of the Soviet POWs in Tiraspol Camps No. 5 and No. 11 are available at USHMMA, in

collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), AME (RG-25.006M), ANR (RG-25.002M), and GARF; records can also be found at YVA and TsAFSB. For General Constantin Pantazi's testimony during interrogation, see TsAFSB, storage unit 18, 767.T.1.L. 108, pp. 119–121. For labor contracts, see RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 20 (in folder 2178, opis 1, delo 374); for statistical figures for the largest Soviet POW camps in Transnistria, see RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 599; for a report stating the capture of Soviet POWs in the Odessa oblast' who were subsequently escorted to Tiraspol and other camps inside Romania, see YVA, M-33/325, p. 9. For information about the criteria for internment of Soviet POWs in NKVD review camps, see GARF, fond 9408, opis 1, delo 53, p. 29.

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NOTES

1. YVA, fond M-33/325, p. 9.

2. See the summary outline of camps in Transnistria, "Nota. Lagăre existente în Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 33, file 79/'43, pp. 408–412; and "Dare de seamă asupra lagărelor existente în Transnistria," pp. 416–419 in the same collection. See also Ion Stăculescu's brief report, 1943, "Raport în legătură cu situaţia prizonierilor de război aflaţi în Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 599.

3. See copy of Locotenent-colonel S. Teodorescu's report, "Dare de seamă asupra constatărilor făcute la lagărul de prizonieri de război Şmerinka, Judeţul Moghilev," December 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 20, file 40011, vol. 8, pp. 123–125.

4. Loghin's telegram to Transnistrian Romanian Railroad (C.F.R.T.), July 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 9, pp. 83 (and verso), 87.

5. See various contracts made between the two parties: "Contract," August 16, 1942, signed by Maior Grosu,

USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 20, pp. 5–7; (USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/374, pp. 5–7), "Contract," November 1, 1942, and signed by Ioan Lăzăroiu, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20; "Contract," March 1, 1943, signed by Constantin Manoliu, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20, p. 32 (and verso).

6. Vintilă Davidescu's Decision Nr. 2132 from 26 September 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 126, file 24361, vol. 5, pp. 50–51, and Decision No. 4.307 from February 16, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 20, n.p.

7. Testimony cited in Shneer, "Soviet Prisoners of War Captured by Nazi Germany's Allies," p. 59.

TIVRIV

Tivriv (pre-1941: Tyvrov; today: Tyvriv, Ukraine), a town in the Crasna raion, Moghilev judeţ, is situated on the Bug River, 46 kilometers (29 miles) northwest of Tulcin. Between 1941 and 1944 it was in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 397 Jews in Tivriv (representing 12 percent of the town's population) and 1,479 Jews in the Crasna raion (representing 3.1 percent of the raion's total population).

The German and Romanian armies occupied Tivriv on July 18, 1941. Romanian civil authorities took control of the village by late October 1941. Under this administration, the town's name was romanianized as Tivriv (also known as Tivarif or Tibriv). In succession, Constantin Dimitriu, Constantin Năsturaş, and Constantin Loghin, all army colonels, were Moghilev's prefects. Successive commandants of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion, which oversaw Tivriv, were Dănulescu, Romeo Orăşeanu, and Gheorghe Botoroagă, all army majors. A gendarmes post existed two kilometers (1.2 miles) from the town. The praetor in the Crasna raion was Nicolae Coman.

Shortly after Tivriv's occupation in July 1941, 28 Ukrainian Jews were shot. It is believed that 7 of those 28 were shot in the streets of Tivriv and the rest in a nearby forest, where they were all buried. Local Jews from neighboring areas were transported to Tivriv in the days and weeks after its occupation. On November 1, 1941, 392 local Ukrainian Jews were brought from the town to the nearby forest. They were ordered to dig a large pit and were then shot and buried in the grave. Small children who were not hit or others who were only wounded were buried alive. Einsatzkommando 5, a contingent of Einsatzsgruppen C, was active in northern and central Ukraine and was likely responsible for this killing operation. Because of the many shootings that occurred in that forest, it became known among the locals as the "black forest."

The first convoy of Romanian Jews, some 450 inhabitants of Dorohoi, was sent to Tivriv in mid-December 1941. They had marched for almost three weeks from Moghilev, a distance of 105 kilometers (65.2 miles), in wintry conditions. The convoy spent nights in dilapidated collective farms (*kolkhozes*) along the way. One-third of that convoy perished of exhaustion, cold, and hunger during that arduous journey. In February 1942, 850 Jews, mainly from Cernăuţi, were transferred from the Crasna ghetto, 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) southwest of the Tivriv ghetto. Later on, in September 1942, after the closing of the Scazineţ camp (12 kilometers [7.4 miles] northeast of Moghilev), several hundred starving Jews, mostly from the Dorohoi judeţ and Bessarabia, were transported to the Tivriv ghetto.

A Jewish ghetto was created in the town's center, in an old school with a few classrooms, in November 1941. The ghetto was unfenced, but the Jews were forbidden to leave the area. All Jews were forced to wear the yellow star. A hospital existed in a small barn/ware house. The hospital lacked beds and chairs, the windows were boarded with wooden planks, and it was serviced by a Ukrainian doctor who had no medical supplies. Patients were laid on the floor, atop layers of hay. Contact with the Ukrainian population was restricted to one hour on market day (later the rule was relaxed). Tivriv's outskirts were patrolled by the Romanian gendarmes from the local gendarmes post, whereas the guarding of the Jews was entrusted to local Ukrainian police. Soldiers and deportees alike (but not the Romanian authorities) referred to the ghetto as a "death camp" (*lagărul morţii*).[1]

The first wave of deportees was crammed in the ghetto, 40 to 50 people to a single classroom. Gradually, those few who still had money or jewelry hidden away rented rooms from the villagers; others exchanged the miserable living conditions in the school for just as deplorable conditions in abandoned and war-torn houses. Their place in the ghetto was taken by subsequent waves of deportees. The mortality rate among the deportees was high, due to malnutrition, cold, and illnesses, especially typhus. There were recurrent typhus epidemics in the winters of 1941 and 1942, when there were as many as 10 deaths per day.

A Jewish committee was formed in 1942, headed by a few Jews

from Dorohoi. There was also a small Jewish police force, led by the brother of the committee's leader. There were mixed opinions among the deportees about the two brothers, particularly because of the tax demanded from skilled workers employed by the local Ukrainians (allegedly, the tax was used to bribe higher authorities to allow Jews to find private employment). In this way, a number of craftsmen were engaged in their profession and were thus able to earn a small living. Unskilled workers or those whose training was not in demand worked in the fields in exchange for food. Children, the elderly, or those unable to find work went begging in nearby Ukrainian villages. Jewish seamstresses walked from village to village, making dresses or altering clothing in exchange for fruit, eggs, potatoes, and bread.[2]

The commander of the gendarmes post, a man who showed some leniency to the deportees, came to the ghetto and took some Jews for forced labor. Young men and women cleaned and repaired roads and removed snow from the streets of the town and the surrounding roads. Other work details cut wood in the nearby forest, and some laid rail track for the major railway junction at Şmerinca. In the spring of 1943, several people were deported to the Nestervarca labor camp (Tulcin judeţ) to cut peat. In the fall of that year, others were sent to the German camp Kolosovca (near the Bug, 6 kilometers [3.7 miles] north of Bar, in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine). For the project of (re)building the strategic bridge over the Bug at Nicolaev in southeastern Romanian-controlled Transnistria, Organisation Todt of Einsatzgruppe Russland Süd requested 1,500 Jewish workers (carpenters, locksmiths, ironsmiths, machine operators, translators, and unskilled laborers) from Transnistria. A handful of skilled Jewish workers were selected from Tivriv in June 1943 for this project. Few returned.[3]

Aid in the form of medicine and clothes arrived from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) in Bucharest, via Moghilev, which became a distribution center for the camps and ghettos in northern and central Transnistria. However, CER's distribution efforts were insufficient to significantly ameliorate the Jews' situation. The deportees received clothing once or twice, but no social welfare institution to help the

needy in the ghetto was formed. Individual funds sent by the undeported family or friends of the deportees via CER reached the Tivriv ghetto in the autumn of 1943.[4]

German soldiers and Ukrainian police collaborators from across the Bug often stormed through the ghetto in search of young women and liquor. In most cases, the terrified deportees were able to run away, hiding where they could. Frustrated in their goal, the soldiers shot indiscriminately at anyone perceived as resisting or refusing to provide the goods.

The ghetto's population was in constant flux. On the one hand, Jews escaped from Tivriv to Crasna or other ghettos, farther from the area. Able-bodied Jews fled Tivriv in search of work in the Crasna ghetto and village, in part because Crasna was a larger place and in part because many deportees originated from there. The Jewish police from Crasna, including the leader of the Jewish Council, a man named Berger, usually turned the escapees away.[5]

On the other hand, Ukrainian Jews from camps and ghettos under German control fled to Tivriv from as far as Vinnitsa (today: Vinnytsia, Ukraine). By October 1942, there were 850 Jews in Tivriv; in March 1943, the number decreased to 744 (of whom 50 were orphaned children); by September 1943, the number was 458 (not counting local Ukrainian Jews).[6] Repatriation of 200 Jews from the Dorohoi district and the Old Kingdom of Romania took place in December 1943. On March 16, 1944, the Red Army occupied the town and freed the remaining Jews.

In 2000, Yad Vashem recognized a Ukrainian from Tivriv, Alexandra Tloka, as a Righteous Among the Nations for rescuing a Jewish survivor of the mass killing.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Tivriv's Jews can be found in the following sources: "Tyvrov," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 994; "Tyvrov," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 229; "Tivriv," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas hakehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-*

Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam hasheniyah (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 444–445; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944. Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 320; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); A. F. Visotsky et al., eds., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944: Documents and Materials* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka Publishers, 1987); Marius Mircu, *Pogromorile din Basarabia şi alte întâmplări* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947); and Felicia Carmelly, *Shattered! 50 Years of Silence: History and Voices of the Tragedy in Romania and Transnistria* (Ontario: Abbeyfield Publishers, 1997). On Tloka, see db.yadvashem.org/righteous/righteousName.html?language=en&itemId=4017890. A photograph of the monument commemorating the mass killing of Jews that was erected in the Soviet era can be viewed at YIU_UKR22_14082010_Tyvriv, yahadblog.weebly.com/1/post/2010/08/tyvriv-the-righteous-medal-and-the-black-forest-day-4.html.

Primary sources regarding the fate of Tivriv's Jews can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and MAE (RG-25.006M). Reports describing the findings of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission in Tivriv raion can be found in GARF, RG-22.002M, fond reel 3, 7021, opis 54, delo 1252, and reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1347. VHA holds 12 testimonies by Tivriv survivors.

NOTES

1. Ghizela Herşcovici, "Biografia mea," Focşani (Romania), November 13, 1944, reproduced in Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia şi alte câteva întâmplări*, pp. 38–50.

2. VHA #15979, Goldie Rutman testimony, June 5, 1996.

3. "Tabel nominal de evreii disponibili din raza judeţului Moghilev," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 23, n.p. (but see also p. 37).

4. "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Tivriv (Raion Crasna, Jud. Moghilev)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1567, p. 490; fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1564, p. 114; reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1501, p. 168.

5. VHA #39095, Paula Leizerovici testimony, February 27, 1998.

6. For the October 1942 figure, see "Situaţia numerică pe commune din jud. Moghilău a evreilor evacuaţi aflaţi în comunele mai jos notate," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281; for the March 1943 count (estimates of CER), see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; for the September 1943 count (of the Transnistria gendarmes service), see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

TOMAŞPOL

Tomaşpol, the center of the Tomaşpol raion in the Jugastru judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Tomashpil, Ukraine), is situated along the Rusava, a tributary of the Dniester River. It is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) northeast of Iampol. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,863 Jews in Tomaşpol. Some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities and fewer still were drafted into the Red Army, but many stayed in place. Others who escaped eastward on their own were intercepted by the German and Romanian armies and were escorted back to Tomaşpol.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Tomaşpol on July 20, 1941. During the short German military occupation, the Jews were rounded up by German police forces and Romanian soldiers. By August 11, some 157 Jews had been shot. The Romanian civil administration took control of the town beginning in September 1941, romanianizing the town's and raion's name from Tomashpol to Tomaşpol. The prefect in the Jugastru judeţ was Colonel Ştefan S. Gheorghiade; the praetor in the Tomaşpol raion was Victor Dobrescu.

A ghetto for local Jews, as well as for Jews deported from northern Bessarabia in Romania, was set up at some point in the fall of 1941.[1] Far more Jews passed through Tomaşpol on their way to the Bug than those few (usually with desirable skills) who were permitted to stay. Those in the ghetto were not permitted outside, and violators were severely punished. Romanian gendarmes and local Ukrainian auxiliaries from the local gendarmes post guarded the ghetto. Because the Tomaşpol gendarmes post had under its jurisdiction a larger territory than a regular post, the number of gendarmes and military personnel present was also greater than was typical for a town its size.

Behind the tall barbed-wire fence surrounding the ghetto, the detainees lived with endless privations. The ghetto incorporated only a few streets from the town's Jewish area, so the detainees

were crowded into the houses of local Jews, with 10 to 12 people sharing a single room. Epidemics (especially typhus), starvation, cold, and exhaustion caused many deaths during the first two years of ghettoization (1941–1942). Wearing the yellow star was mandatory. A Jewish police force was instituted in the ghetto, under the supervision of a constituted Jewish Council. Zalmal Bronfman was the ghetto leader. Barter, begging by the most destitute, and the generosity of local non-Jews helping those who sought aid were the key means of survival for many.[2] Some form of cultural and religious expression existed in the ghetto. For example, school-aged pupils were taught Jewish prayers and traditions in a private home. Moreover, a group of women visited each house in the ghetto soliciting donations for the sick and the needy.[3]

The establishment of government-controlled workshops (*ateliere*) where skilled Jews inside the ghetto could work in exchange for food or small sums of money also provided a means of survival for some. The creation of Jewish workshops was in accordance with Ordinance No. 23 of the Government of Transnistria, but it fell on the shoulders of the ghetto leadership to set them up. Fortunately, the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) provided some aid to that effect, but most of it came from local Jews. The Tomaşpol ghetto had a number of workshops that were created most likely at the end of 1942 and beginning of 1943 and were coordinated by the ghetto's Jewish Labor Bureau. For example, there were workshops for tailors, furriers, dyers, hairdressers, ironsmiths, and bootmakers. All in all, some 54 people were employed in the workshops in October 1943.[4] The rest of the able-bodied Jews (men and women) undertook forced labor in a quarry, extracting lime; in the sugar factory; on road and rail building; and in snow removal, chopping wood, carrying coal, and farming. Workers were recompensed each day with a watery soup and a slice (200 grams or 7 ounces) of stale bread.[5]

At some point in early 1942, the number of Jews in the ghetto was 925, probably the majority being Ukrainian Jews. CER's census in March 1943 did not include Tomaşpol, perhaps because of the small number of Jews from Romania living in the ghetto. On September 1, 1943, however, the ghetto contained 33 Jews (31

from Bessarabia, 2 from Bukovina), without counting the Ukrainian Jews.[6] It is very possible that the total number of Jews in the ghetto in 1943 reached 1,128, some 281 of whom were considered skilled in various specialties.[7]

Roma (Gypsies) deported from Romania in the summer of 1942 were scattered within the territory of the Tomaşpol raion, living in abysmal conditions through the winter of that year and thereafter.[8]

By the time the Red Army recaptured the town and liberated the ghetto on March 16, 1944, the Romanian administration had left the area, returning the ghetto briefly into the hands of the German military authorities. With the ghetto freed by the Red Army soldiers, some Jews were conscripted into the army, while the rest of the survivors made their way home amid many challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Tomaşpol can be found in the following publications: "Tomashpol," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1313; "Tomashpol'," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 983; "Tomashpol'," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 315; and "Tomashpol'," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 202–203. See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993).

Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klars-feld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For a collection of documents covering the persecution of the Roma deported from Romania, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Tomaşpol ghetto can be found at USHMMA, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). The last collection contains a map of the Jugastru judeţ showing the exact location of the Tomaşpol ghetto and the number of inhabitants in 1942, in reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21. Documents relating to experiences in the Tomaşpol ghetto can be found at USHMMA, Acc. No. 1995.A.0657. VHA holds 168 survivor testimonies in three languages (Russian, Ukrainian, and Hebrew) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

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NOTES

1. List of ghettos in the Jugastru judeţ, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 22, n.p.

2. For a non-Jewish aid giver in Tomaşpol, see VHA #33901, Tat'iana Obertynskaia testimony, August 31, 1997.

3. VHA #15108, Sof'ia Budman testimony, May 12, 1996.

4. Confidential correspondence on Jewish workshops between the Jugastru Prefecture and the Labor Department, Government of Transnistria, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, pp. 96–104 (esp. pp. 97–98). The existence of such workshops is attested in VHA #39894, Semen Felentein testimony, January 14, 1998.

5. VHA #42867, Semen Borokhovskiy testimony, March 18, 1998. For a list of Jews undertaking forced labor on laying railway tracks, see USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reels 32 and 33.

6. The March 1943 census does not contain Tomaşpol among the Jugastru judeţ localities, as can be seen in "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348; for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

7. This figure appears in "Tomashpol," in Altman, *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR*, p. 983.

8. For a list containing their names, ages, and professions, see USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAOO), reel 32.

TRIDUBI

Tridubi, a village in the Crivoi Ozero raion, Golta judeţ, (today: in Ukraine) in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is situated 35 kilometers (22 miles) west of Golta. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 2,434 Jews in the Crivoi Ozero raion (census data for Tridubi are not available).

The German and Romanian armies occupied Tridubi on August 3, 1941, six weeks after the joint German-Romanian invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In advance of the occupation, more affluent Jews had relocated deeper inside the Soviet Union and those of military age were drafted into the Red Army, but most remained in place. After a short period of German occupation, control of the area was transferred to Romanian authorities. The administration romanianized the village's name from Triduby to Tridubi (also spelled as Triduve, Tridube, and Triduba). Colonel Modest Isopescu became Golta's prefect, and Aristide Pădure was the deputy prefect. The commandant of Golta's Gendarmes Legion was Maior Romulus Ambrus. The praetor in the Crivoi Ozero raion was Elizeu Rozorea, and the gendarmes commander was N. Constantinescu.

In May 1943, a group of approximately 120 to 140 (or 200, according to other accounts) Jews who had been selected from the Vapniarca camp were transported to Tridubi. They found only two local Ukrainian Jews in Tridubi, survivors of a larger Jewish community that had been deported to Golta in 1941. The group of Jews from the Vapniarca camp was transported by train and then on foot for the remaining 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) of the journey. The ghetto was established in the building of the local school. Near the village there existed a local collective farm (*kolkhoz*) with various areas in which the deportees were assigned to work and from which they received food (milk, bread, beans, and cabbage) in exchange for labor, like all other regular workers employed there. Initially, the farm's head administrator and the gendarmes showed little kindness to the Jews. Thanks to

strengthened relations with the chief agronomist, Kalinicenco, who directed the economic section in Crivoi Ozero and oversaw the Tridubi farm, the situation improved over time. The Jewish inmates were able to move freely inside the farm as well as within the village, a special permit being required only for exiting the village's perimeter.

The deportees formed a Jewish committee, which played a vital role in setting up workshops (*ateliere*) for tailoring, shoemaking, and carpentry. In these workshops skilled Jews earned their living by working for the village, the military units stationed in the area, and for the ghetto.[1] A small canteen was established for the very needy, in addition to a tiny infirmary that housed the very sick. Dr. Iosif Nuremberg was the medical doctor, and Dr. Moise Haim was the dentist in Tridubi.[2] The Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din Romania, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) augmented the funds generated by the workshops and provided additional material support in the form of medication, clothing, and food. Private funds for individual assistance from the undeported family or friends of the ghetto residents were also sent via CER.[3]

Individual members of the ghetto befriended partisans hiding in the neighboring forest, and the ghetto leaders established ties to underground Jewish organizations in Romania in order to obtain additional help.

In early September 1943, Romanian authorities enlisted 70 Jews from the ghetto to work in a labor camp at Trihati (Varvarovca raion, Ochacov judeţ) run by the Germans, where they repaired the bridge over the Bug River. They stayed there until December 1943, when they returned to Romania, along with other Jews from Transylvania and the Old Kingdom.

In June 1942, thousands of Romanian Roma (Gypsies) were deported to Tridubi.[4] Among them, a few were former army soldiers and World War I veterans, but most were sedentary and itinerant Roma with various occupations and economic resources.[5] At Governor Gheorghe Alexianu's instructions, Isopescu confiscated their carts and horses shortly after their arrival in Golta. Robbed of their possessions and homes, the Roma lived in makeshift tents, without any amenities (such as clean water,

electricity, bathrooms, soap, medicine, and pots). Some worked for local farms, gathering potatoes, corn, and cabbage from the fields. In exchange for work, they received very little food: 300 grams (0.6 pounds) of corn bread and 500 grams (1.1 pounds) of potatoes. Soon typhus erupted among them, causing many deaths. Anticipating disaster with the onset of winter, the Roma of Tridubi requested housing. In response, the authorities force-marched the Roma to localities along the Bug River, where they were housed in primitive huts erected by the administration. In these wooded areas, the Roma cut down trees to warm up their huts and to cook and used what few goods or precious objects that they had hidden away to purchase food. But the majority had none left, having sold even their clothes for food. When the Romanian and German authorities retreated from Transnistria in March 1944, the Roma were abandoned in place and returned to Romania on their own. Hundreds of Roma died of cold waiting to cross the Dniester River (the German and Romanian armies having priority) into Bessarabia.

In 1945, the Bucharest's People's Tribunal sentenced Isopescu and Pădure to many years' hard labor and confiscation of their property for crimes committed against the Jews and Roma in Golta.[6]

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Tribudi's Jews and Roma can be found in "Tridubi," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 213; "Tridubi," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 449; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53; Ihiel Benditer, *Vapniarca: Lagărele Vapniarca şi Grosulovo, închisoarea Rîbniţa, ghetourile Olgopol, Savrani, Tribudi, Crivoi-Ozero şi Trihati* (Tel Aviv: Anais, 1995); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră:*

Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 6: *War Crimes Trial* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For a collection of documents concerning the deportation of Romanian Roma in Transnistria, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the life and treatment of Jews and Roma in Tridubi are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). For a Roma survivor's testimony, see Istrate Rădulescu's account at VHA, June 19, 1999 (#49997).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See a list of the Jews of Tridubi, July 8, 1943, "Tabel Nominal Model Nr. 1 de utilizarea evreilor din Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-31.008 (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis, delo not available, document file: AA 0552, pp. 23–26. See also a list of Jews ready to work, ages 20 to 40, "Tabel de evreii între vîrsta de 20–40 ani—Triduve," USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 374, pp. 119–120.

2. "Tabel de medicii evrei disponibili în judeţul Golta," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, pp. 82–83 (USHMMA,

RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, with page).

3. “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Triduba,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1567, p. 501.

4. See Governor Alexianu’s letter No. 456, June 16, 1942, informing the Golta prefecture about the arrival of deported Roma from Romania: USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 31, p. 78.

5. See correspondence addressed to Governor Alexianu, October 8, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1912, pp. 294–295.

6. See the prosecution’s statement, “Actul de Acuzare,” USHMMA, RG-25.00M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 115–117, and court decision, pp. 136–137.

TROPOVA

Tropova is a village in the Şargorod raion, Moghilev judeţ (today: in Ukraine), in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. It is more than 24 kilometers (15 miles) northeast of Moghilev. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 2,626 Jews in the Şargorod raion (census data for Tropova are not available).

The German and Romanian armies occupied the Tropova area at the beginning of August 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the region beginning in September 1941. The succeeding prefects of Moghilev, who oversaw Tropova, were Constantin Dimitriu, Ion Băleanu, Constantin Năsturaş, and Constantin Loghin, all Romanian colonels. The commandants of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion were Dănulescu, Romeo Orăşeanu, and Gheorghe Botoroagă, all Romanian majors. The first commandant of the gendarmes sector (or area) was Locotenent Vasile Grama, who was succeeded by Locotenent Vasile Mihăilescu. The first praetor of Şargorod was Iosif Dindelegan, succeeded by Dimitrie Rusu.

In December 1941, to relieve the overcrowding in the Moghilev ghetto, 1,200 Jews were marched to Tropova. The deportees were originally from Cernăuţi and Dorohoi, as well as from other towns and villages in Bukovina. Some local Ukrainian Jews were detained in the ghetto as well. Many families from Dorohoi had been deported to Moghilev while their husbands and sons were deployed in forced labor battalions (the "external battalions," or *batalioane de muncă exterioare*) in other parts of Romania.[1] If they still possessed material means after repeated confiscations and bribes on the way to Moghilev, the deportees rented rooms and apartments from Tropova villagers. A dozen or more individuals lived in each room. The less fortunate were crammed inside a former cinema building of the village's collective farm (*kolkhoz*). The building was totally ill equipped as a living space; most people slept on the ground. The complex was enclosed and

guarded: leaving without permission was prohibited and punished severely. In the middle of an extremely frigid winter, the Jews lived off what ever food they could barter from local Ukrainians and cooked on makeshift ovens.

Overcrowding coupled with the general lack of hygiene caused a typhus epidemic among the detainees. Typhoid fever and scabies were also common due to the lack of sanitation. In the winter of 1941, the ghetto lacked a doctor, medicine, and an isolation room for the sick. A Jewish doctor from the nearby Şargorod ghetto (12 kilometers [7.4 miles] away) attempted to visit the Tropova ghetto to offer what little help he could. He was mistreated by the Romanian gendarmes on his way there, so other doctors did not repeat the attempt. The mortality rate from typhus reached almost 50 percent. Bodies were gathered in piles and placed outside the buildings in the ghetto because the ground was frozen. In addition, the Ukrainian village heads were initially unwilling to allow the burial of Jews, so corpses were scattered in the fields of the kolkhoz where wild dogs and crows devoured them. Among the Romanian Jews detained in Tropova were decorated veterans of World War I, widows of that war, and wounded soldiers (*invalizi de război*).[2]

The overall situation improved with the arrival of spring in 1942, when the Jewish community started to organize itself. A Jewish committee was formed and led by Riven Napovnici. The ghetto's Jewish doctor, at least as of October 1943, was Carol Bretschneider.[3] The chief of the office of Jewish labor in Şargorod was Moise Katz. Gradually, the Jews were allowed to leave the ghetto's confines (as long as they did not leave the village's perimeter) to search for food, usually in exchange for work. However, a few who were perceived as spreading rumors of Soviet resistance or even of the Red Army's return to Transnistria were shot.[4] In August 1942, a Romanian gendarme named Alecu Moşneagu was sent to Tropova to organize the ghetto for agricultural labor. Instead, he installed himself as village police chief and persecuted the Jews. His frequent beatings of Jews and Ukrainians alike terrorized the entire village. Only bribes or giving him what ever goods (or women) he demanded satiated his thirst for violence. Aid from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea*

de Asistenţă, CER) trickled in from Şargorod and Moghilev in 1942. Due to that help there were fewer deaths in the winter of 1942 from cold and starvation. The Jewish community of Iaşi in Romania also helped by sending individual family packages, although it was common for these packages to be ransacked before reaching their destination.[5] Undeported family members or close friends from Romania also sent money to those in the ghetto via CER.[6]

In April 1943, the German authorities started two major bridge-building projects at Trihati and Nicolaev in the southeastern corner of Transnistria. Romanian authorities provided labor from Transnistria's camps and ghettos, including Tropova. Carpenters from the ghetto were enlisted for work in Trihati, as were many unskilled workers.[7] Some of those sent were or became sick (hernias and bone fractures were common) and were returned by the German authorities.[8] In early 1943 a Soviet partisan network became operational in the area. Its activity increased toward the end of 1943, and the ghetto provided assistance in the form of food and medical supplies. According to Tropova survivor Bianca Idel, Soviet partisans hanged the village mayor for collaborating with the German authorities.[9]

According to CER's March 1943 census of deported Jews in Transnistria, there were 582 Jews in Tropova. Of them, 105 were orphan children and teens who were later repatriated to Romania at the end of 1943 or the beginning of 1944. The Romanian gendarmerie counted 221 Jews in Tropova, excluding local Ukrainian Jews, in September 1943.[10] At the end of December 1943, about 300 Jews were returned to Romania from Dorohoi, including 92 children under the age of 16. On March 23, 1944, the Red Army liberated Tropova. The ordeal of the Romanian Jews continued for a few more months as they sought permission from the Soviet authorities to return to Romania. The Bucharest People's Tribunal arrested, tried, and sentenced Moşneagu as a war criminal in 1948.[11]

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Tropova can be gleaned from the following sources: "Tropovoe," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi

fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 215; "Tropovoe," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 987; "Tropova," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 448–449; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* and vol. 6: *War Crimes Trials* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary documents pertaining to the fate of Jews deported to Tropova are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), ANR (RG-25.002M), and CER (RG-25.016M). VHA holds two testimonies by survivors of the Tropova ghetto: Bianca Idel, interviewed April 5, 1999 (#49774); and Eva Wiznitzer, interviewed June 23, 1995 (#03479).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. "Tabelul evreilor din judeţul Dorohoi, care în timp ce prestau munca obligatorie în detaşamente exterioare, familiile lor au fost evacuate în Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.016 (CER), reel 17, file 308, pp. 11–21, 32, 34, 39, 41, 42.

2. "Tabel nominal de evreii decoraţi, pentru merite speciale sau fapte de arme din războaiele Romaniei," USHMMA,

RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 15, p. 295 (verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/15, with page); "Tabel nominal de evreicele, care sunt văduve, aflate în ghetourile din raza acestei Legiuni," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/15, pp. 292 (and verso); and "Tabel nominal de evreii, invalizi de război aflaţi în ghetourile în raza acestei Legiuni," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/15, p. 293.

3. "Tabel nominal de medicii evrei aflaţi în ghettoul Moghilev şi în Judeţ," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, p. 226 verso.

4. See the Transnistria Gendarmes Inspectorate's monthly report for February/March 1942, "Buletin Informativ," USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 15, file 134, 1942, p. 203.

5. "Tabel nominal de evrei ce au primit colete cu efecte de la Comunitatea evreilor din Iaşi cu inventarul No. 196 din 31/8, 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/15, p. 138.

6. "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Tropova (Jud. Moghilev)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1564, p. 121 (verso); for more examples, see in the same collection, reel, fond, opis, delo 1562, p. 135; see also in reel 10, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1180, pp. 83–86, 135–137; and fi nally, in reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1504, pp. 57 (and verso), 134.

7. "Tabel nominal de evreii specialişti disponibili din raza judeţului Moghilev," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/23, n.p.

8. "Tabel de lucrătorii evrei bolnavi incapabili de a lucra din cauza debilităţii din Transnistria," July 1, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/4/2242/1/1499, p. 111.

9. VHA #49774, Bianca Idel testimony, April 5, 1999.

10. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345; for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi

astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

11. The prosecution's report is reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 6: 259–263.

TROSTINEŢ

Trostineţ (pre-1941: Trostianets), seat of the Trostineţ raion, Tulcin judeţ (today: Ukraine), in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 33 kilometers (21 miles) southeast of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,731 Jews in the raion, making up 4.1 percent of the raion's total population, and 878 Jews in the town, representing 16.4 percent of the town's population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Trostineţ on July 25, 1941. A small group of local Jews retreated with the Red Army or fled deeper inside the Soviet Union, but most stayed in place. Immediately after the occupation, local Ukrainian Jewish communal leaders were murdered. The remaining Jews (some 450 people) were deported by Romanian authorities to ghettos in Ladijin (in the Trostineţ raion) and then Pecioara (Spikov raion) between September and November 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the town in early September 1941. Under the new administration, the name of the town and raion were romanianized as Trostineţ (also spelled as Trostianeţ or Trostineţi). Colonels Ion Lazăr, Constantin Loghin, and Constantin Năsturaş served successively as Tulcin's prefects. The commandant of the Tulcin Gendarmes Legion was Maior Mihailovici, followed by Căpitan Fetecău. The praetor in Trostineţ was Constantin Alexandrescu

In August 1942, 60 Romanian Jews were brought to Trostineţ from the Cetvertinovka camp (also in the Trostineţ raion). They were housed on the Trostineţ state farm (*Ferma de Stat Trostineţ*), which was situated on the town's outskirts and was lightly guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian policemen. The farm was enclosed with barbed wire. The inmates lived in huts inside the farm. The most eminent among them were permitted to live and work in town. In early April 1943, another group of Jewish deportees from northern Romania (Cernăuţi and Dorohoi areas) was brought to the Trostineţ farm from the Cariera de Piatră

transit camp (a set of barracks near a stone quarry that had served as a Soviet penal colony; this camp was located near the town of Ladijin). The camp had a total of 135 Jews (men, women, and children), and among them was the renowned Jewish surgeon, Dr. Joseph Rath. Dr. Rath worked as a physician at the Trostineţ civilian hospital.

The Jews were recruited to work in various areas of the farm, under supervision. Some Jews worked in the fields; others raised animals, milked cows, and produced butter and cheese; and still others worked in workshops (*ateliere*) and light industries. The payment was 2 *Reichskreditkassenschein* (RKKS; German-issued scrip) per day for a skilled worker and 1 RKKS for an unskilled laborer, in accordance with the Romanian government's Ordinance No. 23.[1] When they were paid, which did not always happen, workers were generally given money or the equivalent in food or a combination of both.[2] The camp contracted out its labor force during the winter of 1942, and consequently most Jews were transferred to the Cariera de Piatră camp until April 1943, when they returned to the farm. In August 1943, a group of Jews from the Trostineţ farm was sent to work on an airfield in Nestervarca (in the Tulcin raion) for two weeks. Dr. Arthur Pistiner worked as a doctor on the Trostineţ farm, and although there were a few cases of typhus and malaria, some fatal, among the inmates, the camp was spared any epidemics.[3] Constantin Nicleşte, a farm manager, showed a humane attitude toward the detained Jews, so long as his acts of kindness were rewarded with gifts of money or precious objects; the same could not have been said about his successor, Nicolae Dodon, who took every opportunity to mistreat the Jewish workers. Still, the Jews in the camp were able to observe Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur in the autumn of 1943.

Due to good local organization, self-help efforts, and material aid received from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din Romania, Secţiunea de Asistentă*, CER), a small public soup kitchen was set up in 1943 for the very needy. CER also assisted in the formation of workshops that provided the deportees with jobs. Private sums of money sent by family and friends from Romania via CER reached the Trostineţ farm, although some of the intended recipients were no longer there, having been moved to a different location or

transferred across the Bug River.[4] Members of the Tulcin Jewish Committee were Sulim Fihman (president); Mayer Pincas, Samuel Mosner, Iacob Eidler, and Heinrich Deligdisch (committee members); and Herbert Wittner (secretary). The same group (minus Deligdisch) also served as members of the Jewish labor committee in Tulcin.[5]

According to the September 1943 census of Romanian Jews deported to Transnistria, there were 95 Jews (mostly from Bukovina and Dorohoi) in Trostineţ. A subsequent count, in November 1943, found a total of 123 Jews (Ukrainian and Romanian) in Trostineţ.[6] The Red Army liberated the camp on March 13, 1944. After the war, one local Ukrainian policeman was sentenced to 10 years in labor camp by a Soviet court.

SOURCES Additional information about the Jews' fate in Trostineţ can be gleaned from the following publications: "Trostinets," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 987–988; "Trostinets," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 215; "Trostineţ," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 447–448; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003).

Primary sources documenting the fate of deported Jews in

Trostineţ are found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004) and MAE (RG-25.006M).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For the text of this ordinance, see "Ordonanţa Nr. 23," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 20, fond 2361, opis 15, delo 1, p. 268 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/20/2361/15/1).

2. "Tabel nominal de achitarea mandatelor de plată cuvenită evreilor din Trostineţ, Ferma Trostineţ, Trostianciuc, Capustiana şi Ladijin, conf. ord. Pref. Jud. Tulcin Nr. 6849 din 2 Iunie 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1/1240, p. 225, and also in the same collection, "Tabel nominal de achitarea mandatelor de plată cuvenită evreilor din coloniile Trostineţ, Trostianciuc şi Capusteani, conf. Ord. Pref. Jud. Tulcin Nr. 11354 din 23 August 1943," p. 249.

3. "Tabel nominal al medicilor evrei aflaţi în judeţul Tulcin," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1561, p. 218.

4. "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Trostineţ (Jud. Tulcin)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1/1240, p. 241; for additional remittances, see in the same collection, pp. 285, 322, and USHMMA, RG-31.004M/4/2242/1/1501, p. 150.

5. "Tabel nominal de membrii Oficiului judeţean al Evreilor, Tulcin," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/22, p. 12; and "Tabel nominal de membrii Biroului pentru organizarea muncii evreilor jud. Tulcin," p. 12 (verso), but see p. 13 for an expanded list of members.

6. "Situaţie numerică de toţi evreii ce se află în raza judeţului Tulcin precum şi de toţi lucrătorii şi funcţionarii aflaţi la diferite instituţii," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 585.

TULCIN

Tulcin, a town and the administrative center of the Tulcin raion and judeţ (today: Ukraine), in the far northeastern corner of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is near the Bug River, the judeţ's eastern border. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 5,607 Jews in Tulcin, representing 41.68 percent of the town's population. During the German-Romanian invasion, Tulcin's well-to-do Jews retreated with the Red Army or fled deeper inside the Soviet Union, but many of the area's Jews stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Tulcin on July 23, 1941. After weeks of German control of the town during which time the Jews, especially the Jewish leaders, were brutalized, authority was transferred to the Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. Under the Romanian administration, the town's name was romanianized from Tulchin to Tulcin. In succession, Colonels Ion Lazăr, Constantin Loghin, and Constantin Năsturaş were Tulcin's prefects. Ion Vodă was the sub-prefect. The commandant of the Tulcin Gendarmes Legion was Maior Mihailovici, followed by Căpitan Fetecău. Andrei Partenie was the Tulcin raion's praetor.

A closed ghetto was created in late September 1941 in a small area of the town that contained abandoned and partially destroyed houses. Later, a local collective farm (*kolkhoz*) was also used as a temporary site. In November 1941, Prefect Lazar issued Ordinance No. 6, which severely restricted the mobility of ghetto inhabitants. Anyone who left the ghetto without written permission risked condemnation as a spy or communist courier.[1] A Jewish police force maintained order inside the ghetto, while Romanian gendarmes guarded the perimeter. The ghetto was overcrowded; on average 10 to 15 people lived in a room, with some sleeping on the floor. In November 1941, Tulcin's Jews, about 3,200 in total, were deported to the Pecioara camp (Tulcin judeţ), with the exception of 118 skilled laborers (artisans and professionals)

deemed important to the administration in Romania.[2] Many of those expelled to Pecioara perished due to sickness, hunger, and hard labor.

The Tulcin ghetto was repopulated in December 1942 with Jews deported from Bukovina (Cernăuţi and Dorohoi), who had already spent months in the Tulcin judeţ's other camps and ghettos. Runaway Jews from ghettos on the German side of the Bug also found temporary shelter in the Tulcin ghetto. For the new deportees, life in the Tulcin ghetto was noticeably better, although many restrictions remained in place. Improved relations between ghetto leaders and Tulcin's Romanian administrators, some of whom knew each other from before the war, occasionally facilitated a slight relaxation of rules. The town offered employment opportunities in offices and hospitals (a German military hospital existed, in addition to a civilian hospital) for a few educated and highly trained professionals. Various workshops were set up with assistance from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) from Bucharest. CER funds augmented those received by the locksmith, tailor, carpenter, dyer, and watchmaker workshops, enabling a soup kitchen to open for the very needy.[3] A small trade in baked goods also took place within the ghetto. One hour per week, on Sunday, Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto and attend the town's market. A few Romanian soldiers and even officers returning to Romania carried correspondence from and to the ghetto for a bribe. Lay-led morning and evening prayer services took place in people's homes, in addition to the observance of High Holidays. A bar mitzvah service took place as late as February 1944. The ghetto leaders forged ties with partisans who, in exchange for news about the course of war, accepted goods from ghetto residents.

Members of the Tulcin Jewish Committee were Sulim Fihman (president); Mayer Pincas, Samuel Mosner, Iacob Eidler, and Heinrich Deligdisch (committee members); and Herbert Wittner (secretary). The same group (minus Deligdisch) also served as members of the Jewish labor committee in Tulcin.[4] Doctors in the ghetto were Oscar Schickler (resident physician), Sara Mednicov (dentist), and Mina Zloezower (ophthalmologist), who also worked in the general hospital in Tulcin.

Although restrictions were not particularly severe for Jews in the ghetto, forced labor was imposed for road maintenance, street cleaning, and hospital services. In addition, German SS units periodically rounded up Jewish workers for labor in German-controlled Transnistria. In August 1942, the German authorities from Gaysin requested that Tulcin's prefect, Colonel Loghin, provide 5,000 Jews to work on the Nemirov-Bratslav-Seminki-Gaysin segment of Highway IV (*Durchgangsstrasse IV*, DG-IV), the strategic highway connecting Lvov to Stalino in southern Ukraine. Three thousand Jews from the Tulcin judeţ were handed over, although it is not clear how many of these came from the Tulcin ghetto. Most of these workers were shot by December 1943, when the forced labor camps for Jews (*Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden*, ZALfJ) were liquidated.[5] In April 1943, Romanian authorities sent 100 Jews from the ghetto to work on farms in the district. At the Nest-ervarca labor camp near Silnitsia, a tributary of the Bug River, small groups of Jews from the Tulcin ghetto were occasionally sent to excavate peat (*turbă*). In August 1943, the Germans renewed murder campaigns (*Aktionen*) against Jews in Transnistria, and in one such instance, 200 Jews from Tulcin, including some from the ghetto, were picked up and sent across the Bug under the pretext of providing labor; however, they were shot on arrival. Children were part of this transfer as well, and 52 survived when their parents threw them out of the carts along the way. The large-scale recruitment of Jewish labor for German bridge-building projects at Nicolaev and Trihati in southern Transnistria resulted in the deployment of hundreds of Jewish specialists (carpenters, smiths, and builders) from the Tulcin judeţ; it is not clear how many came from the Tulcin ghetto.[6]

The repatriation of Romanian Jews began in the winter of 1943. Children under the age of 15 or slightly older were placed on "orphan lists" and repatriated from the Tulcin ghetto to Romania via Moghilev in late 1943. They arrived in Iaşi and Paşcani, Romania, in February 1944, where Jewish families and the Jewish community looked after them. Decorated World War I veterans and their surviving families, and former state functionaries and their descendants followed suit.[7]

The size of the ghetto's population varied in accordance with

forced labor deployments. In March 1943, there were 500 Jews in the ghetto; in September 1943, there were 227 Jews (7 from Bessarabia, 220 from Bukovina), not counting the local Ukrainian Jews; a subsequent census in November 1943 found a total of 480 Jews.[8]

At the end of January 1944, the retreating German authorities intended to liquidate the Tulcin ghetto, but the commander of the Romanian gendarmes, Capitan Fetecău, opposed the plan, thus saving the ghetto's Jews. The Red Army liberated the ghetto on March 15, 1944. The remaining 230 Romanian Jews returned to Romania, with the exception of a few men of military age drafted into the Red Army. From October 1944 to March 1954, the Soviet Committee for State Security (*Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti*, KGB) arrested and tried the leaders of the Tulcin ghetto for treason and collaboration with the fascist enemy. Wittner and an official named Weschler were (arbitrarily) found guilty and deported to Siberia; the rest were acquitted. The Bucharest's Peoples' Tribunal acquitted Capitan Fetecău due to supportive testimonies by ghetto leaders, but condemned Colonel Loghin to many years of hard labor.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Tulcin's Jews can be found in the following publications: "Tulchin," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1340; "Tulchin," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 443–444; "Tul'chin," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 222–223; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 23; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b:

Transnistria (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources regarding the fate of Tulcin's Jews are found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and MAE (RG-25.006M). For a survivor's testimony, see Gerhard Schreiber's memoirs, available as an audio recording at http://access.cjh.org/home.php?type=extid&term=1315434#1 and, as a transcript, at http://access.cjh.org/home.php?type=extid&term=426298#1.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. "Ordonanţa No. 6," issued by Colonel Ion Lazăr, November 17, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 76, n.p. (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/7/2242/2/76, with page).

2. Romanian Presidency of the Council of Ministers, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 137–144 (UHSMMA, RG-25.006M/10/21, with page).

3. Tables of names of payment recipients are available at USHMMA, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1/1240, pp. 19, 26, 65, 177, 181, 240.

4. See "Tabel nominal de membrii Oficiului judeţean al Evreilor, Tulcin," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/22, p. 12; and "Tabel nominal de membrii Biroului pentru organizarea muncii evreilor jud. Tulcin," p. 12 (verso), but see p. 13 for an expanded list of members.

5. See Governor Alexianu's answer to Loghin's telegram,

"51304, 11 Aug. 1942, Inspectoratul de Jandarmi Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/2/2242/1/1088, p. 151 (but see also pp. 148–150).

6. For the names of Jewish specialists from the Tulcin judeţ, see "Tabel nominal de evrei meseriaşi disponibili din jud. Tulcin," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/23, n.p.

7. "Tabel nominal de evrei, invalizi de război, aflaţi în judeţul Tulcin"; and "Tabel nominal de everi, foşti funcţionari de stat, aflaţi în judeţul Tulcin," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/14/2264s/1/40a, pp. 38–39. For the names of war widows, descendants of state functionaries, orphans, state pensioners, and decorated war veterans found in the Tulcin judeţ, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M/1/2242/4s/50, pp. 23–29.

8. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347; for the September 1943 count see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442; for the November 1943 count, see "Situaţie numerică de toti evreii ce se află în raza judeţului Tulcin precum şi de toţi lucrătorii şi funcţionarii aflaţi la diferite institute," USHMMA, RG-25.006M/11/21, p. 585.

TURNU SEVERIN

An internment camp near the city of Turnu Severin (today: Drobeta-Turnu Severin), in the Mehedinţi judeţ (today: Caraş-Severin judeţ), in the southern part of Romania along the Danube River, the Turnu Severin camp was located 66 kilometers (41 miles) southwest of Târgu Jiu and approximately 274 kilometers (170 miles) west of Bucharest.

The Turnu Severin internment camp was created on June 21, 1941, by Order No. 4147 of the Romanian Internal Affairs Ministry (*Ministerul Afacerilor Interne*, RMAI). The order announced to the Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM), gendarmes, police, and district prefects that all Jews living between the Siret and Prut Rivers in northwestern Romania were to be deported to and interned in camps in the southern part of the country. All able-bodied Jewish men between the ages of 18 and 60 living in this area were to be sent to the large camp at Târgu Jiu to work as forced laborers, while their families and all other Jews in the area were to be sent to the nearest urban area, where they would then be deported to smaller internment camps in southern Romania, such as Turnu Severin.[1] The deportations under this order began soon after the Axis invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22.

The prisoners in Turnu Severin were Jewish women and children from the village of Dărăbani, near Dorohoi in northwest Romania; the Jews of Dărăbani were force-marched approximately 29 kilometers (18 miles) to the rail station at Dorohoi to be deported to Turnu Severin. On August 7, 1941, the camp's population was 626: 518 adult women and 108 children under the age of 18.[2] The inmates were guarded by the local army garrison, with the assistance of the gendarmes and local police forces.

Whether the women performed forced labor in the internment camps is difficult to determine, because the organization of forced labor during the summer of 1941 was chaotic. Antonescu had

ordered that all Jews living in the internment camps would perform "hard labor" (*muncă grea*), but it was not clear whether this obligation extended to women or only to the men who had been sent to Târgu Jiu specifically for this purpose. Initially, RMAI, which controlled the internment camps, was in charge of the labor of the Jews interned there. However, after the disorganized effort to subject Romanian Jews to compulsory labor in the first week of August, control over Jewish forced labor passed from RMAI to MSM. It was still unclear whether women were to be subjected to the labor requirement for those Jews living in the internment camps. MSM proposed that the control over these camps remain with RMAI, which could do with the camp population as it saw fit. MSM did not issue an order for work to be performed in the Turnu Severin camp; therefore, it is unlikely that any forced labor was imposed on the prisoners there, with due allowance for their possibly working in the local community.[3]

Turnu Severin and the other camps that held Jews from northeastern Romania under Order No. 4147 were not intended to be part of the Romanian state's killing apparatus. These Jews were not subject to Antonescu's order for extermination, which applied only to those living in the newly reoccupied territories of Bessarabia and Bukovina. The internment of the Jews from between the Siret and Prut Rivers was intended only to remove them from near the front lines, because Antonescu was paranoid that they would undermine the morale of Romanian soldiers by spreading communist "propaganda." Therefore, no organized killings took place at Turnu Severin. However, the Jews in the camp still suffered from inconsistent supplies of food and medicine and were under the constant threat of disease posed by poor sanitary conditions. The Romanian authorities did not record official statistics on illnesses in the camps, so it is impossible to determine how many people fell ill and how many, if any, died from disease and malnutrition. Turnu Severin's case was unique in that the harsh conditions in the camp were partially alleviated by the intervention of the local Jewish community, which provided supplies to the camp's population.

The internment camps in southern Romania, including Turnu Severin, remained in operation throughout the remainder of 1941. On December 16, 1941, RMAI ordered that the camps be closed

and their inhabitants returned to the urban areas nearest their points of origin (because Jews were still legally forbidden to live in Romanian villages).[4] The Jews in the Turnu Severin camps were therefore returned to the city of Dorohoi. None of the camp's guards or other personnel was ever brought to trial.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Turnu Severin camp include Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Vladimir Solonari, *Purifying the Nation: Population Exchange and Ethnic Cleansing in Nazi-Allied Romania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); and Ottmar Traşcă, ed., *"Chestiunea Evreiască" în documente militare române, 1941–1944*, preface by Dennis Deletant (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2010). Additional information can be found in Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, *Contribuţii la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 2 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013); Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas hakehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam hasheniyah*, (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), vol. 1; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, 3 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Turnu Severin camp can be found in AMANR, available at USHMMA in collection

RG-25.003M, and in ANR, available at USHMMA as RG-25 .002M.

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NOTES

1. Order No. 4147 reproduced in Traşcă, ed., *"Chestiunea evreiască,"* pp. 120–121, Doc. 5.
2. USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMANR), reel 144, file 2413, p. 309; and RG-25.002M (ANR), "Situaţia Lagărelor," August 6, 1941, reel 17, file 86, p. 19.
3. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 136, file 2361, n.p.
4. USHMMA RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2411, p. 2.

USTIA

Ustia is located in the Berşad raion, in the Balta judeţ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Ustya, Ukraine). It is situated approximately 70 kilometers (43 miles) north of the city of Balta, on the Donkha River. The German and Romanian armies occupied the area by the end of July 1941, subsequently transferring control over it to the Romanian civil administration in September of the same year. The new authorities romanianized the town's name as Ustia or Ustie, and the raion became Berşad. The prefect in the Balta district was Colonel Vasile Nica, and the praetor in the Berşad raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

The Romanian administration established a ghetto in Ustia in the late fall of 1941. Most of the ghetto inmates were deportees from Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romania who arrived in October and November. For example, a significant number of Jews from Rădăuţi in northeastern Romania were registered at the site as early as October 1941.[1] The estimated number of Jews held in the Ustia ghetto was 2,500.

The inmates endured catastrophic conditions, starvation, and squalor, which contributed to the outbreak of a deadly typhus epidemic in the winter of 1941. In the Ustia ghetto alone, the disease claimed as many as 1,600 lives.[2] People died at such high rates that most corpses were only buried in mass graves.[3] Over the course of 1942, the self-help measures implemented by the Jews in the ghetto brought the mass epidemic of typhus that re-erupted in the following winter (1942) under better control, which substantially decreased the number of victims. Humanitarian aid (medicine and clothes) received from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreoilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER) in Bucharest in 1942 and 1943 further increased the effectiveness of the efforts to combat diseases in the ghetto. Still, conditions in the ghetto remained difficult for the entire duration of the deportees'

captivity.

According to CER's census, there were 250 Jews in the Ustia ghetto in March 1943, probably not counting the Ukrainian Jews. Six hundred and sixty-five Jews from Bessarabia and 280 Jews from Bukovina were still registered at the site on September 1, 1943.[4] It is unclear, however, whether this census number includes the Jews who were temporarily moved from the ghetto in June 1943 to work on a *kolkhoz* (collective farm) camp in Lugova on the Bug River, a few kilometers southeast of Ustia, or whether those Jews had returned to Ustia by September of that year.[5] The chief of the Lugova camp (and probably leader of the Ustia ghetto) was I. Guttman.[6]

The Ustia ghetto likely operated until the spring of 1944. Scarce documentation suggests that Jewish detainees were interned there until their liberation in March and April 1944. Records often refer to a forced labor camp for Jews at Ustia during this period.[7]

SOURCES Further information about the fate of the Jews deported to Ustia can be found in the following publications: "Ustia," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 1007; "Ustia," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 324; "Ustia," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 292; and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). Relevant publications include Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996);

and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Important primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Ustia can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), AME (RG-25.006M), and ANR (RG-25.002M). See also Chernivtsi Jewish Survivors Organization Affidavits gathered by the Association of Former Prisoners of the Fascist Camps and Ghettos of the Chernivtsi Region, Ukraine (USHMMA, RG-31.020M, microfiche no. 26, folder 2). VHA contains survivor testimonies, including those of Tsilia Koifman, December 16, 1996 (#24957); Ester Laufer, December 18, 1996 (#25088); and Hanah Porat, February 17, 1997 (#26337). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about numerous ghetto inmates likely incarcerated at Ustia; see ITS 1.2.7.24, folder 5. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. Among others see CNI card for Miriam Guttman, Doc. No. 50580141; CNI card for Dora Lehrer, Doc. No. 50592894; and CNI card for Rosa Maudanek, Doc. No. 51277177.

2. "Ustia," in Altman, *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR*, p. 1007.

3. VHA #24957, Tsilia Koifman testimony, December 16, 1996.

4. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 456. See also ITS, 1.2.7.24, folder 5, Doc. No. 82207440.

5. For the relocation of deportees from Ustia, see Carp, *Cartea*

Neagră, 3: 308 (diary entry, June 25, 1943).

6. Cf. list of ghettos and camps in Balta judeţ, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562.

7. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Ruth Fuhrmann, Doc. No. 51525241; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Berta Mehler, Doc. No. 52029958.

VAPNIARCA

Vapniarca (pre-1941: Vapniarka), a village in the Tomaşpol raion, Jugastru judeţ (today: Ukraine), in the northwestern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 47 kilometers (29 miles) northeast of Iampol. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 711 Jews lived in Vapniarca, representing nearly 20 percent of the village's total population. A number of Vapniarca's Jews fled with the retreating Red Army in June 1941, but approximately half stayed in the town.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Vapniarca on July 22, 1941. Soon thereafter the local Jews were sent to larger ghettos in the Tulcin judeţ. At the end of August 1941 control of the village was transferred to the Romanian civil administration, which romanianized its name as Vapniarca (also seen in reports as Vapnearca). The prefect of the Jugastru judeţ was Colonel Ştefan S. Gheorghiade, and the praetor in the Tomaşpol raion was Victor Dobrescu. In succession, the commandants of the Vapniarca camp were Colonel Ilie C. Murgescu (1941–1942), Căpitan Sever Burădescu (1942–1943), Căpitan Cristodor Popescu (1943), Căpitan I. Urseanu, and Colonel Sabin Motora (1943). The commandant of the Vapniarca gendarmes was Colonel Basta.

A dilapidated former Soviet cavalry school, located 3 kilometers (1.8 miles) outside Vapniarca near a forest, was repurposed as a detention camp in October 1941. The facility changed from a detention camp into a prison camp (*lagăr penitenciar*) in March 1942. Surrounded by three barbed-wire fences, it comprised three large buildings (one for women and two for men) and two smaller buildings where a kitchen and washroom were set up. Each of the three barracks had two levels. An infirmary was set up at the end of 1942 in the first floor of one of the barracks. Watchtowers staffed with armed gendarmes marked the camp's limits. Near the entrance, there was a prison "cell," a deep hole in the ground covered with a large stone in which prisoners were thrown and kept standing in darkness without food or water for 24 to 48 hours.

An open ditch near the camp's west side was the public lavatory. There was also a small, unmarked cemetery near the camp. The camp headquarters occupied a two-story building outside the barbed-wire fences.

The camp was first populated with a small group of Ukrainian convicts and some 101 Ukrainian members of a religious minority (Bogomils) persecuted for their faith. At the end of October 1941, 1,000 Jews from Odessa were deported to Vapniarca. A month later, in November 1941, a group of a few hundred Jews were deported there from Romania. A typhus epidemic erupted in December 1941. A large number of the detainees contracted typhus and died; others perished from cold, hunger, and illness; and still others were shot. The barracks lacked windows, doors, running water, and heating, which meant death in the bitter winter months of 1941. An-other wave of more than 1,200 deportees from Odessa arrived in March 1942. Following Marshal Ion Antonescu's order in May 1942 that all religious minorities unrecognized by the state, or those recognized but disobeying government legislation, be deported to Transnistria, 350 Seventh-Day Adventists were deported to Vapniarca in the autumn of 1942.[1] The final large transport of prisoners to the camp occurred on September 16, 1942, when approximately 1,200 Jewish "political" prisoners from Romania, including 107 women and a few children, arrived after days of traveling in freight trains. Accused of being communists, socialists, and Zionists, 479 of them came from Romanian prisons, and an additional 722 were rounded up from their homes or workplaces.[2] A few leaders of the central and regional Jewish communal institutions accused of illegally helping Jews were among the deportees. On arrival, they were met with Murgescu's frightening words: "You entered a camp from where, if you survive, you'll leave on four feet or on crutches."

The camp had a Jewish committee consisting of Paul Dascal, Nicolae Goldschmidt, Rabbi Benjamin Vilner, Emanoil Vinea, S. Bughici, and Aurel Rothenberg. Other committees known only among the prisoners also existed (secrecy about some committees was maintained for the prisoners' security). Pavel Donath was the camp's liaison with the Romanian authorities. Dr. Arthur Kessler from Cernăuţi was one of the camp's 20 doctors. Thanks to the

camp leaders' organizational skills and wisdom in dealing with Romanian authorities, the prisoners' living conditions gradually improved. Wooden planks, windows, bricks, and nails from nearby destroyed buildings were recycled. The Jewish leaders also imposed strict discipline in a mostly successful attempt to avoid conflict with other imprisoned groups.

The prisoners were fed daily 100 to 200 grams (3.5 to 7 ounces) of bread, a gluey type of dough made from hops and milled hay, and fodder peas. The fodder peas were toxic, intended primarily for animal consumption. The authorities knew about their adverse health effects, but still authorized the peas' consumption. By February 1943, 611 of 1,200 Jewish prisoners became sick with ulcers and chronic diarrhea, of whom 110 developed lathyrism—a neurological disease caused by eating the peas—in their feet.[3] After refusing to eat the fodder peas during an organized strike, the prisoners were able to get better food, including horse meat.

Responding to claims of unfounded arrests, such as cases of mistaken identity, a commission from the Romanian Interior Ministry arrived in March 1943 at Vapniarca. The commission approved 427 cases for removal from the camp and placement at "liberty" in Transnistrian ghettos. Between April and June 1943, 100 Jews were sent to Olgopol, 127 to Savrani, and 200 to Trihaiy.[4]

Men and women undertook forced labor as office cleaners and cooks, and the skilled laborers worked in the camp's tailoring and shoemaking workshops (*ateliere*). Teams of men unloaded coal at the train station and cut trees. Financial assistance from family and relatives was delivered to Vapniarca through the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER), which also sent the inmates clothing, money, and food.[5] Partisans and their sympathizers stored food and other aid in the camp for anticipated attacks on the camp, which never occurred.[6]

Romanian Jews in the Transnistrian camp of Vapniarca, at work weaving. USHMM WS #74182, COURTESY OF FEDERATION OF THE ROMANIAN JEWISH COMMUNITIES.

At different occasions throughout their imprisonment, the talented and educated prisoners held cultural activities such as recitals and concerts for every one, including the gendarmes and officers. A hidden radio provided information about the course of the war, which was then disseminated from person to person. Rabbi Vilner led prayers in the camp for the Jewish holidays. Other religious groups held their own services.

With the approach of the Red Army, the Romanian Interior Ministry decreed the closure of Vapniarca. In October 1943, 54 Jewish prisoners still serving a correctional sentence were sent to Râbniţa prison to complete their sentence. On March 19, 1944, these Jews were shot in their cells and then burned with the entire prison (except for three or four survivors) by the Germans and their collaborators, despite ministerial plans for their repatriation.[7] By mid-October 1943, the Vapniarca camp was dismantled and the remaining prisoners transported by train to the Grosulovo camp in the Tiraspol judeţ. Between December 1943 and January 1944, 355 of the former Vapniarca Jews then in Grosulovo were repatriated to Romania. The remaining 563 stayed in the Grosulovo camp until early March 1944. On March 12, 1944, Commandant Motora marched the group across the Dniester River

to Tighina, in Bessarabia, in a last-minute effort to save them from the Germans who were reoccupying Transnistria.

The Bucharest People's Tribunal sentenced to life imprisonment three of Vapniarca's commandants: Murgescu, Burădescu, and Popescu. In 1983, Yad Vashem recognized Motora as a Righteous Among the Nations.

SOURCES Additional information about the Vapniarca camp can be found in the following sources: Paul A. Shapiro, "Vapniarka: The Archive of the International Tracing Service and the Holocaust in the East," *HGS* 27: 1 (Spring 2013): 114–137; "Vapniarka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 130; "Vapniarka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 205; "Vapniarca," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 426–432; "Vapnyarka," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1374; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*,

foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Alexandr Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreiistva 1941–1944: Entsiklopedichskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 54. For the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 26. For the Righteous Among the Nations, see Israel Gutman et al., eds., *Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 5, part 2 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2011), pp. 81–82.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews and non-Jews in the Vapniarca camp are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), SRI (RG-25.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). The ITS holds three collections, available in digital form at USHMM, related to Vapniarca in 1.1.47.1 (Various Camps), including documentation by Dr. Arthur Kessler on lathyrism. A newspaper article "Lagărul de exterminare de la Vapniarca," *LuNo* (ca. 1946), recounts the living conditions in the camp and the sentencing of its camp commanders. The article can be found at USHMMA, RG-68.029M (ACMEOR), reel 11, file 62, p. 496. There are 45 VHA testimonies in six languages about the Vapniarca camp. For an account of life in the Vapniarca camp and Rybnitsa prison, see two testimonies by former prisoner Matei Gall, *Masacrul* (Bucharest: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură, 1956), and *Eclipsa* (Bucharest: Du Style, 1997), originally published in German. For another eyewitness account, see Ihiel Benditer, *Vapniarca: Lagărele Vapniarca şi Grosulovo, închisoarea Rîbniţa, ghetourile Olgopol, Savrani, Tridubi, Crivoi-Ozero şi Trihati* (Tel Aviv: Anais, 1995), also available in a shorter form at www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/c/carmelly-felicia/benditer-ihiel.html.

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NOTES

1. Order No. 5721/M, May 6, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M

(SRI), reel 34, file 40010, vol. 59, p. 51 (USHMMA, RG-25.004M/34/40010/59, p. 51).

2. General de corp de armată Constantin Z. Vasiliu, Deportation Order No. 799/May 9, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/34/40010/59, p. 53.

3. VHA #20192, Leah Derera testimony, September 22, 1996; VHA #50007, Lupu Sloim testimony, July 26, 1999; for statistical figures in the spring of 1943, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348; see also I. Stănculescu's "Raport în legătura cu situaţia evreilor aflaţi în ghettourile din Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 594–598 (esp. p. 594).

4. "Tabel nominal de mutările şi transferările de evrei," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 674, pp. 12–14 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/674, pp. 12–14).

5. "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din ţară deportaţi în Transnistria şi aflaţi la Vapniarca (jud. Jugastru)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/8/2255/1s, 1310, pp. 210–211; see also in the same collection, p. 209; and in USHMMA, RG-31.004M/8/2255/1s/1243, p. 355.

6. VHA #50019, Marcel Floreanu testimony, June 21, 1999.

7. Information letter No. 55.055, March 16, 1944, from the Romanian General Inspectorate of Gendarmes to the Târgu Jiu internment camp, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/40010/59, p. 79.

VASELINOVO

Vaselinovo (pre-1941: Veselynove), seat of Vaselinovo raion, Berezovca judeţ (today: Ukraine), in the southeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 29 kilometers (18 miles) northeast of Berezovca. The Chychykliya River, a tributary of the Bug River, divided the town into two parts. In 1939, there were 58 Jews in Vaselinovo township and 189 in the raion. German and Romanian forces occupied Vaselinovo in mid-August 1941, and shortly afterward, by early September, authority over the town and its surroundings was transferred to the Romanian civil administration. The name of the township and raion was romanianized as Vaselinovo or Veselinovo.

The high-ranking representatives of the Romanian authority in the Berezovca judeţ were Colonel Leonida Popp, who was appointed prefect in Berezovca, and his deputy, Sublocotenent Alexandru Smochină. The commandant of the Berezovca Gendarmes Legion was Maior Ion Popescu, who was subsequently replaced by Octavian Ursuleanu. The head of medical services for the Berezovca judeţ was Dr. Aurel Juga. The praetor in the Vaselinovo raion was Zacheu Buligă.

During the last days of German control of Vaselinovo, the 40 Jews who remained in place after the retreat of the Red Army were shot near a ravine on the township's outskirts; this massacre took place on September 5, 1941. Many of those killed were German-speaking Jews, because the area was populated with many ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). The town was then empty of Jews until early 1942. On January 20, 1942, some 2,200 Jews from Odessa were deported by train to Vaselinovo. After disembarking, the Jews did not stay in town, but were marched (at times aimlessly) under escort, in unbearably cold, windy, and snowy conditions, to various villages in the raion. Hungry and impoverished after days of travel from Odessa, many elderly Jews died of exhaustion and cold on the road before they could find shelter in dilapidated barns and stables.

The Romanian authorities' efforts to contain and eradicate typhus outbreaks during the winter of 1941 produced few results, endangering the lives of civilians and soldiers alike. By the summer of 1942 several foci of the epidemic in villages near Vaselinovo were still active. Fearing the epidemic would only intensify with the arrival of new waves of Roma deportations from Romania and the approach of winter, some 500 Jews (some ill with typhus, others simply unproductive because of a lack of clothes) were taken from the Suha Balca camp to Vaselinovo on September 22. At the recommendation of the SS Ethnic German Liaison Office (*Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*, VoMi), they were shot, along with another group of 550 Romanian Jews brought there from Mostovoi, by an ethnic German police unit (*Selbstschutz*) on Yom Kippur. The same unit also exterminated 120 Jews brought to Vaselinovo from Mostovoi in May 1943. The rationale for the killings was to stop a typhus outbreak that began in the winter months of 1942 and was still active, because Jews and Roma were considered the main carriers of the disease.

Little more than numbers is known about the Vaselinovo ghetto and its inhabitants, despite the hundreds of Ukrainian and Romanian Jews murdered in the town. According to a March 1943 census of all deported Jews (Ukrainian and Romanian), there were four Jews in Vaselinovo and seven in Budieny farm (a facility near Vaselinovo).[1] The small ghetto was still in existence in September 1943, when 15 Jews were listed as ghetto residents.[2] In another account from the same month, 19 Jews working for the praetorial and gendarmes offices in Vaselionovo were listed as residents in the ghetto. They held blue-collar (carpenter, driver, and farmer) and white-collar (accountant) jobs. Of the 19 Jews, 11 worked for Budieny farm.[3] A September 1943 census of Jews deported from Romania found three Jews (two from Bessarabia, one from Bukovina) in Vaselinovo, without counting the local Ukrainian Jewish population.[4]

In late 1943, the Romanian authorities aimed to relieve the overcrowding in existing Roma colonies in Mostovoi by transferring 95 Roma (Gypsy) families from camps in the Mostovoi raion to 33 villages in the Vaselinovo raion. At the time, around 2,600 Roma lived in the Mostovoi raion in overcrowded and underequipped facilities, lacking food, soap, and winter

clothes. In the new locations in Vaselinovo, the Roma were supposed to work in agriculture and live off the land beginning in the spring of 1944.[5] The Red Army's liberation of Vaselinovo at the end of March 1944 disrupted the Romanian authorities' plans, however, freeing both Jews and the Roma.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews and Roma in Vaselinovo can be gleaned from the following sources: "Veselinovo," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 236; "Veselinovo," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 438; Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 54.

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews and Roma in Vaselinovo are available at USHMMA, in collection DAOO (RG-31.004M).

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NOTES

1. See “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347.

2. “Tabel nominal de evreii aflaţi în ghettoul Vaselinovo,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 591, p. 81 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/591).

3. See “Tabel nominal Nr. 1 de întrebuinţarea evreilor din com. Veselinova—Jud. Berezovca,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/590, p. 64 (verso).

4. See “Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439.

5. See letter Nr. 564, February 18, 1944, from Vaselinovo raion praetorial office to the labor office, Berezovca District, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/592, p. 221; but see also pp. 219–220 in the same collection.

VASLUI/LPRS NO. 4

The city of Vaslui, the county seat of the Vaslui judeţ, in Moldavia, in eastern Romania, is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) south of Iaşi, 276 kilometers (172 miles) northeast of Bucharest, and nearly 99 kilometers (over 61 miles) southwest of Chişinău. After the joint German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were brought to Vaslui in early July 1941. The camp where they were held in Vaslui became known as Camp No. 4 for Soviet prisoners (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici Nr. 4*), LPRS No. 4. The prefect in the Vaslui judeţ was Colonel Vasile Dumitrescu. The Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM) exercised ultimate authority over the camp; this institution issued the laws and regulations imposed on all Soviet POWs held in Romanian camps, including those held in LPRS No. 4 Vaslui. At the regional level, the III Territorial Command controlled LPRS No. 4, and Colonel Aliodor Ionescu served as its commandant.

Immediately on arrival in Vaslui, the POWs were taken to a registration center located on the premises of a large Orthodox church. After registration they were assigned to one of the two existing camps: LPRS No. 2 (commanded by Locotenent-colonel Cândea) and LPRS No. 4. After only a few weeks, by the end of July 1941, the two camps merged into a single entity, LPRS No. 4, with two parts. LPRS No. 4 was situated on the city's outskirts in an empty school building (*Şcoala normală "Ştefan cel Mare"*). Gradually, as the number of prisoners grew, a number of large wooden barracks were built around the school building to accommodate the prisoners. A distinctive sign, a circle painted in black on the front and back of the internee's overcoat, was mandated, but was rarely implemented and worn.

Most prisoners arrived in the camp in shabby clothes, and some were missing even their military boots. They were also filthy from weeks of internment in temporary holding centers without access to washing facilities. Soon after arrival, they were assigned in

small groups and always under guard to do labor for impoverished Romanian families throughout the Vaslui judeţ. These were families whose sons or husbands were fighting on the front or were headed by war widows with small children. The prisoners helped with agricultural tasks: harvesting, weeding, haying, and hoeing. Town and village mayors also requested prisoners, usually in larger numbers, to work for landowners on farming and estate improvements. The requests were made by the mayors of Soleşti (which received 60 prisoners), Ştioborăni (70), Fereşti (20), Mânjeşti (100), Lipovăţ (50), Deleni (100), Brodoc (122), Armăşoaia (100), Cozmeşti (140), and Negreşti (200), among others. Transfers of prisoners to army centers or to small factories working for the army in Romania also occurred as early as the end of July 1941 and continued throughout 1942. On July 28, 1941, 169 prisoners (165 troops and 4 officers) were dispatched to Bucharest; the next day some 650 prisoners went to Constanţa and another 700 to Slatina; later on in 1942, another group of 350 was transferred to Braşov where some worked as carpenters in a wagon factory. It is unclear how many prisoners were registered as belonging to LPRS No. 4 and its subcamps. The Soviet archives indicate about 10,000 prisoners, and some sources suggest that another 10,000 passed through the camp on their way to other camps for Soviet POWs.[1]

An army infirmary or small hospital where ill prisoners received medical attention existed in the camp. The hospital had a very limited supply of medicine for the prisoners. Jewish doctors or pharmacists were requisitioned from all over the province of Moldavia (Iaşi, Botoşani) to work as medical staff in the camp. Whenever typhus or other epidemics erupted in the camp, many more Jewish doctors were enlisted to combat the epidemic and treat the ill.[2] A large number of prisoners perished from maltreatment and diseases. Soviet sources indicate a number of 799 fatalities, their bodies buried in the cemeteries of the towns or communes where they lived and worked at that time.[3] During the frigid winters, when the number of victims was higher and temperatures dropped significantly below freezing, the corpses were piled up outside, awaiting burial until the weather improved.

Life in the camp was challenging. Working prisoners (those building or improving railroads, roads, and bridges) earned a small

amount of pocket money, which they sometimes used to buy additional cigarettes or bread from other prisoners who had even less money. The army outfitted working prisoners with recycled clothes and peasant leather sandals (*opinci*), which also became commodities for trade in the camp with those unable or unneeded for work. Food in the camp consisted of a thin slice of bread and a bowl of watery soup, which was similar to what prisoners hired by private institutions received. To supplement their food, prisoners fought over potato peels that camp cooks usually tossed to the ground. Meals containing meat were rare and were served only when a horse died or when the camp was inspected (once a year) by members of the Romanian Red Cross (*Cruce Roşie din România*, CRR). Monsignor Andrea Cassulo, the papal nuncia to Romania, visited LPRS No. 4 Vaslui in the summer of 1942. Some Sundays, a priest arrived in the camp to pray with the prisoners of Ukrainian descent.[4]

LPRS No. 4 Vaslui had two subcamps. One subcamp was located in Bârlad about 45 kilometers (28 miles) south of Vaslui; the other was in Huşi some 25 kilometers (16 miles) east of Vaslui. The Huşi subcamp was set up in September 1942. It had a contingent of 100 prisoners and 12 guards. Prisoners in this subcamp were lodged in two wooden barracks outside Huşi. They mined stone from nearby quarries and fixed roads and bridges. The Bârlad subcamp had 550 prisoners who undertook similar work projects.

Prisoners returned to the main camp from the subcamps at the end of 1943. On August 23, 1944, Romania switched sides and entered the war against Germany and its allies. The prisoners in LPRS No. 4 Vaslui remained in Romanian hands until October 1944, when they were handed over to the Soviet authorities to begin the difficult pro cess of repatriation to the Soviet Union. After the war, starting in 1945, the commandants of LPRS No. 4 Vaslui were tried for mistreating the prisoners and causing the death of many. They were sentenced to many years of hard labor.

SOURCES Secondary sources attesting to the camp's existence include Paul Zahariuc, *Fălciu, Tutova, Vaslui. Secvente istorice (1907–1989)* (Vaslui: Centrul Judeţean pentru

Conservarea şi Promovarea Culturii Tradiţionale, 2012); Andrei Şiperco, *Crucea Roşie Internaţională şi România 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Encyclopedica, 1997); and Vasile Popa, "Prizonierii Sovietici în România (1941–1944)," available at www.once.ro/sesiuni/sesiune_2007/9%20prizonieri_popa.pdf.

Primary sources documenting the fate of Soviet POWs and Jews in LPRS No. 4 Vaslui are available at USHMMA, in collections AMAN (RG-25.003); ANR-Vs (RG-25.025M, reel 18); and ANR-Is (RG-25.029, reels 6 and 15). Archival sources are also available at TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607 (which opens on p. 2 with an instructive table listing the names of Red Army soldiers who perished in Romanian camps for POWs). Testimonies involving LPRS No. 4 can be found in VHA.

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NOTES

1. Prisoner registration forms, TsAMO, fond 58, opis 977528, delo 135, 161, 162, 163, 165.
2. See telegrams informing LPRS No. 4 of the arrival of Jewish doctors: USHMMA, RG-25.004M (AMAN), reel 36, file 7245, pp. 136–140, 392–395; and in the same record group, reel 42, file 7254, p. 122.
3. An alphabetical list with the names and places of burial of the 799 dead can be found in TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, pp. 159–238; and in the same record group, fond, and opis, delos 1624 and 1626.
4. VHA #02283, Samuel Reich testimony, April 27, 1995.

VAZDOVCA

Vazdovca (today: Hvozdavka Druha, Ukraine), in the Liubaşevca raion in the southern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, Golta judeţ, is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) east of Balta. The German and Romanian armies occupied the area by the end of July 1941, subsequently transferring control to the Romanian civil administration in September of the same year. The Romanian authorities romanianized the village's name from Gvozdovka to Vazdovca (sometimes referred to in documentation as Văzdovca, Gvozdavca, or Cvozdavca) and changed the raion's name to Liubaşevca. The prefect in the Golta district was Colonel Modest Isopescu.

The collective farm (*kolkhoz*) of Vazdovca served as a makeshift transit camp for deportation convoys during the mass deportations of Jews from the province of Bessarabia in Romania in the fall and winter of 1941. An estimated 15,000 Jews were registered at Vazdovca by October 1941. They included deportees from Chişinău, Bălţi, and elsewhere in Bessarabia. Accommodations at Vazdovca were completely inadequate. Deportees endured catastrophic conditions as they crowded into basements, attics, and stables. Most people slept outdoors, exposed to the elements. Gendarmerie officers reorganized their deportation convoys at Vazdovca and then continued to force-march the survivors on to other sites, including the village of Zacharieyvca in Golta's Vradiyevca raion and the Domanovca camp in the southern Golta judeţ. This southeastern part of the Golta judeţ was named by Holocaust scholars Transnistria's "kingdom of death" due to the high number of fatalities and murders that occurred there.

The guards abused and murdered countless deportees on their way to and from Vazdovca, leaving thousands of dead bodies in the fields and roads along the convoys' routes.[1] Vazdovca also immediately became a site of mass death as exhausted deportees succumbed to typhus and other diseases, starvation, and fatigue.

According to a report by Prefect Modest Isopescu, some 8,000 people had already died at Vazdovca by November 13, 1941. Isopescu ordered the 20th Infantry Regiment, which was stationed there, to guard the Jews and prevent the spread of disease to the local populations. Maior Enache, the regiment's physician, declared the entire transit camp infected with typhus and warned of the spread of the disease to the soldiers and civilians in the area. The soldiers of the 4th Company road patrol unit of the 20th Division were dispatched to "disinfect" the camp at Vazdovca by burying the dead. However, the continuing influx of new deportees from the south and the ongoing mass dying at Vazdovca rendered these measures ineffectual in stemming the typhus epidemic. In late November 1941, Isopescu ordered the evacuation of the Jews from Vazdovca to the Bogdanovca camp, 75 kilometers (47 miles) southeast of Vazdovca on the west bank of the Bug River (today: Bohdanivka, Ukraine).[2] The camp was closed at the end of 1941, most likely returning to its original agricultural purpose in the spring of 1942.

SOURCES Additional information regarding the fate of Jews at Vazdovca, including those transferred from there to Bogdanovca, can be found in the following publications: "Gvozdovka," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 81; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary documentation is available in the following collections

at USHMMA: DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), SRI (RG-25.004M), and AMAN (RG-25.003M). Relevant VHA testimonies include Ida Boiarskaia, March 4, 1997 (#28591); Maiia Fel'man, January 26, 1997 (#27615); and Charna Langman, May 17, 1997 (#15338). There are additional testimonies by survivors of the Bogdanovca camp.

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NOTES

1. Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 259.

2. Joint cable from Colonel Ion Georgescu and Maior Enache to Isopescu, November 17, 1941, as found in Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942*, p. 109. The cable can be found at USHMMA, RG-31.008 (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis1, delo 66, pp. 185–186.

VERHOVCA

Verhovca (today: Obodivka raion, Ukraine), in the Balta judeţ, is located 33 kilometers (21 miles) southeast of Tulcin. The German and Romanian armies occupied the area by the end of July 1941, subsequently transferring control to the Romanian civil administration in September of the same year. The new authorities romanianized the village's name from Verkhivka to Verhovca, and the raion became Obodovca. The prefect in the Balta district was Colonel Vasile Nica.

During the mass expulsions of Jews from Romania that began in the fall and winter of 1941, Verhovca served as a transit point for deportation convoys. As early as October 1941, some 1,200 Romanian Jews and a smaller number of Ukrainian Jews were detained in a large cowshed and some 20 clay huts at Verhovca.[1] Among them was 12-year-old Yona Maleron, who had been deported with her family. She noted in her diary that the village was desolate and the huts had been wrecked and ransacked. Many lacked roofs and had cracks in the walls. Hundreds of people crowded into these spaces, where they slept on straw-covered ground. The inmates endured catastrophic conditions, starvation, and squalor, which contributed to the spread of a deadly typhus epidemic in the winter of 1941. By early 1942, some 500 people had died in the Verhovca ghetto. As Yona Maleron described the harrowing experience,

> It was snowing. The bitter cold inside the shed was indescribable. Snow covered the walls and floor. Typhus spared no home in the ghetto; it felled its victims without mercy. Within a few days, we had all taken ill…. My father lay in agony for five days and died like a dog. That same day, my grand mother took sick. She died the next day, apparently more from hunger and cold than from disease. My mother, too, fell ill, closed her eyes and ceased to utter a sound…. All around me, there were only the dead and the dying; no one

became well again.[2]

Yona and most other survivors of the epidemic were transferred from Verhovca to other ghettos in the region, although a small number of Jews remained at the site. Sixty-eight Jews from Bessarabia and one from Bukovina were still registered at Verhovca on September 1, 1943.[3] According to documentation from the Balta judeţ prefecture, a Jewish committee composed of eight men administered the ghetto and organized the forced labor at the site.[4] Documentation also sometimes refers to the site as a labor camp for Jews during this period. Some Jews remained at Verhovca until its liberation in March and April 1944.[5]

SOURCES Relevant publications include Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Yona Maleron, *Od Tetzi Mikan* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 365–366, which includes excerpts from her diary; Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). See also Michael and Raquel Stivelman, *A marca dos genocídos* (Rio de Janeiro: Imago, 2001); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996).

Important primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Verhovca can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), including reels 6 and 17; AME (RG-25.006M); and ANR (RG-25.002M). See also Chernivtsi Jewish Survivors Organization Affidavits gathered by the Association of Former Prisoners of the Fascist Camps and Ghettos of the Chernivtsi Region, Ukraine (USHMMA, RG-31.020M,

microfiche no. 19, folder 2). The ITS contains inquiries about numerous deportees and ghetto inmates registered at Verhovca; see ITS, 1.2.7.24, folder 5.

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NOTES

1. Among others, see ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Lea Hager, Doc. No. 52194550; and ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Baruch Hager, Doc. No. 52444982.

2. Maleron, *Od Tetzi Mikan*, pp. 23–25, quoted in Ancel, *Transnistria 1941–1942,* 1: 365–366.

3. ITS, 1.2.7.24, folder 5, Doc. No. 82207440.

4. USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 6, List of Jewish Bureau Labor Organization of Balta County and of Jewish Committees from Balta County as of September 1, 1943.

5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Salo Müller, Doc. No. 51307306.

VIDELE

Videle, a small town in the Vlaşca judeţ in the Regat, in the southern part of Romania (today: Videle, Teleorman judeţ), is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) west-southwest of Bucharest and 357 kilometers (nearly 222 miles) south-southwest of Iaşi.

A camp for political detainees existed at Videle at the time of the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union. Formally known as the Videle internment camp (*Lagărul de Internare Videle*), it provided cheap labor for the Romanian Railways Company (*Căile Ferate Române*). For that reason the detainees were formed into the Videle Railway Detainee Detachment No. 68 (*Detaşamentul 68 C.F. Deţinuţi Videle*). The camp was also occasionally referred to as the "Videle Railway Work Vagabonds Detachment No. 68" (*Detaşamentul Lucru C.F. Vagabonzi No. 68 Videle*), the word "vagabond" being freely interchanged with "political detainee."[1]

The camp was under the administration of the Railway Works Detachments Command (*Comandamentul Detaşamentelor Lucrări Căi Ferate*), led by Locotenent-colonel Traian Panaitescu, but was ultimately controlled by the Romanian Internal Affairs Ministry. A group of 120 gendarmes commanded by Căpitan Ion Popescu guarded the camp. Popescu was also the camp commandant, assisted by two officers and three noncommissioned officers (NCOs).[2]

The camp was located in Videle near the train station. It was a primitive facility; the detainees slept in huts, on layers of straw or cattail (reed) mats. They were deloused by head shaving.

The camp initially held non-Jewish men and women suspected of communist activity. The detainees were classified as "S.2" (as opposed to "S.1," the more "dangerous" suspects) within the Antonescu regime's hierarchy of security threats. It was difficult to prove the suspects' illegal activity that warranted detention, as the

authorities occasionally admitted, but they were forcefully admitted into the Videle camp in any case.

The Videle camp appeared among the listing of detention camps in the Regat at the beginning of August 1941 as having a contingent of 89 "suspects." By September, their number increased to 397, of whom only 235 were declared "apt" for work.[3] Commandant Panaitescu informed the General Gendarmes Inspectorate in Bucharest that the health of the prisoners was "precarious" and invited a commission from the Internal Affairs Ministry to hear the appeals of the detainees because "many have repeatedly stated that they are innocent."[4]

The detainees worked various jobs in the laying of new railway tracks near Videle in the Milcov Valley, on the new Bucharest-Craiova rail line that was being built at that time. Some detainees were assigned to build embankments and others huts, whereas still others were put to work in carpentry, ironsmithing, and loading and pushing barrows. The camp received payment for the work done by the detainees from August to November, but the detainees themselves were not paid. Their remuneration consisted of "room and board," so when the camp was disbanded on November 26, 1941, they were sent away empty-handed.[5]

The Internal Affairs Ministry committee that inspected the facilities of the camp after it closed in November considered the prisoners' sleeping mats, as well as other cooking utensils used for feeding them, to be beyond repair due to their lice infestation and/or deterioration. Because of the conditions inside the camp, the committee decided to burn or throw away these items, rather than reuse them.[6]

In addition to the non-Jewish detainees, Jews from Romania suspected of communist activity were also interned in the Videle camp during the summer months of 1941; in fact, in October 1941, 126 of 169 detainees were Jews (121 men and 5 women).[7] To give one example, a group of 26 Jews from Bukovina, from places such as Suceava, Storojineţ, and Rădăuţi, were escorted back to Bukovina when the camp closed.[8] In-stead of being released, however, the governor of Bukovina, General de divizie Corneliu Calotescu, instructed that the Jews from Bukovina be interned directly in Sădăgura, a prison camp just outside Cernăuţi. It is

most likely that they were included among the second wave of deportees from Cernăuţi sent to Transnistria in May–June 1942.[9] Those who were from the Regat were subject to forced labor until August 1944, when Romania switched sides in the war and annulled the forced labor laws.

SOURCES A specific study of the Videle camp has not been done. For the forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the Videle camp and the fate of its prisoners are available at USHMMA, in collections ANR (RG-25.002M), AMAN (RG-25.003M), and DACkO (RG-31.006M).

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NOTES

1. See, for example, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), Fondul Commandamentul Detaşamentelor de Căi Ferate, file 21, p. 230.

2. Information note to the General Gendarmes Inspectorate, September 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, file 11, p. 1; and file 21, p. 301.

3. See the camp statistics, "Situaţia Lagărelor," August 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, p. 19; for the September figure, see RG-25.003M, file 11, p. 1.

4. Information note to the General Gendarmes Inspectorate, September 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, file 11, p. 1.

5. See payment receipts from July to November 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, file 11, pp. 7–26, 34; also file 21, pp. 271–272.

6. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, file 11, pp. 28–29.

7. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, file 21, p. 301 (verso).

8. See a list of the names of these Jews, USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 22, fond 38, opis 6, delo 152, p. 169.

9. See correspondence between the Videle camp, the Government of Bukovina, and the Sădăgura camp, USHMMA, RG-31.006M, reel 22, fond 38, opis 6, delo 152, pp. 163–168.

VIGODA

Vigoda, a village in the Belaevca raion, Ovidiopol judeţ (today: Vyhoda, Ukraine), in the southwestern corner of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is 30 kilometers (19 miles) northwest of Odessa. The Romanian administrative outline of the raion distinguishes between a "Russian Vigoda" and a "German Vigoda," suggesting two localities in close proximity or one locality with two distinct parts.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the area in October 1941. The Romanian administration, taking control of the area in the second part of October 1941, romanianized the village's name from Vygoda to Vigoda, and the raion became Belaevca. Ovidiopol's prefect was Colonel Mihai Botez, who was succeeded by N. Canari. The commandant of the Ovidiopol Gendarmes Legion from 1942 to 1943 was Căpitan (then Maior) Angel Dedulescu. The praetor in the Belaevca raion was Grigore Goteu.

A convoy of hundreds of Jews deported from the city of Odessa and its surroundings in the spring of 1942 was held for a short period of time on the compounds of the Vigoda farm; these Jews were then shot and buried in a mass grave near the farm. The burial mounds were still visible months later. The Romanian authorities placed land mines in the area around the mass grave to prevent anyone from approaching the site.

In September 1942, over the course of a few transports, approximately 550 Romanian Jews were deported from the Old Kingdom (the Regat) and southern Transylvania to Transnistria because of their alleged absence from or tardiness in reporting to forced labor duties. These Jews were originally from such cities and districts as Arad, Bucharest, Brăila, Galaţi, Vaslui, Iaşi, Roman, Baia, Buzău, Dorohoi, Cernăuţi, and Timiş.[1] According to the Romanian Army General Staff's instruction (No. 88.66, issued in July 1942), the Jews who committed those infractions were to be deported to Transnistria. If the named Jews could not be found, their families were to be deported. The deportation appeared to be

permanent, because no period of time was mentioned in the document.[2]

Of those 550 Jews slated for deportation, 293 Jews were transported by train in freight cars from Bucharest to Odessa.[3] Many of these Jews were ordered to be deported by General de brigadă Nicolae Cepleanu, the inspector over all labor brigades for Jews from 1942 to 1944. After being held for three days in barns in Scârba, a village near Odessa, they were taken to Vigoda by another train. The journey lasted almost two weeks in debilitating, crowded conditions, with the deportees not receiving more than a few buckets of water.[4] The Jews, of both sexes and of all ages, were placed in the Vigoda camp, which was a farm administered by the Government of Transnistria. The farm, known as Ovidiopol judeţ's "experimental farm," was situated between the villages of Vigoda, Petrovschi (today: Petrivs'ke), and Berezin (today: Berezan'). The farm's Ukrainian name from Soviet times was Sevcenco, so that the Vigoda camp was occasionally referred to as the "Sevcenco camp."[5]

The Jews were housed in a large dilapidated building, probably the former residence of a noble family (hence the use of the term "mansion" in some documents to describe the facility), which they restored and cleaned as best as they could. The building was isolated from the other parts of the farm and was encircled by a double barbed-wire fence. Some 44 of its rooms were repurposed as living quarters for the Jews. The rooms were empty, its windows had no glass, and plumbing was nonexistent. The paneless windows were boarded up because of the cold, leaving only a small opening for light and air. No laundry, washing, or cooking facilities existed; for the setting up of such facilities, only "orders and instructions were given." The Jews dug latrines outside the building, and a shower room and a small infirmary were set up in two small single-room houses. A few Jews were appointed as camp medical staff, and others became internal policemen. A few days after arriving, an effort was made to delouse every one, but its good effect was soon reversed by the living conditions. The camp was lightly guarded by the gendarmes from the Petrovschi gendarmes post, although there was a tall watchtower equipped with a rotating searchlight.

The regime inside the camp was stricter than in other camps,

because these Jews were not ordinary deportees but rather were "delinquent Jews" (*evrei infractori*). Discipline followed a code of practice made up of 20 points that severely restricted the guards' contact with the Jews and their movement outside the camp, censored access to information (letters and newspapers) and packages sent from home, prohibited barter, and permitted the soldiers to use firearms in case of disorder and disobedience.[6] The camp administrator, Gogleaţă, was a harsh man; he was a declared Legionnaire, meaning that he wore the green shirt of the Legion of the Archangel Michael (*Legiunea Arhanghelului Mihail*) and was armed with a revolver. He took distinct plea sure in verbally and physically abusing the Jews. One night in October 1942, he orchestrated the gang rape of a young Jewish girl from the camp, taking part first in the act, followed by other guards.[7]

Compulsory work on the farm (picking sunflowers from fields) lasted from morning to evening, under the eyes for the guards. Children worked in the chicken coop. Hardly any food or water was given when working, and on the rare occasion when some food was distributed, the rations were small, watery, and poor in nutrients. Barter (although prohibited) became the only means of survival. Relatives from Romania sent small sums of money to their loved ones in the camp, but whether the money reached the intended recipients is unclear.[8] The nights in October and November were very cold, and there was no wood to burn in the camp; it had to be collected from outside the camp at night, at great risk. Four Jews lost their lives to hunger and exhaustion, and many others suffered from diseases they contracted while imprisoned in the camp.[9] A Jewish doctor from Romania undertaking his forced labor duty in Transnistria was temporarily assigned to the Vigoda camp, but had only aspirin at his disposal to treat his patients.

The camp closed on November 10, 1942 (or November 30, according to other accounts), when the Jews were transferred to Alexandrovca (in the Ovidiopol judeţ), a village 60 kilometers (more than 37 miles) southeast of Vigoda. There they lived in railcars and were forced to toil in a vineyard belonging to the governor of Transnistria, Gheorghe Alexianu, until December 26, 1942, when they were again deported to a different location.

On September 30, 1943, the Presidency of the Council of

Ministers in Bucharest approved the repatriation to Romania of all Jews deported to Transnistria for allegedly neglecting their forced labor duties.[10] This repatriation was in advance of the general repatriation that occurred in March 1944. The survivors of the Vigoda camp, at that point inmates of the Golta ghetto (in the Golta judeţ) where they ended up after repeated deportations, returned to Romania in November 1943 by train.

In 1945, the Bucharest People's Court tried and sentenced to many years' hard labor the military and civilian leaders who mistreated the Jews sent to Transnistria by General Cepleanu. The general himself was under court investigation when he committed suicide.[11]

SOURCES More information regarding the fate of the deportees sent to the Vigoda camp can be found in the following publications: Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Felicia Carmelly, *Shattered! 50 Years of Silence: History and Voices of the Tragedy in Romania and Transnistria* (Scarborough: Abbeyfield Publishers, 1997). For a collection of documents regarding the forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iaşi: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews in the Vigoda

camp are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), AMAN (RG-25.003M), AME (RG-25.006M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). A memoir by survivor Sonia Palty is *Evrei treceti Nistrul! Însemnări din deportare* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1992). Palty's testimony is also available in German as *Jenseits des Dnjestr: jüdische Deportationsschicksale aus Bukarest in Transnistrien 1942–1943*, trans. Erhard R. Wiehn (Konstanz: Hartung Gore, 1995). VHA holds two testimonies (in English and Romanian) from Jewish survivors who were held in the Vigoda camp; three survivor testimonies (in Russian) document the massacre of Jews from Odessa in the Vigoda camp.

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NOTES

1. For a list of their names and places of origin, see "Tabel nominal de everii deportaţi în Transnistria," August 1943, reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 383–389.

2. See MSM communications, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 328, file 1054, p. 189 (see also pp. 180–182).

3. Diary entry for September 24, 1942, in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 297. See a list of names of these Jews issued by the Ovidiopol Gendarmes Legion, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 15, fond 2357, opis 1, delo 352, pp. 132–133 (and verso).

4. See Vigoda camp survivor Sonyah Palţi account, an excerpt of which can be found at www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/c/carmelly-felicia/palty-sonia.html.

5. See medical doctor Teofil Bucşa's camp inspection report, October 10, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 710, p. 500.

6. See code of practice, "Consemn pentru jandarmii aflaţi de pază la Lagărul de evrei," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 15, fond 2357, opis 1, delo 352, p. 134 (and verso).

7. VHA #18100, Sonyah Palţi testimony, July 31, 1996.

8. See receipts after money transfers, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 519, pp. 162, 164, 180.

9. Diary entry for November 10, 1942, in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 300.

10. See notification from the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes for gendarme legions in Transnistria, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 26, p. 419.

11. See court report, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 28, file 38882, vol. 1, pp. 2–3; see also vol. 2 in the same collection.

VIJNIŢA

Vijniţa (pre-1941: Vijnitsa), a town in the Storojineţ judeţ, in northwestern Bukovina (today: Vyzhnytsya, Ukraine), is on the Ceremosh River, a tributary of the Prut River. Vijniţa is 307 kilometers (191 miles) northwest of Chişinău and 55 kilometers (34 miles) west of Cernăuţi. According to censuses taken by the Romanian authorities, in 1930 there were 2,666 Jews living in Vijniţa; in December 1939 there were 14,832 Jews in the Storojineţ judeţ, and by September 1941, 4,311 Jews remained. Census data for Vijniţa are not available for the 1939–1940 period, but conservative estimates claim that between 5,000 and 7,000 Jews lived there. Dozens of able-bodied Jewish men were mobilized into the Red Army, and although some Jewish families fled deeper inside the Soviet Union, the majority of Jews remained in place.[1]

In the days following the Soviet retreat from Vijniţa and just before the arrival of the German and Romanian armies, Ukrainian gangs from the area pillaged Jewish houses and demanded sums of money from the Jews in exchange for not murdering them.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Vijniţa on July 5, 1941. An order was immediately issued that for 24 hours all the villagers were permitted to do as they pleased with the Jews. On entering the town, Romanian mountain infantry units commanded by Maior Ion Oprea and Locotenent Voinea, assisted by Ukrainian nationalists and German sympathizers, searched Jewish houses under the pretext of looking for hidden arms. During these searches, they robbed, beat, raped, and killed Jews. Twenty-one Jews were murdered at that time, and 14 others were shot near the forest on the town's outskirts. Soon the number of deaths reached into the hundreds as the pogrom lasted several more days. Men, women, and children were murdered in their homes, yards, or on the streets.[2] The initial killings were undertaken in response to fabricated accusations that the Jews of Vijniţa had mistreated the Romanian Army during its retreat from northern Bukovina in June

1940 and had then welcomed the Soviet occupying forces. Not all military men were antisemitic, however. Maior Petruc, passing through Vijniţa on his way to the front in June 1941, showed kindness to the Jews, stopping the killing of 23 Jews. He distributed food left behind in the town by the Soviet authorities and gave money to the widows of those murdered.[3] The subsequent killings and deportations that occurred after his passing through town were part of a planned operation aimed at "cleansing the territory" of Jews and political "enemies" (communist sympathizers) behind the front line.

The Romanian administration took control of the town shortly after its occupation. The town's name was romanianized as Vijniţa (or Vişniţa). The mayor in Vijniţa was Virgil Leonaş, and the deputy mayor was Tiron Meletic. The praetor was Eugen Posteucă, assisted by Petru Bolocan. A transit camp was established in a few buildings (most likely synagogues or former Jewish schools) in mid- to late July 1941. Its purpose was to hold temporarily rural Jews living around Vijniţa who were being deported to Transnistria. According to estimates of the Romanian military authorities, 1,820 such Jews were gathered in what became known as the Vijniţa camp (*lagărul Vijniţa*). In August 1941 they were marched from place to place, eventually reaching the Edineţi camp (in the Hotin judeţ) where many succumbed to hunger, thirst, and illness. At that time the Edineţi camp had approximately 12,000 Jews (mostly from rural areas in Storojineţ, Cernăuţi, and Rădăuţi). After weeks of internment, in September 1941, they were marched to Atachi and Cosăuţi near the Dniester River, to be transferred to Transnistria.

Life under Romanian occupation was filled with restrictions for the Jews who remained in Vijniţa. A curfew was introduced, and walking through the streets was restricted to a few hours during the day. Bartering started immediately, because Jews could no longer work at their former jobs. Jews had to wear a distinctive mark on their clothing. They were forbidden to leave the town and instead were forced to undertake work for whoever needed them. In September 1941, all Jewish mental patients from Cernăuţi were transported to and kept in the Beit Midrash school courtyard in Vijniţa. A Jewish committee set up for this purpose treated the patients and provided them with bedding, clothing, and food.

In October 12, 1941, on Hoshana Rabba (marking the seventh day of the Jewish holiday of Sukkot), drumbeats announced—as was customary in small towns at that time—that the Jews were being expelled from Vijniţa. At that time, 2,800 Jews were deported from the town. Some were transported on carts and some on train to the Nepolocăuţi (today: Nepolokivtsi, Ukraine) train station, which was 36 kilometers (23 miles) northeast of Vijniţa. There they were loaded onto freight cars, 60 to 70 people per railcar, and transported to Atachi, one of the crossing points into Transnistria (across from Moghilev-Podolsk). After a short march from the Atachi train station they reached an assembly point (a temporary camp) near the banks of the Dniester River, where other Jews (from Suceava) awaited crossing by cable ferry. While waiting to embark on the ferry, they and their belongings were searched by Romanian gendarmes and their valuables (precious metals and foreign currency) confiscated. Their identity documents were also taken away. A few Jews, in desperation, committed suicide using cyanide pills and other similar poisons.

Once in Moghilev, the Jews of Vijniţa were dispersed in ghettos and camps throughout Transnistria, including in Moghilev, Berezovca, and Mostovoi. Some worked in government workshops (Birzula and Odessa), and others made it onto the lists of essential laborers who were retained in Moghilev. Of the 2,800 Jews deported from Vijniţa, 480 were brought to Djurin in the Moghilev judeţ (today: Dzhurin), 46 kilometers (29 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk, joining 5,000 other Jewish deportees. The 500 local Ukrainian Jews cared for them, taking them into their already crowded homes. The rabbi of Djurin, Rabbi Herzel Chrokmelnick, headed the provision of spiritual and material assistance. Rabbi Baruch Hager from Siret, also in Djurin, provided assistance. As far away as Bucharest, a committee that was established to help the Jews of Vijniţa and Cernăuţi succeeded in sending them help each month via a Romanian officer. Of the 480 Jews from Vijniţa who were brought to Djurin, 390 survived. Jews deported to other locations were less fortunate. They suffered from hunger and epidemics, and many of them perished. Of the remaining 2,320 Jews deported from Vijniţa, only about 800 survived, including some children. They returned from Transnistria during the spring of 1944. Deputy Mayor Meletic was sentenced in February 1949 to 20 years' hard labor and

confiscation of private property.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews of Vijniţa can be found in "Vijniţa," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 2: 460–462; "Vijnita," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1395–1396; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 67; Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bucovina şi Dorohoi* (Bucharest: Glob, 1945); Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources regarding the fate of Jews of Vijniţa are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and SRI (RG-25.004M). For the trial record of Tiron Meletic regarding his murder of Schulem Pressner, a Jew from Vijniţa, the physical and verbal abuse of other Jews of Vijniţa, and confiscation of Jewish property, see RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 52, file 1142, vol. 651, pp. 53–54, 81–82.

NOTES

1. VHA #00945, Leizer Hoffer testimony, February 15, 1995.
2. Entry on July 5, 1941, in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3a: 31.
3. Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bucovina şi Dorohoi*, p. 45.

VINDICENI

Vindiceni, a village in the Iarişev raion, Moghilev judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Vendychany, Ukraine), is situated along the Vendychanca River, a tributary of the Dniester. It is located 18 kilometers (12 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. In 1930, there were 829 Jews in Vindiceni.

The German and Romanian armies overran Vindiceni on July 19, 1941. After a short German military occupation, during which time the Jews were persecuted, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Vendychany to Vindiceni, and the raion's name became Iarişev. The praetor in the raion was Gheorghe Oşanu.

According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, there were 835 deported Romanian Jews in Vindiceni in October 1942.[1] Siegfried Jägendorf, president of the Moghilev Jewish Council, estimated that up to 50 percent of the deported Jews in Moghilev (the town and district) perished during the winter of 1941 from cold, hunger, and typhus, chief among other fatal diseases.[2]

Convoys of Jews deported from southern Bukovina arrived in Vindiceni in October and November 1941. Many of the Jews in those convoys crossed the Dniester at Moghilev-Podolsk, stopping for a short time and being held in bombed-out buildings before being forced to press on; some came to Vindiceni directly and others by way of other locations (such as Ozarintsy). The newly arrived deportees—robbed and starved along the way—were crammed inside the homes of the local Jews, some of whom were still alive at that time. The Vindiceni ghetto was thus created. It was an open ghetto, at least for a period, and was guarded by Romanian gendarmes from the local gendarmes post, assisted by Ukrainian auxiliaries. Leaving the ghetto without permission was punishable by death; indeed, Plutonier Mocanu, the gendarmes

post chief, shot a local Jew for doing just that.[3] A Jewish police unit also existed to maintain order and implement the authorities' demands. Survival was possible only through barter, bribery, and covert aid by generous local individuals.

In an effort to relieve overcrowding in the Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto and a few other nearby ghettos, Romanian gendarmerie authorities transferred on May 30, 1942, a number of Jews (perhaps 100 or more) from the Vindiceni ghetto to the newly created but dreadful camp at Scazineţi (today: Skazyntsi), some 14 kilometers (9 miles) southeast of Vindiceni. (These Jews from the Vindiceni ghetto were on the second transport; the first transport left a day earlier and included 1,000 Jews, mostly from the Moghilev ghetto.[4])

Information about the living conditions inside the Vindiceni ghetto comes from a report of the Bucharest-based Relief Commission from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) that visited Transnistria at the beginning of 1943, stopping on January 8 and 9 in Moghilev-Podolsk. The commission, led by Fred Şaraga, learned in a meeting with S. Iosspovici and A. Segall, representatives of the Vindiceni ghetto, that at that time 750 Jews were living in the ghetto, the majority of whom were from the Dorohoi judeţ (Darabani, Săveni, and Dorohoi). The commission also learned that a soup kitchen had existed in the ghetto for a brief period of time, but it had run out of funds; the ghetto had no hospital, the sick being treated in the town's dispensary (Avraham Veisman, Israel Rabinovici, and Heni Hirş were doctors active in and outside the ghetto in 1943). The commission donated 1,500 RKKS (*Reichskreditkassenschein*; German-issued scrip) toward the reopening of the soup kitchen.[5]

CER sent a few more aid boxes to the Vindiceni ghetto over the course of 1943 and facilitated the transfer of sums of money from relatives or friends living in Romania to individuals in the ghetto.[6] The aid was hardly sufficient to offset the deportees' many needs. A visit from M. Katz, the president of the Moghilev Jewish Council (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM) after Jägendorf found the Jews in Vindiceni to be "physically weak, exhausted" and that, although some were working, "most had become

beggars."[7]

A number of able-bodied people from the ghetto were taken to work in the local brick factory; some payment was received for that work.[8] Other Jews worked in the Vindiceni sugar factory that the deportees had restored; it was run by Serghie Rachliţchi, a violent man who took plea sure in beating his workers. Some other Jews labored in forestry.[9]

By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Vindiceni was 746; it is not clear whether the Ukrainian Jews were counted. On September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 262 Jews in the camp (3 from Bessarabia, 259 from Bukovina).[10]

The repatriation of the Jews from the Dorohoi district and the Regat took place in December 1943, along with a few other categories of Jews who were permitted to return earlier (such as World War I veterans or widows and orphaned Jewish children). Some Jews in the Vindiceni ghetto qualified for this repatriation. The Red Army recaptured the village at the end of March 1944, liberating the ghetto. Some of the Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, but most made their way back to Romania amid great challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Vindiceni can be found in the following publications: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011); and "Vindiceni," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 436. Additional information can be found in A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel,

Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2: 8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Vindiceni can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and GARF (RG-22.002). VHA holds 15 survivor testimonies in four languages (English, Russian, Hebrew, and German) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281.

2. Jägendorf memorandum, September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289 (esp. p. 265). Survivors also attest to such deaths: see VHA #38599, Tsilah Fuḳs testimony, December 3, 1997.

3. Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 400.

4. Ibid., 3: 286.

5. For a visitor's report, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel

9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 127–128; for a list of medical doctors in the Vendiceni ghetto in 1943, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 226 (and verso).

6. See receipts of remittances, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 10, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1180, pp. 86, 120–122.

7. An excerpt from Katz's memorandum can be found in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 397.

8. List of payments to Jewish workers, USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 34 (no fond, opis, or delo).

9. Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 290; see also VHA #21462, Sieghard Hacker testimony, November 5, 1996.

10. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345; and for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

VLĂDENI-HOMOROD/LPRS NO. 2

Vlădeni and Homorod are two villages in the Ţânţari township, Braşov judeţ (today: Vlădeni and Valea Homorod, Dumbrăviţa township), in the central region of Romania. Located in a mountainous region, Vlădeni is 5 kilometers (3 miles) from Homord, 22 kilometers (14 miles) northwest of the city of Braşov, and 160 kilometers (99 miles) north of Bucharest. Following the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the capture of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) necessitated the creation of camps to hold and exploit them.

Established in July 1941 as a camp for Soviet POWs in Vaslui, in the eastern part of Romania, this subcamp moved to Vlădeni-Homorod on August 3, 1941, and became a camp of its own. Soviet prisoners were brought to this camp to refurbish a segment of railroad tracks in the Vlădeni-Homorod area, especially the railway tunnel near Perşani, and to provide labor to other industrial and agricultural enterprises in the region. In August 1941, the Vlădeni-Homorod camp had a total of 2,556 prisoners, guarded by a contingent of 256 gendarmes and a few ranked officers. The commandant of the camp was Locotenent-colonel Cândea.

The camp became known as Camp No. 2 of Soviet prisoners (*Lagărul No. 2 de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici*), LPRS No. 2 followed by the place name Vlădeni-Homorod, Homorod-Vlădeni, or simply, Vlădeni or Homorod. The Command Office of the Interior Defense Forces (*Comandamentul Forţelor de Apărare Interioară a Teritoriului*) controlled and regulated the camp's affairs, while the V Territorial Command, located in Buzău (*Comandamentul V Teritorial Buzău*), administered the camp. POW camps like the Vlădeni-Homorod camp were designed as self-sufficient entities. The camp received a small bud get and was expected to live within its means by securing additional revenue from the hire of its prisoners. The chief employer of the camp's prisoners was the Romanian Railways Company (*Căile Ferate*

Române, CFR), but other enterprises hired prisoners from the camp as well. For example, 300 POWs were sent in August 1941 to Mangalia, near the Black Sea, as agricultural workers for the Agri-cultural Inspectorate of Constanţa (*Inspectoratul Agricol Constanţa*).

In the Vlădeni-Homorod camp, prisoners were housed in three large wooden barracks built by CFR, Section 2, Braşov, as part of their employer-designated responsibilities.[1] Each barrack was 300 meters (984 feet) in length but had different widths. The first barrack held 600 prisoners and was guarded by 1 officer, 2 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and 43 gendarmes. The second barrack, the largest of the three, held 1,110 prisoners; it was guarded by 2 officers, 3 NCOs, and 87 gendarmes. Finally, the third barrack had 759 prisoners, guarded by 2 officers, 3 NCOs, and 65 gendarmes. The three barracks were 3 to 5 kilometers (1.9 to 3.1 miles) from each other.

The barracks were primitive at best, each containing no more than a few small windows, a main door, and shared multitiered beds. Initially the camp lacked everything else: tables, chairs, bowls, spoons, storage rooms, showers, and toilets. Essential cooking equipment (such as large cooking pots) was procured and brought from the Vaslui POW camp. Gradually, a dining hall, outdoor lavatories, and a small infirmary were set up for each barrack. There was also a larger infirmary for the entire camp (for cases not requiring urgent hospitalization). Each barrack was encircled by barbed wire, and four watch-towers were placed at the camp's corners.[2]

A major delousing effort began soon after the prisoners' arrival at camp. An army mobile bathing train was used for washing, and several delousing ovens were used to disinfect the prisoners' clothes. The gendarmes, too, washed and had their clothes deloused. Dirty and louse-infested barracks were cleaned and washed with lime; old straw on which the prisoners slept was burned and replaced with new straw; and all prisoners had their hair cut short. In addition, an army nurse was assigned to the camp to monitor the health of the prisoners and troops and to prevent the outbreak of epidemics such as typhus or typhoid fever.[3]

The barracks were located close to the work sites. The prisoners

were escorted on foot to the sites, guarded while working, and returned under escort to the camp in the evening. The payment of working prisoners was stipulated by contractual agreements established between the camp and the employers. However, records have yet to emerge verifying the payment of prisoners from the Vlădeni-Homorod camp.[4]

After a promising start, the lack of funds, absence of stored produce, and difficult road access up to the barracks on rainy and snowy days caused a food shortage in the camp. Many prisoners were taken captive when they were wearing light summer clothes, and many had been without shoes since their capture. Lack of the warmer clothes needed to live and work in a mountainous region led not only to the unemployment of those unable to perform their duties but also to illness. Furthermore, early camp reports indicate the absence of soap and underwear, leading to poor hygiene.[5] Cases of illness needing hospitalization were reported. The most common sickness among the Soviet POWs held in the Romanian camps was tuberculosis, with related lung infections. Typhus was also a constant threat, in addition to other illnesses caused by battle wounds.[6] The dead were buried in the Vlădeni village's cemetery. The bodies were later exhumed and reburied in the Soviet cemetery built after the war to honor Soviet soldiers who died in the area during the summer and fall of 1944.

Based on surviving documentation, the Vlădeni-Homorod camp was open until sometime in 1943. The remaining prisoners were likely absorbed by other camps, among them Camp No. 3 Vameş (Covurlui judeţ; today: Galaţi judeţ), Camp No. 7 Budeşti (Ilfov judeţ; today: Călăraşi judeţ), and Camp No. 5 Tiraspol (Tiraspol judeţ).[7]

SOURCES For a secondary source mentioning the Vlădeni-Homorod camp, see Vasile Popa, "Prizonierii Sovietici în Romania (1941–1944)," in Cătălin Fudulu, ed., *Eroi şi Morminte: Studii şi comunicării susţinute la sesiunea anuală a Oficiului Naţional pentru Cultul Eroilor, ediţia 1, Bucureşti 12.12.2007* (Buzău: Alpha MDN, 2008), pp. 1–9.

Primary sources documenting the lives of Soviet POWs in the Vlădeni-Homorod camp are available at USHMMA, in collection

SRI (RG-25.004M). Soviet prisoner registration forms from the Vlădeni camp are available at TsAMO (fond 58, opis 977528, delo 134); and RGVA (fond 1512, opis 1, delo 20).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Instructions regarding the treatment and employment of prisoners were formulated in August 1941 by the General Staff of the Commandment of the Interior Defense Forces of Romania and clearly stipulate the employers' responsibilities, cf. "Instrucţiuni asupra întrebuinţării prizonierilor la munci," August 4, 1941, signed by General de divizie Hariton Dragomirescu, commandant of the Interior Defense Forces, USHMMA, RG-25.004 (SRI), reel 42, file 40030, vol. 33, pp. 23–25, 26–28. Colonel T. Turturescu, General Staff commandant of the V Territorial Command, transmitted such instructions to all camps coming under the supervision of his command center, including the Vlădeni-Homorod camp; see his secret note, p. 22 in the same file and volume.

2. Commandant Cândea's report, "Dare de Seamă," August 9, 1941, explaining the difficulties faced in organizing and running the camp, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 42, file 40030, vol. 33, pp. 40–41, and the subsequent report covering the period August 11–18, 1941, p. 56. A follow-up telegram from Colonel Turturescu to the Command Office of the Interior Defense Forces reiterated the camp's needs, as did his more detailed report, "No. 206882," August 22, 1941, pp. 33 and 48 in the same file and volume.

3. Commandant Cândea's report and Colonel Turturescu's telegram report, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 42, file 40030, vol. 33, pp. 45–47. See also the camp's medical report, pp. 58–59, in the same file and volume.

4. Regulations regarding payment owed to the camps for prisoner labor evolved continuously from July 1941 to May 1943. For the August 1941 rules, see General de divizie Dragomirescu's instructions regarding the employment of prisoners, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 42, file 40030, vol. 33,

pp. 23 and 26.

5. Commandant Cândea's report, "Dare de Seamă," August 9, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 42, file 40030, vol. 33, p. 41; see also entries 3 and 4 in Colonel Turturescu's report for the Command Office of the Interior Defense Forces, August 22, 1941, p. 48, in the same file and volume.

6. With few exceptions, the reason for hospitalization is not indicated: see correspondence between the camp, the V Territorial Command, and the Command Office of the Interior Defense Forces regarding discharge from the hospital of prisoners, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 42, file 40030, vol. 33, pp. 63–66.

7. POWs discharged from the hospital were not returned to the Vlădeni-Homorod camp, but were directed to Camp No. 3 Vameş, Covurlui judeţ, which seems to indicate where some of the internees were moved: USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 42, file 40030, vol. 33, pp. 65–66. Similarly, see individual registration forms of Soviet POWs held in the Vlădeni-Homorod camp, "Foaia individuală a prizonierului," RGVA, fond 1512, opis 1, delo 20, p. 19; and the information gathered about each prisoner in "Stat nominal pentru prizonieri," TsAMO, fond 58, opis 977528, delo 134, pp. 193, 308.

VOITOVCA

Voitovca, a village in the Berşad raion in the Balta judeţ, in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Viitivka, north of Berşad, Ukraine), is situated near the Bug River. It is located 54 kilometers (34 miles) north of Balta. In 1939, there were 14 Jews in Voitovca.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Voitovca at the end of July 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the area beginning in September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Voitovka to Voitovca, and the raion was renamed Berşad.

The praetor in the Bershad raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

A camp, often termed a colony (*colonie*), for Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romania was set up in Voitovca in the fall of 1941. The camp was on the grounds of the local collective farm (*kolkhoz*). A handful of Romanian gendarmes aided by local Ukrainian auxiliaries guarded the camp. There was a ban on movement outside of the camp; violators were severely punished. Epidemics (especially typhus), hunger, cold, and exhaustion led to many deaths, especially during the first two years of internment (1941–1942); deportees continued to die thereafter, but at a slower pace. It is estimated that 2,500 people perished in this way in the camp.[1] Wearing the yellow star was obligatory.[2] A Jewish Council existed in the camp under the leadership of Zisu Fraier.[3]

Barter, begging by the most destitute, and the generosity of local non-Jews helping those who sought aid were the key means of survival for many. Humanitarian aid sent by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) in Bucharest during 1943 and early 1944 may have reached this camp; individual sums of money sent by the undeported relatives of those in the camp were also important for survival.[4]

Able-bodied Jews (men and women) undertook forced labor in various forms. Workers were occasionally recompensed with a watery soup and a slice (200 grams, 7 ounces) of stale bread or a handful of produce.[5]

At some point in early 1942, the number of Jews in the camp was 319 (64 men, 120 women, and 135 children). CER's census in March 1943 listed Voitovca as having 280 Jews. On September 1, 1943, however, the camp held 893 Jews (475 from Bessarabia, 418 from Bukovina), without counting the local Ukrainian Jews. The increase was due to the transfer of internees from nearby ghettos, especially Berşad.[6]

Roma (Gypsies) deported from Romania in the summer of 1942 were scattered within the territory of the Berşad raion, coming to live in primitive huts in the winter of that year and thereafter. Some were brought to work on the kolkhoz in Voitovca in 1943, but fled for fear of encountering German soldiers, who were retreating from the other side of the Bug.[7]

The Red Army recaptured the village at the beginning of March 1944, immediately liberating the camp. Some Jews were conscripted into the army, and the rest of the survivors made their way home amid many challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Voitovca can be found in the following publications: "Voitovka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 177; "Boitovka," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 67; "Boitovka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 271; and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the*

Jewish Population of the USSR 1939 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For a collection of documents on the persecution of the Roma deported from Romania, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Voitovca camp can be found at USHMMA, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), and DAOO (RG-31.004M). VHA holds 16 survivor testimonies in three languages (English, Hebrew, and Russian) from Jews and Roma held in the camp for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. The figure is an estimate by ChGK, April 1945, USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 14.

2. VHA #46670, Leonid Batel'man testimony, September 17, 1998.

3. List of ghetto and camp leaders in the Balta judeţ, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562.

4. Receipts of remittances, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 12.

5. VHA #42867, Semen Borokhovskiy testimony, March 18, 1998. For a list of Jews undertaking forced labor on laying railway tracks, see USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reels 32 and 33.

6. The March 1943 census does not contain Voitovca among the Jugastru district localities, as can be seen in "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 456.

7. VHA #33904, Vasilii Radu testimony, September 10, 1997. See also Achim, *Documente privind deportarea ţiganilor*, 2: 402–403 (Doc. 560).

VOROŞILOVCA

Voroşilovca, a small town in the Moghilev judeţ, in the northeastern part of Romanian-occupied Transnistria (today: Voroshylivka, Ukraine), is located near the Bug River. It is 77 kilometers (47 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. In 1923, there were 977 Jews in Voroşilovca. According to the 1939 Soviet census, the number of Jews in the Tivriv (Tyvrov) raion, of which Voroşilovca was then a part, had 1,840 Jews, with only a few hundred living in Voroşilovca. During the 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union, some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities, others were drafted into the Red Army, but many stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Voroşilovca in the second part of July 1941. After a short German military occupation, during which time some of the village's remaining Jews were killed by the Nazi SS and the Ukrainian collaborators, the Romanian civil administration took control of the village in September 1941. The village's name was roman ianized from Voroshilovka to Voroşilovca (occasionally spelled Voroşilofca), and the raion's name from Tyvrov to Tivriv. The praetor in the Crasna raion was Nicolae Coman.[1]

A ghetto was established in Voroşilovca at some point during the summer of 1942, although a camp for Jews may have existed even earlier. Confirmation about the creation of the Voroşilovca ghetto comes from a report from the administrative inspector Ştefănescu, after his visit to the raions in the Moghilev district.[2] Jews deported from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia in Romania, as well as Ukrainian Jews from northern Transnistria, were brought to the ghetto at that time. These Jews had survived the devastating winter months of 1941 and the great deprivations brought on by the Romanian administration.

The Jews deported to Voroşilovca were crowded inside the former homes of the local Jews. The perimeter was marked and guarded by Romanian gendarmes, assisted by Ukrainian auxiliaries. Wearing the yellow star was mandatory for all adult

Jews. This and other ordinances were enforced in the ghetto by its leadership and the Jewish police. The Jews in the ghetto survived on charity and barter. Many perished from hunger, cold, and disease in the following two years. A mass graveyard was created in the Jewish cemetery in Voroşilovca. At the same time, as bad as conditions were, the Voroşilovca ghetto absorbed Jewish escapees from German-occupied territory across the Bug, such as Gnivan.

According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, there were 238 Jews deported from Romania held in Voroşilovca in October 1942.[3] The Relief Commission from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews in Bucharest (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) visited Transnistria at the beginning of 1943, stopping on January 4 in Şmerinca, some 17 kilometers (11 miles) west of Voroşilovca. The commission, led by Fred Şaraga, was urged by the Jewish leaders of the Şmerinca ghetto to open a distribution subcenter in their ghetto so they could distribute aid to such places as the Voroşilovca ghetto.[4] The distribution of individual funds sent by friends and relatives not deported from Romania to those in the Voroşilovca ghetto was also made possible through CER.[5] This form of help, together with additional parcels sent by CER for the entire ghetto, made a difference, even if small, in ameliorating the conditions of the Jews in the Voroşilovca ghetto.

By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Voroşilovca was 639, probably not counting the Ukrainian Jews; on September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 278 Jews in the ghetto (108 from Bessarabia, 170 from Bukovina).[6] The difference in numbers is due to the relocation for forced labor to peat exploitation fields outside Tulcin and of a few skilled workers to the Trihati camp.[7] The survivors from both camps returned to the ghetto at the end of the year.

The repatriation of the Jews originally from Dorohoi and the Regat began in December 1943, although only a few Jews from Voroşilovca qualified for it; the remaining Jews deported from Romania were not permitted to return to the country until the beginning of March 1944, on the eve of the Red Army's recapture of Voroşilovca. Those still in the ghetto were liberated at that time; men of military age were drafted into the Red Army, and the rest continued their journey to Romania amid great difficulties.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Voroşilovca can be found in the following publications: "Voroshilovka," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1413; "Vorosilovca," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 434; "Voroshilovka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 184; "Voroshilovka," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 77; and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942, The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HolMod* 2/8 (2010): 18–26. On Jews fleeing across the Bug to Voroşilovca, see the rescue account of Vladimir Dlozhevskiy, a hero designated as a Righteous Among the

Nations, available at http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4211579.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Voroşilovca can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). Declarations by survivors of the Voroşilovca ghetto can be found in Chernivtsi Jewish Survivors Organization Affidavits (USHMMA, RG-31.020M). VHA holds 40 survivor testimonies in five languages from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For the praetors in the Moghilev judeţ, see USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, pp. 9–10.

2. Report is dated August 20, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 22, pp. 52–53 (and verso).

3. USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281.

4. For a visitor's report, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 115.

5. See examples of such money orders for Voroşilovca, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1; reel 11, fond 2255, opis 1, delos 1364 and 1365; and reel 12, fond 2255, opis 1, delos 1400, 1403, and 1407.

6. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346, and for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

7. For correspondence between the German and Romanian authorities regarding the Trihati bridge, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 23, p. 37 and the following unnumbered pages; for the list of specialists from the Stanislavcic ghetto in June 1943, see the same collection, reel, and fond.

VRADIEVCA

Vradievca, seat of Vradievca raion, Golta judeţ (today: Vradiivka), in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is 29 kilometers (18 miles) southwest of Golta. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 481 Jews in Vradievca, representing 6.85 percent of the village's population (the entire raion had 625 Jews).

The German and Romanian armies occupied Vradievca in early August 1941. Weeks later, some of the Jews still living in Vradievca and its immediate surroundings were gathered and shot by Einsatzgruppe D units. The killings took place outside the town near the Kodyma River, a Bug tributary. In September 1941, the town came under Romanian control and its name was romanianized from Vradievka to Vradievca. The Golta judeţ prefect was Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, and Aristide Pădure was the deputy prefect. Corneliu Ciureanu directed labor in the Golta judeţ. The praetor in the Vradievca raion was Gheorghe Zaharia, and the chief of the gendarmes post in Vradievca was Plutonier Radu Ioan.

A ghetto was created in Vradievca in the fall of 1941 for Jews deported from Romania (Moldavia, Bessarabia, and Bukovina), and Transnistria (Odessa, Balta, and other places). For most of its early existence, the ghetto functioned as a transit center for convoys passing through to Golta's "death camps" (Bogdanovca, Domanovca, and Acmecetca). For this reason, the ghetto's population remained under 100 people. Thus, on June 22, 1942, there were 73 Jews in the ghetto (26 men, 26 women, and 21 children), of whom 6 were between the ages of 20 and 40.[1] The ghetto was enclosed and was guarded by Ukrainian police, if for no other reason than its proximity to the train line connecting Kiev to Odessa (via Golta). The Jews held in the Vradievca raion's detention sites were used in 1943 as forced laborers in workshops. Such workshops were designed according to trades, such as tailoring, shoemaking, and carpentry, whereas Jewish nurses and

doctors worked in the Vradievca hospital and other medical centers throughout the raion. The organization coordinating Jewish labor in Vradievca was the Jewish labor office based in the ghetto. The members of this office were Iosifescu Iosifovici (chief and ghetto head), assisted by Hariton Viner and Huna Epelman.[2]

On May 20, 1942, 48 Jewish mental patients from Chişinău's Costiugeni Hospital, along with the last 156 remaining Jews from the Chişinău ghetto, were deported by train from Chişinău via Tiraspol to Vradievca. The deportation took place with the explicit approval of Bessarabia's governor, General de divizie Constantin Voiculescu, who had previously requested their deportation earlier that year.[3] The Chişinău convoy reached the Vradievca train station on May 23; from there the Jews were dispatched to the camps in the Vradievca raion.

In September 1943, the Vradievca ghetto held 20 Romanian Jews (from Bessarabia), in addition to Ukrainian Jews.[4]

The Golta judeţ received many Roma (Gypsies) deported to Transnistria from Romania in the summer of 1942. Weeks after the Roma's arrival and dispersal to various collection centers, Golta's prefect confiscated their horses and carts (used by some to travel to Transnistria) to use them in Golta's farms where the Roma were also supposed to find work. Some 300 Roma were placed near Vradievca, housed in primitive wooden huts.[5] Angered and hoping for a quick return to Romania, the Roma initially lived off what ever they were able to smuggle into Transnistria and sell (gold rings, foreign currency); lived off the land (fruit trees, bushes with berries, forest food); or stole. Petitions from the Roma deported to the Vradievca raion and on their behalf by relatives in Romania reached the authorities, but went unheeded.[6]

The complete lack of hygiene in which the Roma lived as a result of their inhumane accommodations led to a typhus outbreak in November 1942. The epidemic spread quickly through the Vradievca raion, especially because measures were not taken to delouse the Roma and the local hospitals were unprepared to handle the epidemic.[7] Jewish physicians, like M. Michelson, were brought from Romania to the Vradievca hospital for 30-day periods to combat the epidemics and to provide general medical treatment. Thus, from November 20 to December 20, 1942, in

addition to treating ghetto inmates, Dr. Michelson treated infections among schoolchildren in Vradievca, deloused 782 Roma transferred to various villages in the Vradievca raion, and attended to gendarmes' and army soldiers' medical needs (prescribing treatment, delousing).[8] With the arrival of the winter of 1942, the Roma colony was moved to dilapidated homes in Vradievca. The Vradievca raion's Romanian physician informed the district sanitation service that resettling the Roma in the village would spread typhus among the Ukrainian population. He requested that all Roma be concentrated in one location, in a large camp of sorts, and kept under guard, but to no avail.[9]

Work was sporadic and insufficient for the Roma seeking to earn an honest living. Women, children under working age, and the elderly who depended on male adult family members to secure food or income suffered the most. Attempts to flee Transnistria from the Vradievca train station increased substantially in November 1943, as winter conditions settled in and there were even fewer opportunities to work. Some managed to reenter Bessarabia and even get home, but most stayed in place until March 1944 when they returned home on their own. The Red Army liberated Vradievca on April 8, 1944.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews and Roma in Vradievca can be found in the following sources: "Vradievca," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 187; "Vradievca," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 288; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 77; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias

Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Naţională de Editură şi Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Paul A. Shapiro, *The Kishinev Ghetto, 1941–1942: A Documentary History in Romania's Contested Borderlands* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press in association with USHMM, 2015). For a collection of documents on the deportation of Romanian Roma to Transnistria, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004). For information about rescuers of Jews in Vradievca, see Israel Gutman et al., eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5 (Europe, part 2) (Jerusalem: Keterpress, 2011), p. 432; and supplementary vol. 2 (The Netherlands-United States) (Jerusalem: Keterpress, 2010), pp. 763–764 (the articles are also available at http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/familyList.html?placeTemp=Vradievca&results_by=family&placeFam=Vradievca&language=e

Primary sources on the fate of Jews and Roma in Vradievca are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), MAE (RG-25.006M), and AMANR (RG-25.003). At USHMMA, there are 46 oral testimonies (in Hebrew and Russian) of Jewish and Roma survivors who were deported to or from Vradievca.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Statistical tables, "Tabel de evreii între vârsta de 20 şi 40 de ani," USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 374, p. 119 (USHMMA,

RG-31.008M/2178/1/374, p. 119); and "Situaţia numerică de evrei aflaţi pe raza judeţului Golta la data de 22 Iunie 1942," USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/423, p. 163.

2. List of names for the Vradievca Jewish labor office, "Tabelul cuprinzând numele şi pronumele evreilor de la Ghetoul Vradievca judeţul Golta propuşi pentru Biroul de muncă," August 16, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 6, p. 57 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/6, p. 57). For labor duties, see "Situaţia Model 2 de utilizarea evreilor din Raionul Vradievca, Judeţul Golta," November 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/373, p. 128.

3. Evacuation plan, "Plan de evacuarea evreilor din Ghetoul Chişinău," signed by Colonel Teodor Meculescu, Chişinău's chief gendarmes inspector, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMANR), reel 128, file 96, pp. 65–68, but see also subsequent reporting between various organizations carrying out the deportation, p. 69. For Voiculescu's request, see his address No. 2141/March 17, 1941, to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 177.

4. "Situaţie numerică de numarul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

5. For an estimated number of Roma in the Vradievca raion, see Praetor Zaharia's note, November 13, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/372, p. 127.

6. Telegram and formal petition, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1912, pp. 110, 164.

7. Legiunea Jandarmi Golta, information report, "Nota informativă Nr. 1225," November 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/31, p. 18.

8. Activity report, December 23, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/431, pp. 20–21.

9. Medical service report, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/423, p. 46.

ZABOCRICI

Zabocrici, a small town in the Crijopol raion in the Jugastru judeţ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Zhabokrych, Ukraine), is located 33 kilometers (21 miles) south-southeast of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 3,104 Jews in the Crijopol raion, 1,400 of whom lived in Crijopol and 679 in Zabocrici. Although some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities and fewer still were drafted into the Red Army, most stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Zabocrici in the middle of July 1941. During the short German military occupation, 435 Jews were killed between July 27 and 29 by German police forces and Romanian soldiers. About half of the victims were Jews from Zabocrici, and the other half were gathered from nearby villages; among the dead were 61 children. The Jews were shot in the cellars of local houses.[1] The Romanian civil administration took control of the town beginning in September 1941. The town's name was romanianized from Zabokrich to Zabocrici, but was routinely spelled Iabocrici or Jabocrici. The prefect in the Jugastru judeţ was Colonel Ştefan S. Gheorghiade.

A ghetto was established in the town probably in October 1941 or perhaps even earlier during the German occupation. The local Jews were held in the ghetto, as were Jews deported from northern Bessarabia and southern Bukovina in October and November.[2] The majority of the deported Jews entered Transnistria via the Atachi and Iampol crossing points and then made their way on foot to Zabocrici. The convoys of deportees were robbed of many of their possessions at the entry points into Transnistria, as well as en route to their deportation place, adding substantially to their misery.

Life in the ghetto was fraught with privations. There was a ban on movement outside of the ghetto; violators were severely punished. Gendarmes and local auxiliaries watched the ghetto. Inside the ghetto, the deportees were crowded into the houses of

local Jews, with several families sharing a single room. Epidemics (especially typhus), hunger, cold, and exhaustion led to deaths. Wearing the yellow star was obligatory. Barter, begging by the most destitute, and the generosity of a few local non-Jews were key means of survival for many.[3] The establishment of government-controlled workshops (*ateliere*) where skilled Jews inside the ghetto could work in exchange for food or small sums of money also provided a means of survival. The creation of Jewish workshops was in accordance with Ordinance No. 23 of the Government of Transnistria, but it fell on the shoulders of the ghetto leadership to set them up. Fortunately, the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) provided some aid.

There were a number of workshops in the Zabocrici ghetto that came into existence most likely at the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943 and were coordinated by Monia Fleişer. For example, there existed a tailors and furriers workshop, and there were workshops for hairdressers, ironsmiths, hatmakers, and mechanics. All in all, some 37 people were employed in the workshops in October 1943.[4]

At some point in early 1942, the number of Jews in the ghetto was 558. By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Zabocrici was 200, most likely not counting the Ukrainian Jews; on September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 245 (70 from Bessarabia, 175 from Bukovina).[5] Repatriations of deported Jews originally from the Dorohoi district and the Regat took place in December 1943, with a few cases applying to the Zabocrici ghetto. Orphaned children under age 19 were the next group to be repatriated; there were a small number of such children in the ghetto. Units of the Kovpak partisan formation were active around the Zabocrici area during the retreat of the German and Romanian armies from Transnistria at the beginning of 1944. The partisans' activities benefited the Jews in the ghetto as they distracted the guards and brought news of the Red Army's advancement, and in turn the Jews provided the partisans with shelter and information about the local administration.[6]

The Romanian administration retreated from Zabocrici at the beginning of March 1944 on the eve of the Red Army's recapture

of the town at the end of that month. The deported Jews who remained in the ghetto were liberated at that time and began their difficult journey back home.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Zabocrici can be found in the following publications: "Zhabokrich," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1504; "Zabocrici," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad leahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah*, (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 439; "Zhabokrich," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 150; "Zhabokrich," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij sprabochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 112; "Zhabokrich," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 278; A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944)/Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), 38; for census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942, The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate

Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2: 8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Zabocrici can be found at USHMMA, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M); the last collection contains a map of the Jugastru district showing the exact location of the Zabocrici ghetto and the number of inhabitants in 1942, in reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21. A Jewish survivor's testimony about his imprisonment in the Zabocrici ghetto can be found in the Chernivtsi Jewish Organization Affidavits, RG-31.020M, microfiche 24, folder 6, vol. 588. VHA holds 53 survivor testimonies in four languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Hebrew, and English) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

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NOTES

1. According to reports produced by ChGK, April 1945, USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1265, pp. 20–23, 26–28.

2. See the list of ghettos in Jugastru district, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 22, n.p.

3. USHMMA, RG-50.477*0495, Sabina Spektor testimony, February 26, 1992. See also VHA #30996, Aleksei Brener testimony, April 29, 1997; and VHA #23080, Sarra Epshtein testimony, November 20, 1996.

4. Cf. confidential correspondence on Jewish workshops between the Jugastru Prefecture and the Labor Department, Government of Transnistria, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, pp. 96–104 (esp. pp. 98–99). Work in such facilities is attested also by VHA #9200, Mendel Halpern testimony, November 26, 1995.

5. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportaţi în Transnistria pe localităţi, raioane şi judeţe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348, and for the September 1943 census, see "Situaţie numerică de numărul evreilor aflaţi astăzi în Transnistria pe judeţe şi localităţi, dintre cei ce au fost evacuaţi din Basarabia şi Bucovina. Situaţia la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

6. VHA #43724, Bella Khamko testimony, April 30, 1998; VHA #37431, Evgeniia Farber testimony, October 9, 1997.

ZAHARIOVCA

Zahariovca, a small village in the Vradievca raion in the Golta judeţ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Zakharivka, Ukraine), is located 36 kilometers (22 miles) south-southwest of Golta. This Zahariovca should not be confused with Zakharievka/Zakharovka in the Zakharievca raion, in the western part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Frunzivka).[1]

The German and Romanian armies overran the village in late July or early August 1941. After a short German military occupation, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Zakhariovka to Zahariovca (spelled also Zaharovca). The praetor in the Vradievca raion was Gheorghe Zaharia.

The dilapidated cowshed in the collective farm near the village was used in November and December 1941 as a transit camp for Jews deported from Bessarabia in Romania as well as for Ukrainian Jews from Transnistria (Balta and Ananiev judeţe). Groups of deportees escorted by gendarmes occasionally converged in larger villages along the deportation routes leading to the terrible camps in the Domanevca raion in the Golta district (an area labeled by Holocaust scholars as the "kingdom of death"). The meetings gave the escorts the opportunity to reorganize the groups as well as to change guards. One such meeting point was Vazdovca (today: Ivanovka), a village 4 kilometers (about 3 miles) northeast of Zahariovca. Zahariovca is located between Vazdovca and Domanevca, making it a suitable stopping point. Ukrainian policemen working for the Golta Prefecture were assisting the few Romanian gendarmes present at the camp.

The combination of extreme cold in the winter of 1941 and the inhumane living conditions in the cowshed (crowded, filthy, and unheated), not to mention the authorities' utter disregard for the deportees' lack of food supplies and warm clothing, meant certain

death for vulnerable groups of people, such as the elderly, young, and sick. Holocaust survivor Haim Cogan, a Jew from Chişinău who passed through the Zahariovca camp in December 1941, described seeing thousands of Jews from Chişinău held there without food. As a result, "each day dozens of people died," wrote Cogan, "and their bodies were thrown into the field because it was bitter cold."[2] After spending varying periods of time in the camp, the convoys headed in wintry conditions to the camp in Domanevca and, beyond, to the Bogdanovca camp, where most were shot soon after their arrival and their bodies burned.

The Zahariovca camp was most likely abandoned at the beginning of 1942.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Zaharievca can be found in the following publications: Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Paul Shapiro, *The Kishinev Ghetto, 1941–1942: A Documentary History of the Holocaust in Romania's Contested Borderlands* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press in association with USHMM, 2015); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: Transnistria (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews held in Zahariovca can be found at USHMMA, in collection DAOO (RG-31.004M), which includes a detailed list of towns and villages in the Golta judeţ in reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 37, pp. 10–12; the ANR records, fond IGJ (RG-25.010M) contains a contemporaneous map of the Golta judeţ showing the exact

location of Zahariovca in reel 12, file 163, p. 17.

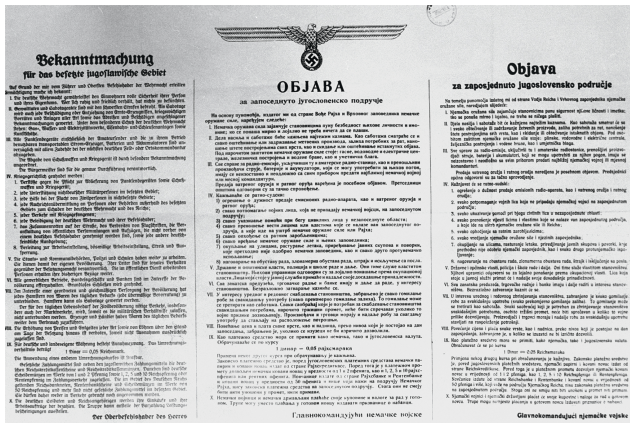
Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For the renaming of Zakharovka as Frunzivca after World War I, see http://data.jewishgen.org/wconnect/wc.dll?jg~jgsys~community~-1038725. Note, however, that the old name is retained in the Transnistria settlement list produced in 1942 by Romanian census takers; see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 37, pp. 9–10.

2. Haim Cogan testimony, April 29, 1963, reproduced in Ancel, *Transnistria*, p. 86.

SERBIA


Bekanntmachung
für das besetzte jugoslawische Gebiet
ОБЈАВА
за запоседнуто југословенско подручје
Objava
za zaposjednuto jugoslovensko područje

An announcement issued by General Wilhelm List, the Supreme Commander of the Army in Serbia, outlining the rules and regulations of the German occupation, April 1941. USHMM WS #90144, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

SERBIA

After the rejection of the Tripartite Pact and the formation of a new Yugoslav government on March 27, 1941, Nazi Germany and its allies decided to invade the kingdom of Yugoslavia and destroy it as a state. In a war that lasted from April 6 to 18, 1941, Yugoslavia was defeated, and the Axis powers divided its national territory per an agreement made at Vienna on April 22. On July 22, 1942, in Berlin, Yugoslavia's territorial dismemberment was formalized with the "Agreement concerning the Division of the Property of the former Yugoslav State."[1] The regimes carving up Yugoslav territories were the Reich, Italy (including Albania and Montenegro), Hungary, Bulgaria, the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH), and Serbia, represented by the German government.[2]

Serbia was the only area of Yugoslavia under direct German occupation (except for part of Slovenia). Three German infantry divisions conquered the territory, and in late 1941, two German divisions suppressed an incipient rebellion. German military administration was established in central Serbia, the Banat region, and northern Kosovo. From the end of 1941 there was a strong Bulgarian occupying force in southern and central Serbia. Other parts of the country were annexed by neighboring countries: the Bačka region by Hungary, the Srem region by the NDH, and most of the Kosovo and Metohija regions by the Italian protectorate of Albania.

Serbia's land area was about 51,100 square kilometers (19,730 square miles) with a population of approximately 3,810,000. In addition to Serbs and numerous members of the German (*Volksdeutsche*) and Hungarian minorities in the Banat, it had a population of approximately 17,800 Jews, including some 1,200 refugees from Central Europe.[3]

The Nazi regime pursued a policy of punishing Serbs as severely as possible, as the German occupiers introduced full control over Serbian social and economic life. German military courts extended their jurisdiction to include Serbia. The German authorities implemented curfews, censorship, bans on public gatherings, and food rationing. The military administration imposed a war indemnity totaling 1 billion Serbian dinars (roughly $1 million in 1940 U.S. dollars) and responsibility for provisioning the occupation troops. It banned all political organizations except for the pro-fascist national movement, Zbor, under the leadership of Dimitrije Ljotić. The movement's name stemmed from the Serbian word for "assembly" and was also an acronym for the United Combative Organization of Labor (*Združena Borbena Organizacija Rada*). Zbor was a small political organization founded in early 1935. In the 1935 and 1938 elections it received less than 1 percent of the vote, too little to earn it any parliamentary seats.[4]

THE GERMAN OCCUPATION

As the German occupation began, the German police immediately imposed antisemitic measures requiring the registration, marking,

forced labor, and property confiscation ("Aryanization") of Serbian Jews. By decree the military commandant of Serbia codified these measures on May 30, 1941.[5] Accompanying the anti-Jewish measures was an ever more vitriolic antisemitic propaganda campaign, orchestrated by the Propaganda Department Southeast (*Propagandaabteilung Südost*). From the part of Slovenia annexed to the Reich, 6,720 Slovenes were deported to Serbia. According to an agreement between Germany and the NDH, Serbs from the NDH were also deported to Serbia. At the same time, many more Serbs were fleeing the NDH to escape mass murder being perpetrated by the Croatian forces, including the Ustaša. At the end of September 1941, approximately 150,000 refugees from various occupied areas had entered Serbia, and by the autumn of 1942, that number rose to about 400,000.[6]

The supreme authority was the Military Commander in Serbia (*Der Militärbefehlshaber in Serbien*). In succession, the following generals held this post (with the rank equivalent to a U.S. lieutenant general): General der Flieger Helmut Förster, General der Flakartillerie Ludwig von Schröder, General der Flieger Heinrich Danckelmann, General der Gebirgstruppe Franz Böhme, General der Artillerie Paul Bader, and General der Infanterie Hans-Gustav Felber. The occupying power operated through 4 regional military commands (*Feldkommandanturen*), 10 district commands (*Kreiskommandanturen*), and about 100 local commands (*Ortskommandanturen*). The commandant administering the occupied territory operated through the command headquarters (*Kommandostab*) for military affairs and an administrative headquarters (*Verwaltungsstab*) for governmental concerns. Headed by SS-Gruppenführer Dr. Harald Turner, the administrative headquarters exercised the functions of a provincial government and controlled the work of the Serbian authorities. One of its 12 departments oversaw Jews and immigrants. The General Plenipotentiary for the Economy in Serbia (*Generalbevollmächtigter für die Wirtschaft in Serbien*), Franz Neuhausen, managed the economy and oversaw the Aryanization of Jewish property. In Serbia, the Plenipotentiary of the German Foreign Office (*Bevollmächtigter des Auswärtiges Amtes*), Felix Benzler, also dealt with foreign policy issues involving the "Jewish Question."[7]

Soon after the military occupation of Yugoslavia, the Einsatzgruppe of the Security Police and Security Service for Yugoslavia (*Einsatzgruppe der Sipo und des SD für Jugoslawien*, EG-J) restricted its sphere of activity to Serbia. In Belgrade, the Einsatzkommando Belgrade (*Einsatzkommando der Sipo und des SD Belgrad*) performed mainly an operational executive function. The commander of EG-J was SS-Oberführer Dr. Wilhelm Fuchs, and the head of Department IV (Gestapo) was SS-Sturmbannführer Hans Helm. The commander of the Belgrade Einsatzkommando up to October 1941 was SS-Sturmbannführer Karl Kraus. At the end of October 1941, EG-J and the Einsatzkommando were merged into a single bureau. Its main activity was geared to the Gestapo, whose organization was divided into six sections, one of which was Jewish Affairs, headed by SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Stracke.

The Serbian authorities and courts were gradually restored, but under strict German control. In late April 1941, with the exceptions of military and foreign affairs, the ministries were reestablished—but under the control of the respective departments in Turner's administrative headquarters. Serbian commissioners were appointed to head the ministries and sat on the German-established Council of Commissioners under the leadership of career police officer Milan Aćimović. In early May 1941, the Serbian gendarmerie was reestablished, consisting of about 3,000 gendarmes.[8] In late May 1941, Serbian police officers and gendarmes were issued infantry weapons and a limited amount of ammunition. In the second half of April 1941, the Serbian police had been reestablished under collaborator and German informant, Dragomir Jovanović, who also served as mayor of Belgrade until 1944; it was directly subordinated to the German authorities. The reconstituted Belgrade police prefecture, which included 830 guards and 210 police agents in the summer of 1941, established two prisons: the first was located in the prefectural headquarters at Obilićev Venac and the second within the guard barracks on Takovska Street.[9]

The most important section of the Belgrade police was the newly formed Serbian Special Police (*Odeljenje specijalne policije*, OSP), which played a role comparable to that of the Nazi Sipo. It worked to suppress any activity against the occupation,

especially the communist activities of the Partisans. The responsibility for combating the royalist resistance movement, which was associated with the Yugoslav government-in-exile in London, fell under the jurisdiction of the German police. The seventh section of OSP was responsible for the implementation of measures against Jews and Roma.

At the end of August 1941, the Military Commander in Serbia established the Serbian puppet government of former general Milan Nedić. Nedić represented political forces favoring Serbian statehood within the Nazi "New Order" and the state's social transformation into a "Government of National Salvation" (*Vlada nacionalnog spasa*). The Serbian national state was to be based on patriarchal traditions and a class hierarchy in which peasants had a dominant role. From its inception, the Nedić government campaigned to stop the persecution of Serbs in neighboring territories, primarily the NDH, as well as to expand Serbia's borders to include other Serb-inhabited areas. The German authorities rebuffed these attempts for political and ideological ("racial") reasons. Germany did not want to alienate or jeopardize their allies—the NDH, Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, and Albania (after the Italian capitulation on September 8, 1943)—or contribute in any way to the restoration of Serbian statehood.[10]

To combat the Partisans, the German authorities allowed the formation of Serbian armed detachments. Among them were volunteers from the Zbor movement, called the Serbian Volunteer Corps (*Srpski dobrovoljački korpus*, SDK). After signing an agreement with the German police, the *četnik* (Chetnik) units of Konstantin Kosta Milovanović Pećanac came under the puppet government's command as well. All these Serbian formations played an important role in crushing the uprising against German occupation in late 1941, especially in the persecution and arrest of insurgents. The Serbian police managed to break most of the organizations of the communist resistance movement and to arrest and intern a great number of their members. The Serbian police and other armed formations also took part in finding hidden Jews and in arresting Jews. By an order of the Military Commander in Serbia dated December 22, 1941, anyone caught hiding Jews could face the death penalty.[11]

OVERVIEW OF GERMAN-RUN CAMPS IN SERBIA

The German police established a network of prisons and then camps that were managed by the Gestapo, but the German military commands played an important role as well.[12] The Serbian authorities also took part in the establishment and management of some of these detention sites. The first German police prison (*Polizeigefängnis*) was in the district court building for the Belgrade district. EG-J established its own prison (*Hausgefängnis*) at its headquarters in Ratnički dom. The network of German camps began to be established after Operation Barbarossa, Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union beginning on June 22, 1941. The most important camps were in Belgrade (Banjica), Šabac, Niš, and Semlin/Zemun (the Belgrade Fairgrounds); the last camp was better known as *Sajmište*. On July 20, 1942, a camp in Petrovgrad/Gross Betschkerek (today: Zrenjanin) was established for the Banat region. A series of minor and temporary camps and collection centers were established during roundup operations against the resistance.[13]

The Dedinje detention camp (*Anhaltelager Dedinje*) was established in the military barracks at Banjica in Belgrade in early July 1941. Its primary purpose was the detention of actual and potential opponents to the occupation. Although under the auspices of the Belgrade police prefecture and with a Serbian administration, the camp was actually under the command of the Nazi SS. Its guard force consisted of members of the Order Police (*Ordnungspolizei,* Orpo) and the Serbian gendarmerie. Two-thirds of the Dedinje camp was set aside for German arrest targets, and the remainder for the targets of Serbian arrests. Together with Jews, the opponents of the occupation served as a constant "human reservoir" for retaliatory shooting actions. From the end of April 1942, the prisoners in the Dedinje detention camp were sent to concentration and labor camps in the Third Reich and in occupied countries.

НОВО ВРЕМЕ

НОВА СРБИЈА

ИЗВЕШТАЈ НЕМАЧКЕ ВРХОВНЕ КОМАНДЕ

НАСТАВЉА СЕ БИТКА ЗА АТЛАНТИК

Немачки авиони потопили су британску помоћну крстарицу од 20.000 тона

Изјава комесара за унутрашњу управу у Србији

Захвалност Немачкој др. Филова и Италији

Наименовање комесара

A facsimile of a newspaper article, announcing the formation of a new occupation government under Milan Aćimović, April 1941.
USHMM WS #90151, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

Milan Nedić, the president of the collaborationist Serbian government, 1941–1944. USHMM WS #90152, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

After the uprisings against the occupation in Serbia, among the first victims of mass murder were the Jews. Large-scale roundups soon followed. The Šabac detention camp (*Anhaltelager Šabac*) was established to confine members of the resistance and hostages from western Serbia. Jewish refugees from Central Europe (called the "Kladovo transport") were detained in the military barracks in Šabac on July 20, 1941. Local Jews from Šabac were subsequently taken prisoner. In October 1941, during a "punitive expedition" by General der Gebirgstruppe Franz Böhme, the Jewish men in the Šabac camp were shot, and their families were deported to the Semlin camp. Generally, after a brief period of detention the prisoners in the Šabac camp were shot or transferred to camps at Banjica and the Belgrade Fairgrounds.[14]

In September 1941, the Niš detention camp (*Anhaltelager Niš*) was established in the military barracks at Niš. The camp held resisters, hostages, and Jews from Niš and south Serbia. Some of the detainees were shot, and most of the remaining prisoners were sent to the Belgrade camps. After the breakout of prisoners from the camp on February 12, 1942, the remaining prisoners were murdered, among them Jewish men; their wives and children were sent to the camp at Semlin.

The anti-Jewish measures were implemented more quickly and completely in the Banat, where the *Volksdeutsche* governed, than in other parts of Serbia. From mid-August to September 20, 1941, all the Jews in the Banat were arrested and deported to Belgrade. Jewish men from the Banat were confined to artillery sheds (Serbian: *Topovske šupe*; German: *Kanonen-Schuppen*) located in Belgrade's Autokomanda neighborhood. Jewish men from Belgrade and some members of the Roma community were subsequently held there as well. In October and November 1941, the camp became a major Jewish and Roma "hostage reservoir" for reprisal shootings. Almost all of the prisoners were killed, thereby destroying the Jewish male population in Serbia. The few survivors were transferred to the newly established camp for Jews at Semlin.

In late October 1941, the German occupation authorities decided to establish the camp at the Belgrade Fairgrounds, across the Sava River from downtown Belgrade. The former fair's pavilions were redesigned to be the Semlin camp for Jews (*Judenlager Semlin*). On December 8, 1941, all the remaining Jews in Serbia, who by that time were mostly women and children, were confined to Semlin. A large group of Roma women and children were also detained there, but they were released by the spring of 1942. In mid-March 1942, a gas van was sent to Belgrade that killed all the Jewish prisoners at Semlin; this action lasted until May 10. The "Final Solution" thus came to its end in Nazi-occupied Serbia.[15] Of approximately 16,600 Jews who lived in Serbia, 13,600 (almost 82%) lost their lives.[16] All 1,200 Jewish refugees from Central Europe who found their way to Serbia were killed as well. The few Jews who survived did so by escaping to the Italian occupation zone and then to neutral and Allied countries. Some joined the Partisans, and a small number were rescued by friends and other patriots.

In early May 1942, the camp at Belgrade Fairgrounds became the Semlin detention camp (*Anhaltelager Semlin*). This reclassification was associated with a change in German policy concerning members of the resistance that was prompted by Germany's acute labor needs. The camp was assigned the function of the central German concentration and labor camp in southeastern Europe for the detention of members of the resistance

in Serbia, the NDH, Greece, and Albania. The camp at Banjica was in part charged with the same function. In mid-May 1944, Semlin was handed over to the Croatian police, and in the second half of July 1944 it was disbanded.

SERBIAN COLLABORATION

In early 1942 the German authorities established an even harsher occupation regime with the appointment of SS-Obergruppenführer August Meyszner as Higher SS- and Police Leader (*Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer*, HSSPF). Under Meyszner's command were the Commander of the Order Police (*Befehlshaber der Orpo*, BdO), Oberst Andreas May, and the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service (*Befehlshaber der Sipo-SD*, BdS), SS-Standartenführer Emanuel Schäfer. Within BdS, SS-Sturmbannführer Bruno Sattler headed Department IV (Gestapo), and SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Stracke assumed direction over the Freemasons (Section IV B 3), in addition to Jewish Affairs (Section IV B 4).

The Meyszner appointment led to the reorganization of the Serbian armed units. The Serbian State Guard (*Srpska državna straža*, SDS) was established in early February 1942 and consisted of 15,000 soldiers and officers. It played a significant role in the persecution and arrest of the rebels in the months that followed. The captured and imprisoned insurgents, their supporters, and family members were assembled in temporary "prisoner camps" (*Gefangenenlager*) in Smederevska Palanka, Valjevo, Kragujevac, Čačak, Kruševac, and Leskovac. There they were interrogated and a few were released. However, most were sent to the Šabac, Niš, Belgrade, and Semlin camps, and the others were murdered.[17]

The camp in Smederevska Palanka gained a new purpose with Nedić's decree on August 4, 1942. At the initiative of the Zbor, the Education Ministry was authorized to set up the Institute for Compulsory Youth Education (*Zavod za prinudno vaspitanje omladine*) in the former camp, in tandem with the Serbian Interior Ministry.[18] The Institute was under SDS security and OSP control. Its mission was the "reeducation" of members of the communist

resistance movement in accordance with the ideological principles of the "New Order."

Serbian government, police, and armed units played an important role in the German occupation system. They pursued communist resisters and other occupation opponents, arrested individuals and groups, conducted interrogations and detentions, delivered detainees to the German police, and murdered detainees themselves. The Serbian police took part in the establishment and maintenance of the camp at Banjica, which partly served as its own camp. The police and educational authorities in the Serbian government also conducted the forced "reeducation" of young members of the communist resistance movement.

Although the German police directed antisemitic policy, the Serbian police also implemented anti-Jewish measures. After the roundups, the Serbian police and SDS hunted down hidden Jews. Serbian propaganda policy played a significant role in the anti-Jewish campaign. Confiscated Jewish property benefited not only local Germans but also Serbian collaborators. To accelerate the liquidation of Jewish property, on August 26, 1942, the occupying authority "donated" Jewish property to Serbia. In return, Serbia was obliged to pay the sum of 360 million dinars in reparations for alleged war damages that the Germans had suffered in Yugoslavia. It was yet another form of thinly veiled robbery of occupied Serbia.[19]

WAR CRIMES TRIALS

Immediately after the liberation of most of Serbia and Belgrade at the end of October 1944, military courts of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia began to impose summary death sentences on members of Serbia's quisling government, police, and the armed forces. The new Yugoslav government acted indiscriminately: there were mass executions, usually without trials, of thousands of people. Since the new government was communist and revolutionary in its character, members of the middle class were killed as well; the wealthy, whose property was confiscated on the grounds of their "economic cooperation" with the occupiers, were especially targeted. After the war, regular civilian and military courts were established, and a series of war crimes trials began.[20]

Among the accused, however, was neither Milan Aćimović, who dis appeared without a trace in the last days of the war, nor Milan Nedić. Nedić was arrested in Austria and extradited to Yugoslavia, but during the investigation he committed suicide early in 1946.

The charges against prominent representatives of the Serbian quisling government included participation in the persecution of Jews. In addition, in judgments against the German occupation authorities, one of the principal charges concerned the persecution of the Jews in Serbia. The most important material documenting the charges was collected by the Yugoslav State Commission to Investigate Crimes by the Occupiers and their Collaborators (*Državna komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača*, DK). The documents on crimes against Jews and Roma were collected according to specific instructions. These materials were later used for the preparation of the "Black Book" detailing the suffering of the Jews in Yugoslavia.[21] Dragomir Jovanović was convicted and sentenced to death by the military court on July 15, 1946.[22] The Serbian administrator of the Banjica camp, Svetozar Vujković, was sentenced to death by the Belgrade county court on October 30, 1949.[23] On December 22, 1946, the military court in Belgrade sentenced 18 senior police officials in Serbia (among them, Wilhelm Fuchs, Hans Helm, and August Meyszner) to death. On March 9, 1947, the military court of the Yugoslav Third Army condemned to death Harald Turner, his deputy Georg Kiessel, and the commander of Reserve Police Battalion No. 64, Adolf Josten.[24] On October 31, 1947, the military court in Belgrade sentenced Heinrich Danckelmann to death.[25] In 1953, the Federal Republic of Germany sentenced Emanuel Schäfer to six and a half years in prison. The commander of the Jewish camp at Semlin, Herbert Andorfer, was sentenced in 1967 in Austria to two and a half years in prison, while his assistant Edgar Enge was acquitted.[26] Bruno Sattler was arrested in 1947 and died in 1972 in prison in the German Democratic Republic.[27]

SOURCES Among the secondary sources on Serbia during World War II, the most important are Branko Petranović, *Srbija u Drugom svetskom ratu, 1939–1945* (Belgrade: Vojnoizdavački i novinski centar, 1992); and Stevan K. Pavlow-itch, *Hitler's New*

Disorder: The Second World War in Yugoslavia (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008). The following studies are also useful: Karl-Heinz Schlarp, *Wirtschaft und Besatzung in Serbien 1941–1944: Ein Beitrag zur nationalsozialistischen Wirtschaftspolitik in Südosteuropa* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1986); Akiku Shimizu, *Die deutsche Okkupation des serbischen Banats 1941–1944: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Volksgruppe in Jugoslawien* (Münster: Lit, 2003); Mladen Stefanović, *Zbor Dimitrija Ljotića 1934–1945* (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga, 1984); Branislav Božović, *Specijalna policija u Beogradu 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Srpska školska knjiga, 2003); and Bojan Dimitrijević, *Vojska Nedićeve Srbije: Oružane snage srpske vlade 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2011). On the Holocaust in Serbia, an older but still useful publication is *Zločini fašističkih okupatora i njihovih pomagača protiv Jevreja u Jugoslaviji* (Belgrade: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1952). The most important newer studies are Christopher R. Browning, *Fateful Months: Essays on the Emergence of the Final Solution,* rev. ed. (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1991); Walter Manoschek, *"Serbien ist judenfrei": Militärische Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1993); and Branislav Božović, *Stradanje Jevreja u okupiranom Beogradu 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Srpska školska knjiga, 2004). On the rescue of Jews, see Milan Ristović, *U potrazi za utočištem: Jugoslovenski Jevreji u bekstvu od holokausta 1941–1945* (Belgrade: Službeni list SRJ, 1998); and Milan Fogel, Milan Ristović, and Milan Koljanin, *Righteous among the Nations: Serbia* (Belgrade: Jewish Community in Zemun, 2010). On the state of Holocaust research in Yugoslavia there is a valuable study by Jovan Ćulibrk, *Istoriografija holokausta u Jugoslaviji* (Belgrade: Pravoslavni bogoslovski fakultet, Institut za teološka istraživanja, 2011). On the camps in Serbia see Miloš Krstić, *Nepokorena mladost: Koncentracioni logor u Smedervskoj Palanci 1942–1944* (Belgrade: Vuk Karadžić, 1981); Miroslav M. Milovanović, *Nemački koncentracioni logor na Crvenom*

krstu u Nišu i streljanja na Bubnju (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1983); Stanoje Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu* (Novi Sad: NP Dnevnik, 1967); Sima Begović, *Logor Banjica 1941–1944*, 2 vols. (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1989); and Milan Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1992). On the postwar trials, see the study by Srđan Cvetković, *Između srpa i čekića: Represija u Srbiji 1944–1953* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2006). On the case of Bruno Sattler, see Beate Niemann, *Mein guter Vater: Mein Leben mit seiner Vergangenheit. Biographie meines Vaters als Täter* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2008). For further discussion of Serbian sources related to the Holocaust, see Milan Koljanin, "Historical sources on the Shoah in Serbia (Archival Research and Findings)," in Jacques Fredj, ed., *Les archives de la Shoah* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998), pp. 653–668.

Major primary sources about Serbia in World War II, the Holocaust, and the camp systems are stored in Belgrade archives: AJ; AS; IaB; VaB (some of this documentation is available at USHMMA as RG-49.008M, Selected Records from the Military Historical Institute of General Staff of the Armed Forces of Serbia on the German Zone of Occupation of the Former Yugoslavia, 1941–1944; and RG-49.010M, Nda); and JIM-bg (some of this documentation is available at USHMMA as RG-49.007M). The ITS holds several collections relating to persecution actions and camps in occupied Serbia under references 1.1.0.7 (Verschiedene Lager und Haftstätten in Jugoslawien) and 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. Post-war trial documentation is available in published form in Đorđe Lopičić, ed., *Nemački ratni zločini 1941–1945: Presude jugoslovenskih vojnih sudova* (Belgrade: Muzej žrtava genocida, 2009); Jelena Lopičić-Jančić, ed., *Ratni zločini nemačkih okupatora u Jugoslaviji 1941–1945. godine. Presude jugoslovenskih vojnih sudova* (Belgrade: Muzej žrtava genocida, 2010); and *Izdajnik i ratni zločinac Draža Mihailović pred sudom. Stenografske beleške sa suđenju Dragoljubu-Draži Mihailoviću* (1946; Belgrade:

Multinacionalni fond kulture, 2005).

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NOTES

1. "Vereinbarung über die Aufteilung des Eigentums der ehemaligen jugoslawischen Staats," *RGBl*, May 18, 1943, Part 2: 154–165.

2. *SlNo,* 83 (October 22, 1943): 1–3.

3. Petranović, *Srbija u Drugom svetskom ratu,* pp. 111–147; Pavlowitch, *Hitler's New Disorder*, pp. 65–66.

4. Stefanović, *Zbor Dimitrija Ljotića,* pp. 41–71.

5. *VoB-Serbien,* 8 (May 31, 1941).

6. Pavlowitch, *Hitler's New Disorder*, p. 85; Dimitrijević, *Vojska Nedićeve Srbije*, pp. 321–323.

7. Schlarp, *Wirtschaft und Besatzung in Serbien,* pp. 109–164.

8. Dimitrijević, *Vojska Nedićeve Srbije*, pp. 18–20.

9. Božović, *Specijalna policija u Beogradu*, pp. 36–72.

10. Petranović, *Srbija u Drugom svetskom ratu,* pp. 455–470.

11. *VoB-Serbien,* 27 (December 24, 1941); Božović, *Stradanje Jevreja u okupiranom Beogradu,* pp. 205–269.

12. The German-run detention sites described here will be treated in greater detail in subsequent volumes.

13. Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu*, pp. 26–30, 45–53.

14. Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu*, pp. 180–181.

15. Browning, *Fateful Months,* pp. 68–85; Manoschek, *"Serbien ist judenfrei,"* pp. 185–195.

16. Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu,* pp. 130–131.

17. For the Čačak camp, see the statement by Pešadijski Narednik Novak B. Todorović in AJ, fond 382-1-511.

18. *SlNo* 62 (August 4, 1942); *SlNo* 14 (February 19, 1943).

19. *Zločini fašističkih okupatora i njihovih pomagača protiv Jevreja u Jugoslaviji*, pp. 48–50.

20. Cvetković, *Između srpa i čekića,* pp. 157–276.

21. *Zločini fašističkih okupatora i njihovih pomagača protiv Jevreja u Jugoslaviji.*

22. Božović, *Specijalna policija u Beogradu,* p. 320.

23. Ibid., pp. 311–313.

24. Lopičić, *Nemački ratni zločini*, pp. 51–83, 99–156; Lopičić-Jančić, *Ratni zločini nemačkih okupatora u Jugoslaviji*, pp. 14–86.

25. Božović, *Stradanje Jevreja u okupiranom Beogradu,* pp. 144–146.

26. Manoschek, *"Serbien ist judenfrei*, " pp. 176, 183–184; Browning, *Fateful Months,* pp. 95, 104–106.

27. Niemann, *Mein guter Vater,* p. 170.

Camps in Serbia
Hungary
Romania
BELGRADE
ŠABAC
Croatia
VALJEVO
Smederevska Palanka
KRAGUJEVAC
Serbia
NIŠ
Bulgaria
Montenegro
Albania
CITY
CITY & CAMP
Camp
0 20 40 60 80
miles
0 20 40 60 80
kilometers
N
W
E
S
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

SMEDEREVSKA PALANKA

On August 4, 1942, the Nedić regime established the Institute for Compulsory Youth Education (*Zavod za prinudno vaspitanje omladine*) at Smederevska Palanka, located 64 kilometers (approximately 40 miles) southeast of Belgrade. Called "the Institute" and erroneously described by British war crimes investigators in 1947 as a "reformatory," it was a youth reeducation camp for young Serbian men and women, aged 14 to 25, accused of leftist associations or considered vulnerable to communist propaganda.[1] The Internal Affairs Ministry maintained order and security, whereas the Education Ministry oversaw the faculty and curriculum. When it was set up, confinement lasted between six months and two years. However, on February 19, 1943, the regime, in agreement with the Education Ministry, empowered the Institute's director to extend the minimum stay to eight months.[2]

The Institute occupied the military barracks in Smederevska Palanka. Built in 1940, it served as a German Front-stalag, a POW camp, in April 1941 and then as a camp for captured rebels and hostages beginning in late 1941. Its last large group of 82 prisoners was sent to the German-run camp at Banjica on June 18, 1942. In October and November 1942, six prisoners from this group returned to the new youth camp.[3]

Establishing the camp required approval by the German Commander of the Security Police and Security Service (*Befehlshaber der Sipo und des SD*, BdS), through the Serbian Special Police (*Specijalna policija Srbije,* SPS). The camp administration was formed on September 7, 1942, and the first 28 detainees, called "pupils" or "cadets," arrived from Belgrade's Đuša Street prison on September 22. Another 48 followed from Banjica on October 10 and 11, 1942. Banjica's prisoner files showed that they were "sent to the Smederevska Palanka camp." [4] In February 1943, there were 311 detainees, and the number increased to 454 in September 1943, but the size of the population

declined thereafter.[5] The total number of detainees was between 1,000 and 1,270.[6]

The initiative to reeducate leftist youth in the "New European Order" came from the Serbian fascist movement, Zbor (an acronym for United Combative Organization of Labor, *Združena Borbena Organizacija Rada*). Zbor was the only legal political party under the Nedić regime. Its leader, Dimitrije Ljotić, lectured at the Institute. Smederevska Palanka's director of the male dormitory was Milovan Popović, a lecturer at the University of Belgrade, general secretary of the Yugoslavian Anti-Marxist Committee (*Jugoslovenski antimarksistički komitet*), and Zbor propagandist. His wife, another prominent Zbor member, Dr. Dragojla Popović-Ostojić, oversaw the female inmates. The Serbian State Guard (*Srpska državna straža*, SDS), the Nedić regime's armed forces, guarded the institute. Popović unsuccessfully sought to reassign this duty to the Zbor paramilitary, the Serbian Volunteer Corps (*Srpski dobrovoljački korpus*, SDK). After the Partisans attacked neighboring villages in the spring of 1943, the Institute tightened security.

Above the camp's entrance stood the sign, "Educational Institute of the Ministry of Education" (*Vaspitni zavod Ministarstva prosvete*). Barbed wire and guard towers surrounded the camp. Smederevska Palanka had 19 wooden barracks housing inmates, staff, and guards, with a capacity of approximately 500 people. The camp compound also contained a kitchen, mess hall, infirmary, ware house, library, community hall, prison, workshops, garden, 14-hectare (approximately 35-acre) farm, and pasture for livestock. Sales revenues from camp-made goods supplemented institutional contributions and monthly payments by the detainees' parents. Only the poorest families were exempt from paying these fees.

In comparison with the detention sites in which they had earlier been held, the inmates' living conditions were initially much better, but food, housing, and hygiene soon deteriorated. Food supplies decreased further when the Institute prohibited care packages in retaliation for a revolt in April 1943 (see the later discussion). As Popović complained to the Education Ministry, insufficient food and heating caused widespread illness during the

winter of 1943.[7]

The pupils were a closely supervised unit. Required to work in workshops and on the farm, they attended morning and evening roll calls. Penalties for transgressing camp rules included prolonged physical labor; reprimand; 1 to 15 days' imprisonment; beatings (even by Popović and his wife); and transfer to Banjica. Monthly family visits took place in a special barrack under supervision. The staff maintained individual rehabilitation files, and Popović reduced the lengths of stay for those showing improvement. Three pupils were released in March 1943 and 11 more in April 1943. Sixteen of the "best" inmates joined the camp administration.

The Institute approached indoctrination holistically. Male inmates were divided into three categories according to their educational level and familiarity with Marxism: the first were university students and high school graduates; the second were high school students, workers, and peasants captured as Partisans or communist youth leaders; and the third were deemed susceptible to communist propaganda. The females were only divided into two categories; a number of them attended lectures with males in the first category.[8] First-category detainees took a liberal arts curriculum and were subjected to intensive indoctrination in anticommunism, antisemitism, anti-Free Masonry, and Zbor ideology. The second-category inmates received a simpler version of the same curriculum. In addition to vocational training, third-category detainees got a rudimentary education emphasizing Zbor ideology. The instructors' essay assignments required pupils to reflect on the reason(s) for their arrest and to demonstrate ideological reform. Their evaluations weighed heavily in determining the length of confinement.

Extracurricular activities reinforced the indoctrination. Weekly theatrical and musical events, which took place in the community hall, began and ended with the inmate-composed anthem of the Institute. The theatrical troupe staged Serbian works and William Shakespeare's authoritarian play, *Coriolanus*, a favorite among fascists.[9] All inmates played sports. The soccer club, named the Sports Club Institute, was considered among Serbia's best.[10]

The revolt on April 11, 1943, exposed the ineffectiveness of the

reeducation effort. A large group of detainees conspired to disarm the guards and join the Partisans. A pupil's betrayal led to their arrest and transfer to Banjica, where 12 of them were murdered. Interpreting this revolt as proof of the Institute's failure, the German authorities enjoined Education Minister Velibor Jonić to reassign the inmates to forced labor. The Serbian government refused to do so, but the Institute imposed a harsher regime, placing recalcitrant inmates in "isolation" (*isolator*), a segregated part of one barrack. Additional infractions resulted in solitary confinement.

Fifty more escapes occurred in 1944. On August 30, 1944, Jonić ordered Popović to draft the reformed inmates and create a list of the "unreformed." A few days later, 104 of the 200 remaining pupils were registered in government service, but soon fled and joined the Partisans. After the September 7, 1944, escape of 25 pupils, Popović dismissed the others, and he departed three days later. On October 10, 1944, Partisan units entered Smederevska Palanka.

The Yugoslav State Commission to Investigate Crimes by the Occupiers and their Collaborators (*Državna komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača*, DK) declared Popović, Popović-Ostojić, and other Institute staff as war criminals, but the British rejected their extradition.[11] However, Jonić was extradited to Yugoslavia in 1946, sentenced to death, and executed as a war criminal.

SOURCES The most comprehensive work about the Smederevska Palanka youth reeducation camp is the monograph by Miloš Krstić, *Nepokorena mladost: Koncentracioni logor u Smederevskoj Palanci 1942–1944* (Belgrade: Vuk Karadžić, 1981). Early Yugoslav historiography and publications about the Institute include Milan Borković, *Kontrarevolucija u Srbiji: Kvislinška uprava 1941–1944; Knjiga prva (1941–1942)* (Belgrade: Sloboda, 1979); Mladen Stefanović, *Zbor Dimitrija Ljotića 1934–1945* (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga, 1984); Đurica Labović, *Da se čita Oče naš* (Smederevska Palanka: Hermes, 1970); and Dušan Azanjac, Ivo Frol, and Đorđe Nikolić, eds., *Otpor u žicama: Sećanja zatočenika,* 2 vols. (Belgrade:

Vojnoizdavački zavod, 1969), vol. 2. For con temporary Serbian historiography on the Institute, see Maja Nikolova, *Zavod za prinudno vaspitanje omladine u Smederevskoj Palanci 1942–1944* (Belgrade: Pedagoški muzej, 2010); and Ljubinka Škodrić, *Ministarstvo prosvete i vera u Srbiji 1941–1944: Sudbina institucije pod okupacijom* (Belgrade: Arhiv Srbije, 2009), pp. 223–228. Useful information can be found in Nenad Ristić, *Razbibriga u baraci br.8. Pozorišni život u Zavodu za prinudno vaspitanje u Smederevskoj Palanci* (Smederevska Palanka: "Ben Akiba," 2000); and Boro Majdanac, *Pozorište u okupiranoj Srbiji: Pozorišna politika u Srbiji 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Altera, 2011), pp. 144, 252, 568–569.

The most important primary sources on Smederevska Palanka are found in AS, collections of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, and in DK. In VaB, collections on Nda (copied to USHMMA as RG-41.010M) and on German archives hold documentation related to the youth camp. At IaB, there are relevant collections on the Belgrade Police PrefectureSPS, BdS, and the Smederevska Palanka camp. Institute lesson plans can be found in Pm. Cinematic documentation, in the form of a newsreel by Ufa (Universum Film AG) Magazin marking Smederevska Palanka's first anniversary in the fall of 1943, which can be found at AJK. The ITS holds CNI cards on Dragojla Popović-Ostojić, whom U.S. authorities were seeking as late as June 1992. The most important contemporaneous publications, primarily newspapers and magazines, are *Novo Vreme*, *Obnova*, *Srpski narod*, *Službene novine I*, and *Prosvetni glasnik*. They are available at NbS. The most important published testimonies can be found in "Saopštenje br. 10 Državne komisije za utvrdjivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača," *Saopštenja br.7–33 o zločinima okupatora i njihovih pomagača* (Belgrade: Demokratska Federativna Jugoslavija, Državna komisija za utvrdjivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača, 1945), pp. 145–171; Evica Micković and Milena Radojičić, eds., *Logor Banjica: Logoraši; Knjige zatočenika Koncentracionog logora Beograd-Banjica (1941–1944)* (Belgrade: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 2009); and Miodrag Zečević and Jovan Popović, eds., *Dokumenti iz istorije Jugoslavije,* 4 vols. (Belgrade: Arhiv

Jugoslavije, Printer komerc, 1998), 2: 556–557. Serbian apologias published by Institute staff emphasized its role in rescuing Serbian youth: Predislav Kuburović, "Vaspitni zavod u Smederevskoj Palanci 1942–1944," *Zapisi iz dobrovoljačke borbe,* 2 (1955): 70–90; Marko Pivac, *Koraci u noći* (N.P., 2002); and Branislav Žorž, *Zavod u Smederevskoj Palanci-ostrvo spasa ili robijašnica* (Belgrade, 2006). Pivac's account includes some reprinted documentation, unfortunately without archival provenance. A Serbian-born Austrian author published a testimony about Smederevska Palanka in novelistic form: Milo Dor (pseud., Milutin Doroslovac), *Tote auf Urlaub: Roman* (1952; St. Polten: Residenz-Verlag, 2005).

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NOTES

1. *Službene novine*, August 4, 1942; British war crimes investigation, "Staff of Smederevska Palanka Reformatory," Hamburg, November 30, 1947, reproduced in Pivac, *Koraci u noći,* p. 380.

2. *Službene novine*, February 19, 1943.

3. Banjica prisoner files reproduced in Micković and Radojičić, *Logor Banjica,* 1: 424–429.

4. Ibid., 1: 425–426, 430, 441, 443–446.

5. IaB, UGB, SP IV, k. 252, Monthly reports on Institute activities, February–March 1943.

6. Pivac, *Koraci u noći,* p. 161; Kuburović, "Vaspitni zavod u Smederevskoj Palanci," p. 75.

7. VaB, fond Nda, k.30A, reg. br. 63/4, Popović to Education Ministry, March 1, 1944.

8. AS, fond Ministarstva prosvete I i vera, G-3, Popović to Education Ministry, January 3, 1943.

9. Pivac, *Koraci u noći,* pp. 362–363.

10. Ibid., p. 364.

11. Zečević and Popović, *Dokumenti iz istorije Jugoslavije,* 2: 556–557.

Jewish prisoners at forced labor paving a road in the Novaky labor camp, circa 1943. USHMM WS #08652, COURTESY OF BEDRICH FRED VOHRYZEK.

SLOVAKIA

Czechoslovakia came into being in 1918, after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary at the end of World War I. It included the Czech provinces of Bohemia and Moravia, Slovakia, the province of Carpatho-Ruthenia (or Transcarpathia, today part of Ukraine), and portions of Austrian Silesia. According to the 1921 Czechoslovak census, its population of roughly 13.5 million included 3 million Germans, almost 750,000 Hungarians, and approximately 180,000 Jews; Slovakia had 3 million people, including 145,844 Germans, almost 656,000 Hungarians, and 135,918 Jews.[1] Despite its multinational population and tense relations with its neighbors, all of which coveted its territory, Czechoslovakia remained a parliamentary democracy with a flourishing economy until the Munich crisis of September 1938.

Internal politics, particularly in the Slovak territory, reflected the complexities of Czechoslovak democracy. The economic crisis

during the interwar period affected the entire territory; however, it had deeper and longer lasting effects in Slovakia, where many areas were already economically under-developed. In response to that underdevelopment and perceived discrimination, the Slovak People's Party, led by Roman Catholic Priest Andrej Hlinka and thus known after 1925 as the Hlinka Slovak People's Party (*Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana,* HSĽS), advocated for autonomy and the recognition of Slovak sovereignty. From the second parliamentary elections in 1925 until the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, the HSĽS (also known as *Ľudáks*) remained unequivocally the strongest political party in Slovakia. One-third of the inhabitants in Slovakia supported HSĽS policies.

At the Munich conference of September 1938, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and Nazi Germany reached an agreement that forced Czechoslovakia to cede the Sudeten-land, its predominantly German-inhabited region, to the Reich. Czechoslovakia lost more than 4 million people, as well as 28,000 square kilometers (10,810 square miles) of territory. The HSĽS quickly took advantage of the weakened central government; its leaders seized the opportunity to achieve the party's long-term goal: autonomy of Slovakia within Czechoslovakia.

On October 5, 1938, Ľudáks leaders met in Žilina to discuss Slovak autonomy, with encouragement from the Nazi regime. On October 6, the day after the resignation of Czechoslovak president Edvard Beneš, the executive committee of the HSĽS agreed to declare the autonomy of Slovakia in Žilina; this declaration, which the representatives of some other political parties also signed, was called the Žilina Agreement. The HSĽS also formulated the Manifesto of the Slovak Nation, which included the following declaration: "We will stand side by side with other nations fighting the Judeo-Marxist ideology of destruction and violence."[2]

The territory of Slovakia (*Slovenská krajina*) subsequently became an autonomous part of the Czechoslovak Republic, and the Slovak autonomous government was formed. Jozef Tiso, a Roman Catholic priest and one of the leading Ľudáks, originally from Veľká Bytča, became its prime minister.

A clerical-conservative and later a fascist party, HSĽS began to create an authoritarian regime and gradually liquidated the most

important elements of democracy. Some political parties were forced to unite with HSĽS, others, including communists, social demo crats, and two Jewish parties, as well as the Slovak National Party, were dissolved. Civic societies and local government organs were dissolved too.

The HSĽS created its own paramilitary organization called the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) and awarded it the property of dissolved organizations. Within the Hlinka Guard, the youth paramilitary organization called the Hlinka Youth (*Hlinkova mládež*) was formed.

Another two political parties of national minorities existed within the authoritarian political system: the Magyar Párt (Hungarian Party) and the Deutsche Partei (German Party, DP) which also had its own paramilitary organization, the *Freiwillige Schutzstaffel* (FS).

The HSĽS considered control of the mass media and public opinion to be of critical importance. In October 1938, the government established the Office of Propaganda (*Úrad propagandy*), with Alexander (Šaňo) Mach at its head. It eliminated independent journals and newspapers, effectively creating a government mono poly on the provision of information and doing away with dissenting opinions and newspapers representing other political parties or views. The Office of Propaganda used its control of the press to vilify Czechs and Jews, creating an imperative for eliminating “enemies” of the new regime.

Baldur von Schirach, leader of the Hitler Youth, is greeted by Jozef Tiso, President of Slovakia, while on an official visit, March 1939. USHMM WS #09681, COURTESY OF SCHERL BILDERDIENST.

On November 2, 1938, Germany and Italy decided on the new borders of Slovakia in the First Vienna Award. More than 10,000 square kilometers (3,861 square miles) of Slovak territory had to be ceded to Hungary. The official HSĽS propaganda was eager to blame the Jews for this loss, describing them as enemies of Slovakia and Slovaks. The first deportations of Jews from Slovakia were organized almost immediately.

In December 1938, elections to the new autonomous 63-member parliament (*Snem Slovenskej krajiny*) were held, but HSĽS allowed only a united list of candidates to run. As a result of these manipulated elections, Ľudáks gained 95 percent of the votes. This was the final blow to Czechoslovak democracy.

INDEPENDENT SLOVAKIA

Because Nazi Germany sought a pretext to annex the Czech territories of Bohemia and Moravia, it pressed Ľudáks to declare an independent Slovak state. It did so on March 14, 1939. On that day, and with German acquiescence, Hungary seized Carpathian Ukraine (former Carpatho-Ruthenia). On March 23, Slovakia and Germany concluded a Treaty of Protection, by which Slovakia aimed to "organize its military forces in close agreement with the German armed forces" and also closely align its foreign policy

with its new protector.[3] The treaty also forged close economic cooperation between the two countries.

The new Slovakian regime was originally led by Prime Minister Jozef Tiso, Ferdinand Ďurčanský (foreign minister and minister of interior), General Ferdinand Čatloš (minister of national defense), and several other mostly conservative Ľudáks ministers.

HSĽS first consolidated its power by focusing on the creation of core ministries, power structures, and constitution of a new state. The constitution, which was adopted in July 1939, renamed the state as the Slovak Republic. It confirmed the central and authoritarian position of HSĽS, stipulating that Slovaks could participate in political life only through the HSĽS.

The *Deutsche Partei* and *Magyar Párt*, however, remained part of the system. While the DP, led by Franz Karmasin and its paramilitary organizations Freiwillige Schutzstaffel and Deutsche Jugend, was privileged, Magyar Párt played only a marginal role within the Tiso regime. No other national minority was allowed to create a party.

The executive branch of the government was quite strong. Its rulings and decrees, passed without the involvement of the parliament, organized the various spheres of life. The president, even though he was elected by the parliament for a seven-year term, was not accountable to the parliament. He was the highest commander of both the army and the Hlinka Guard (*Najvyšší veliteľ Hlinkovej gardy*). He also controlled academic life, appointing and dismissing professors. In late October 1939 Jozef Tiso was elected the president of Slovakia while the leader of the radical wing within the HSĽS, Vojtech Tuka, became the prime minister.

The parliament, called the Assembly of Slovak Republic (*Snem Slovenskej republiky*) was the main legislative body. The 63-member body was formed in the pre-independence elections held in December 1938, and new elections were never held. It never played more than a marginal role in political life for the whole period of the regime's existence.

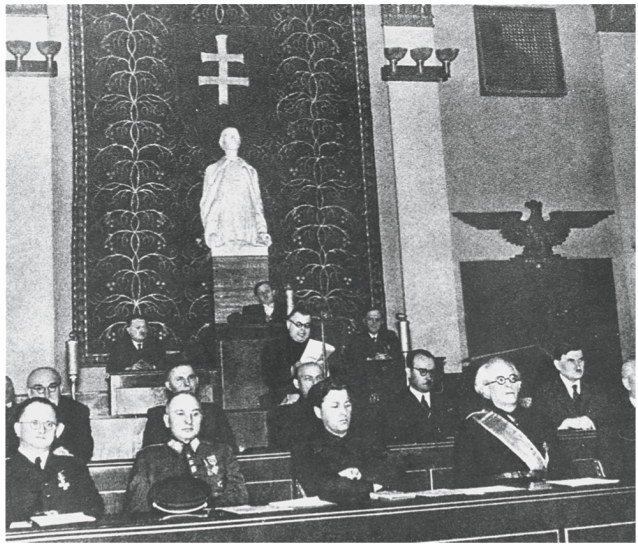
In addition to the government ministries, the Assembly, and the president, there was also the State Council (*Štátna rada*), which

was intended to be the unofficial "second chamber" of the parliament. In reality it only served as an advisory body and had no power to make laws. Its members, who were appointed, represented the elite of society. Some were members of the clergy, such as deputy chairman, Roman Catholic bishop Ján Vojtaššák.

The powers and responsibilities of the entire system of security agencies (including the state police and gendarmerie) were strengthened by Ľudáks. In early 1940, the political police, called the Central State Security Headquarters (*Ústredňa štatnej bezpečnosti*), was created with the help of Nazi Germany to ferret out antistate activities. It cooperated with Nazi Germany's secret services.

The internal politics of Slovakia was characterized by the power struggle of two wings within the HSĽS: the conservatives (moderates), led by Jozef Tiso, and the radicals, led by prime minister Vojtech Tuka and Hlinka Guard Chief Commander Alexander (Šaňo) Mach. Although the cabinet contained members of both wings, its members carried out HSĽS policies in their respective functions.

Power struggles between conservatives and radicals were always closely followed and influenced by Nazi Germany, and they sometimes resulted in changes of ministers or high dignitaries. Probably the most significant change occurred after the German-Slovak talks in Salzburg at the end of July 1940. In Salzburg, Adolf Hitler demanded changes in the Slovak government, and Ferdinand Ďurčanský was removed. The radical prime minister Vojtech Tuka then took over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Alexander (Šaňo) Mach became the Minister of the Interior. Mach also resumed the position as Chief Commander of the Hlinka Guard, from which he had resigned a few months earlier.



Dr. Vojtech Tuka (on right, with sash), prime minister of Slovakia, attends a session of the Slovak National Parliament, between 1939 and 1944. USHMM WS #80652, COURTESY OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY.

Hitler, however, maintained Jozef Tiso in power. From 1942 on, Tuka and his camp started to lose influence, and Tiso remained at the top of the Slovak political scene. This was confirmed by the title of Leader (*Vodca*) that Tiso bore from October 1942 on. Tuka, whose health deteriorated, left the top tier of politics in 1944, when the whole Ľudák regime was already in deep internal crisis.

Domestically, the regime created legislation that progressively eliminated many political and personal freedoms, including freedom of the press, assembly, and movement, which had all been enjoyed during the existence of Czechoslovakia. Any act of disobedience resulted in a large fine or a prison sentence.

The HG played a significant role in Slovakia. As the voluntary paramilitary organization of HSĽS, it attracted mostly radical members of the party and various opportunists. Many HG members, wearing its dark blue uniform, called for social revolution and the solution of "the Jewish Question." Government authorities participated to an extensive degree in developing

antisemitic policies, enacting hundreds of laws, decrees, and regulations that encroached on the rights of Jewish citizens, and HG members brutally implemented them. They co-organized persecution of Jews, looted Jewish property, ran labor camps holding Jews, prepared transports of Jews, and eventually participated in mass murders of Jews on Slovak territory in 1944 and 1945.

After the establishment of the Slovak state, the persecution of Roma (called *Cigáni*: "Gypsies") began. Initially, Ľudáks persecuted those Roma without permanent residence and prevented them from obtaining citizenship. After January 1940, Roma could only serve in the labor units of the army. Several months later, the regime defined a Roma for the first time as "a person of Gypsy origin from both parents, living a nomadic life, or avoiding work." [4]

In 1941, the authorities ordered Roma living the traditional nomadic life to return to their home villages. They had to sell their caravans, and the state administration tried to settle them near villages. In certain areas, settled Roma had to move their houses away from main roads and the local population.[5] Other measures included appointing local representatives in Roma communities, called "*Vajda*," in 1941.[6]

In accordance with the Interior Ministry Ordinance of April 2, 1941, the first work units (*pracovný útvar*) for people deemed "asocials," including Roma, came into being.[7] In addition, the first seasonal labor camps for so-called asocials were created. In 1942, permanent labor camps were established in Hanušovce nad Topľou, with subcamps in Bystré, Nižný Hrabovec, and Petič. Roma and other "asocials" had to build the strategically important rail line from Prešov via Vranov nad Topľou to Strážske. Other camps of this kind were opened in Dubnica nad Váhom, Ilava, and Revúca. All of those were guarded by gendarmes.[8] In the autumn of 1944, the regime decided to solve the "Gypsy" question by concentrating the Roma. The work unit in Dubnica nad Váhom was turned into a concentration camp for Roma, including women and children, in November 1944, and the work unit in Ústie nad Oravou was similarly repurposed.[9]

From 1938 to 1945, the Tiso regime operated at least 38 camps

of different types in Slovakia.

THE HOLOCAUST IN SLOVAKIA

The persecution of the Slovak Jewish population from 1938 to 1945 was central to the domestic policy of the Slovak state because it was the result of German expectations and, starting in August 1944, direct Nazi intervention. Anti-Jewish measures permeated every aspect of public and social life; intimidation and the threat of prison made any form of opposition extremely dangerous. A powerful propaganda machine, building on existing currents of antisemitism in Slovakia, set up the Jews as the perfect target—the "enemies of the state." The regime's agenda was systematically and purposefully employed to isolate, dispossess, and deport the majority of Slovakia's Jewish citizens.

Tiso took the opportunity to blame Jews for Slovakia's extensive territorial losses to Hungary as part of the 1938 First Vienna Award. On the day preceding the announcement of the Award, a group of Jews had demonstrated to support the annexation of Bratislava to Hungary, and Tiso seized the chance to demonize them. As historian James Mace Ward has pointed out, Slovak antisemites closely identified Jews in Slovakia with Hungary and Magyarization.[10] On November 4, 1938, Tiso ordered district offices to gather Jews "without material means" from their districts and bring them into what was then Hungary; this order was amended later the same day to target Jews with foreign citizenship. Moreover, Jews who possessed more than 500,000 Czechoslovak crowns (Kč) were arrested to prevent their emigration. Between November 4 and 7, 1938, Slovakia deported 7,500 Jews into the annexed territory,[11] but Hungary refused to accept them. Because the respective governments forbade them to move into residences in either Slovakia or Hungary, the deported Jews, including the elderly and children, needed to fend for themselves in the cold autumn weather in camps in Veľký Kýr and Miloslavov, where they were trapped.[12] These camps existed for only a few months and drew a strongly negative international response, particularly from the United Kingdom and France, because of humanitarian concerns.

The HSĽS considered the "solution" of the "Jewish Question"

to be a priority and thus began implementing anti-Jewish actions even before establishment of the independent Slovak state. In January 1939, the autonomous government created the Committee for the Solution of the Jewish Question, which discussed the drafts of various anti-Jewish laws, including those defining the term "Jew" or the confiscation of Jewish property.[13] Some politicians claimed that they needed to address the matter urgently for economic reasons. By 1940, there were approximately 89,000 Jews in Slovakia, amounting to just over 4 percent of the population.

With the creation of an independent Slovakia, Ľudáks made anti-Jewish policy a state doctrine. Only a month after the declaration of independence, the first official anti-Jewish law went into effect. On April 18, 1939, the government defined the term "Jew" (Slovak: *Žid*) on the basis of religious criteria, describing Jews as all persons of the Jewish faith who had not been baptized prior to October 30, 1918, or persons without any denomination born to Jewish parents. The very same law limited the number of Jews allowed to practice the profession of lawyer to 4 percent. All journalists falling into the category of "Jew" were expelled from all non-Jewish newspapers.[14]

Further regulations limited the number of Jews allowed to practice the profession of medical doctor or pharmacist to 4 percent. In June 1939, Jews serving in the army became the target of persecution. Following the military ruling, the authorities transferred Jewish soldiers from full military service to special labor units. In September 1939 they were stripped of their rank.

Anti-Jewish policy continued with measures in the economic sphere. The confiscation of Jewish property and its transfer to the non-Jewish ("Aryan") population, called Aryanization, became increasingly rigorous. It first targeted the so-called agricultural and enterprise property of Jews. In April 1940, the Slovak Assembly adopted the First Aryanization Law (No. 113/1940). It defined the term "Jewish business" and authorized the county offices and the Ministry of Economy "to decide, according to free consideration and with final validity whether and under what conditions" the Jewish business should be liquidated or Aryanized. Aryanization was defined as "selling of the business to a qualified Christian candidate."[15] The property owner could suggest the Aryan person

who would become the owner of at least 51 percent of the company. This was colloquially called "voluntary Aryanization."

Aryanization of enterprise property was sharply criticized by radical Ľudáks who demanded quick "removal" of Jews from the society. Shortly after the Salzburg meeting with Adolf Hitler on July 27–28, 1940, anti-Jewish policy radicalized. Nazi advisor for the "Jewish Question" Dieter Wisliceny of the Reich Security Main Office (*SS-Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, SS-RSHA), as well as several other German advisors for various other "questions," arrived in Slovakia.[16]

On September 3, 1940, the Slovak Assembly adopted the Constitutional Law (210/1940) that empowered the government within the period of one year "to take all measures necessary for the exclusion of the Jews from Slovak economic and social life and for transferring all Jewish property into Christian owner ship."[17] This law, signed by President Tiso, allowed the government to regulate anti-Jewish policy according to its own requirements, and thus accelerate its implementation.

Prime Minister Vojtech Tuka acted quickly. On September 16, 1940, a new government agency, the Central Economic Office (*Ústredný hospodársky úrad*, ÚHÚ), came into being under Tuka's advisor Augustín Morávek. ÚHÚ's main task was to craft and implement all the necessary steps needed to remove Jews from economic and social life.

The escalation in the number and severity of racial policies and guidelines continued, and the Jewish Center (*Ústredňa Židov*, ÚŽ) was created. It was the only non-religious organization of Jews in Slovakia that was allowed at the time, and each Jew was obliged to become a member. The ÚŽ was to help the regime with the enforcement of its measures.[18] Within a few months, the Slovak government adopted regulations allowing the Central Economic Office (ÚHÚ) to take complete control over various types of Jewish property. Houses and apartments of Jews were subordinated to the so-called temporary administration.[19] The bank accounts of Jews in all banks in Slovakia were blocked, and any payments made to Jews could be put into these blocked accounts only. Jews could withdraw only 1,000 Slovak crowns (Ks) per week, and this sum was reduced subsequently to 500 Ks

and 150 Ks.[20] Employment of Jews was subject to ÚHÚ's approval, and a special fee had to be paid by the employer.[21]

The Aryanization of "Jewish businesses" according to the First Aryanization Law was soon stopped. From November 1940 on, the Central Economic Office became the sole body to decide whether a Jewish business would undergo the pro cess of Aryanization (now called "transfer") or be liquidated. In this new pro cess, in contrast to the First Aryanization Law, the Aryanizer no longer needed to be a "qualified Christian candidate," and "voluntary" Aryanization was no longer possible. Under the leadership of Morávek, the ÚHÚ began to issue liquidation and Aryanization decrees in great numbers in 1941, thus depriving thousands of Jews of a means of earning a living. Aryanization of businesses culminated in the middle of 1941. Of a total of about 12,300 businesses, nearly 2,300 were Aryanized and about 10,000 liquidated.[22] The whole pro cess was heavily corrupt.[23]

In 1940, another ruling mandated that Jews and Roma work for two months each year for state defense. The associated labor units belonged to the National Defense Ministry (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO). According to the Defense Law, Jewish and Roma recruits could serve only in labor units. In 1941, all Jewish and Roma recruits were assigned to the Sixth Labor Battalion (*Šiesty robotný prápor*), made up of three Jewish and two Roma companies. Jews wearing blue uniforms and blue berets received their basic military training with shovels and picks instead of rifles, and were subsequently sent to various construction sites all over Slovakia. They worked in Sabinov, Liptovský Svätý Peter, Láb, Svätý Jur, and Zohor. The Sixth Labor Battalion was dissolved in 1943, and its Jewish members were sent to various labor camps for Jews.[24]

The intensity of anti-Jewish views increased in 1941. On their own initiative, local representatives of the regime persecuted Jews living in the territory under their control. Thus for example Andrej Dudáš, the head of Šariš-Zemplín County, ordered tens of thousands of Jews living in the county to wear "a 3 cm [a little over an inch] wide yellow (lemon) ribbon" around the left arm from April 1941 on. This triggered various manifestations of physical violence.[25]

Group portrait of a Jewish forced labor unit in Slovakia, 1940.
USHMM WS #08826, COURTESY OF BEIT LOHAMEI HAGHETAOT (GHETTO FIGHTERS' HOUSE MUSEUM).

In April 1941, a decree issued by the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo Vnútra*, MV) allowed the creation of small labor camps for jobless Jews, and in July, the government issued a regulation that authorized the ÚHÚ to order Jews to perform labor assignments. In September 1941, there were about 80 smaller labor camps for Jews in Slovakia, with about 5,500 Jews working manually for private companies. By the end of 1941, most of these camps had been dissolved. The official propaganda said that camps had been closed because of the harsh weather conditions that complicated the work at various sites.[26] Little documentation has survived on most of these camps.

By early September 1941, the one-year period during which the Slovak government had the right to dictate anti-Jewish policy, was almost over. The state then adopted, on September 9, 1941, Decree 198/1941, officially called "On the Legal Status of Jews" and commonly referred to as the Jewish Code (*Židovský Kódex*, ŽK). Its 270 paragraphs defined Slovakia's anti-Jewish restrictions, and according to domestic propaganda, they were the strictest in all of Europe, even more stringent than the Nuremberg racial laws. Most of the paragraphs summarized the antisemitic regulations that had been passed by that time, but there were some brand-new elements. The ŽK defined the term "Jew" on explicitly racial grounds as "a person who comes from at least three Jewish grandparents in terms of race."[27] It also introduced the term

"Jewish half-breed" (*židovský miešanec*) as a person who "comes from one Jewish grandparent in terms of race."[28] Jews six or more years old had to wear the yellow star and also affix a Jewish star on their correspondence and envelopes, something even the German authorities had not mandated. According to Paragraph 255, the president of the Slovak Republic had the right to partly or fully exempt individual Jew from the regulations in the ŽK.[29]

The promulgation of the ŽK marked the disappearance of the Jews' last rights and privileges in Slovakia. The humiliating laws forbade Jews from being members of any clubs, sports teams, or organizations, and Jews could only shop for groceries during restricted hours. They were no longer allowed to use radios and phones. Jews were allowed to travel, but only on third-class railway cars at set times. Jews and "Jewish half-breeds" were forbidden to be HSĽS members or Hlinka Guardists.

All these and numerous other measures within the ŽK effectively isolated Jews from the rest of society. No longer allowed to control property or businesses, participate in public life, or have social ties to non-Jews, they were outcasts. As this pro cess continued, the special anti-Jewish Department 14 was created at the MV.

As a result of the pro cess of exclusion of Jews from social and economic life, the Jewish population in Slovakia was in ruins. About 16,000 of the 27,000 Jewish house holds lost their regular income. In other words, the pro cess deprived about 64,000 of 89,000 Jews of their means of living.[30] In the summer and autumn of 1941, more and more Jews living in Slovakia became dependent, and their living space was severely restricted.

Ľudáks were searching for the answer to the question: what to do with Jews without a living income? Some proposals suggested moving Jews to large labor camps. In August 1940, Minister of Interior Alexander Mach officially announced that the state would build such labor camps for Jews in Sereď and Nováky. Construction started in September 1941.[31]

By October 1941, the ÚHÚ had started to assign new residences to Jews, forcing them from their homes and restricting them to suburban sections of towns. The ÚŽ was required to administer this pro cess, determining which personal items Jews could take

with them for resettlement and which items the state would confiscate. Many Jews were also forced to leave Bratislava and were sent to distant towns in eastern Slovakia.

It did not take long until the government realized that building labor camps for thousands of socially deprived Jews would be a lengthy and costly pro cess. On October 20, 1941, SS-chief Heinrich Himmler suggested to Tiso, Mach, Tuka, and Čatloš, during their visit to Hitler's headquarters near Rastenburg, that they should deport the Slovak Jews to German-occupied Poland. A few months later, Mach said openly that this was how the idea of deportation came into being.[32]

In November 1941, Nazi Germany requested permission from Bratislava for the deportation of Jewish Slovaks from the territory of the Third Reich, including the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and the Ostmark, to a designated area in the east. As historian Eduard Nižňanský noted, once permission had been given to deport Jewish Slovak citizens from the territory of the Reich, the deportation of Jews living in Slovakia was the next logical step.[33] The Slovak-German talks in early 1942, which had the aim of sending 20,000 laborers from Slovakia to Germany, marked the moment when the idea of deportation began to have practical consequences. The Slovak government discussed the deportation of Jews on March 3, 1942, and the State Council did so on March 6, 1942. It was Prime Minister Tuka who briefed these bodies about deportation and presented the displacement of Jews in economic terms.

It is still not exactly clear whether Nazi Germany asked for the 20,000 Jewish laborers or Slovak officials offered them Jews instead of Slovaks.[34] However, the question of initiative should not be overrated. There is no doubt at all that, regardless of who actually took the initiative, the Germans did not have to force Ľudáks to deport the Jews from Slovakia and that on March 26, 1942, only a day after the deportation started, Interior Minister Mach openly said, "We have also obtained help from the Germans on this Jewish question. We want to rid ourselves of the Jews with the help of Germans."[35]

Many hoped that Tiso would intervene on behalf of the Jews. Rabbi Frieder, the head rabbi in Slovakia, personally handed him a

memorandum, which equated the deportation with "the physical destruction of the Jews in Slovakia." Tiso did not react.[36]

Roman Catholic bishop Karol Kmeťko, as well as the Vatican's diplomat in Slovakia, Giuseppe Burzio, both of whom had received reliable reports about the genocide of Jews in Ukraine, also confronted Tiso. According to the Nazi secret service SD, Burzio even threatened Tiso with an interdict. As James M. Ward noted, Jozef Tiso responded to such pressures with half-measures. Tiso said that he had had assurances from the Germans that they would treat Jews well. Both Minister of National Defense general Ferdinand Čatloš and Slovak general Jozef Turanec later testified that they had reported the mass killings of Jews to Tiso by February 1942.[37]

MV's Department 14 managed the nationwide organization and deportation of Slovak Jews, with the help of Nazi advisor Dieter Wisliceny; however, other ministries as well as the regional state administration, security forces, HG, and FS also participated. The gendarmerie, together with the Hlinka Guard and FS, first took Jews from individual municipalities to district seats and from there to one of the newly established concentration camps for Jews (*Koncentračné stredisko Židov*) in Poprad, Žilina, Bratislava-Patrónka, Nováky, and Sereď; from there the Jews were to be put on transports and deported from Slovakia. The first transport left Slovakia from Poprad on March 25, 1942; it consisted of 1,000 girls and women between the ages of 16 and 45.[38] The transport arrived in Auschwitz the next day. In the first few transports, men and women were deported separately. From April 10, 1942, on, the deportation of whole families began. Transports were organized either in the above-mentioned concentration camps or in district towns.

Between March 25, 1942, and October 20, 1942, a total of 57 transports carrying 57,628 Jews left Slovakia[39]: 19 transports went to Auschwitz and 38 to the Lublin region in the General Government.[40] Only a few hundred people survived the deportations of 1942.

Dieter Wisliceny, the advisor to the Slovak government on the "Jewish Question," was present during many of the deportations. The Germans charged a "resettlement fee" of 500 Reichs-marks

for each Jew deported out of Slovakia, which ultimately, the Slovak government paid.[41] The Nazis followed through on their promises that most of the Jews would not return to Slovak territory and would not demand repayment for former possessions—by murdering them in various killing centers.

In the beginning, the deportations started without a legal basis and despite protests by the representatives of the Jews or the Holy See. On May 15, 1942, however, the Slovak Assembly legalized the deportations retroactively. All but one parliamentarian, János Eszterházy, a representative of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, raised their hands in support of deportation.[42]

Jews boarding boxcars for deportation from Slovakia, circa 1942. They are supervised by Hlinka Guardsmen. USHMM WS #33092, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM PHOTO ARCHIVES.

The Slovak leadership played an active role in the deportation of Slovak Jewry. On August 17, 1942, Tiso gave a speech in Holíč in which he claimed that the deportations were for the good of the nation: "People ask whether what is being done with the Jews is Christian. Is it human? Is it not robbery?… I ask is it Christian when the nation wants to free itself from its eternal enemy?… And we did it according to the commandment of God: Slovak, free yourself from those who harm you." [43]

The reactions among the Jews who had not yet been deported ranged from emigration to desperation. Many Jews attempted to

escape their fate, with the help of local clergy, through mixed marriages or baptisms. Other options included bribing local officials, Hlinka Guards, and especially officials of MV's Department 14. According to post-World War II testimonies, Anton Vašek, the head of Department 14, accepted hundreds of thousands of Slovak crowns in bribes during this period.[44]

Only those Jews who had managed to obtain work permissions from ministries, presidential exemptions, or false papers, or who were held as workers in one of the labor camps remained in Slovakia after the transports ceased. They ended in October 1942 due to growing internal resistance.

As of January 1, 1943, there were 18,945 Jews living in Slovakia. Approximately five to six thousand Jews had already fled to Hungary, which was the only country at that point that did not yet deport Jews. About 2,500 Jews lived in three major labor camps (*pracovný tábor*) in Sereď, Nováky, and Vyhne at that point. The regime also opened smaller labor camps, called work centers (*pracovné stredisko*), at various building sites in Slovakia. Camps and work centers were controlled by the Ministry of Interior, through the Government Commissar of Labor Camps, Július Pečúch (an employee of Department 14), and guarded by the HG and later the gendarmes. The ÚŽ was obliged to collaborate with the MV (and the government commissar) on the organization of Jewish labor camps and centers.

In 1943, Jewish Councils (*Židovská rada*) were established in Jewish labor camps and centers, which helped organize life and tried to improve conditions in the camps. Their self-sufficiency, turnover of finished goods, and level of production were the only factors that really mattered for the dignitaries of the Interior Ministry and several other representatives of the regime, however. To keep up with production quotas, the Central Office for Jewish Labor Camps (*Ústredná kancelária pre pracovné tábory Židov*) was established at the ÚŽ, which helped camps secure orders from various customers. In addition, Jewish Councils bribed commanders of camps and HG in order to ease the life of the inmates. Jews were under constant threat of the resumption of deportations.

Alexander Mach, the Interior Minister and the Main

Commander of the Hlinka Guard, called for the resumption of deportations in February 1943. His plans sparked new protests from Catholic bishops and the Holy See. When a formal papal protest arrived in Bratislava, the authorities put further deportations on hold; in addition, Germany's military setbacks made Slovak politicians less eager to participate in the further deportation of Jews. Moreover, despite general and personal risk, many locals and church officials rescued Jews by offering block baptisms (along with certain financial incentives to the authorities) and hiding family members in their homes. Several priests ignored jail threats from the HG and MV and were arrested, imprisoned, and tortured in the Ilava detention camp for helping Jews.

THE WORKING GROUP

In the summer of 1941, a group of Jewish activists within and outside the ÚŽ coalesced clandestinely and across political or religious affiliations for the purpose of better coordinating aid and rescue efforts. In the spring of 1942, the government's decision to start deportations to Poland prompted this Working Group led by Gizela (Gizi) Fleischmann, the head of the ÚŽ emigration department, and Rabbi Michael Dov Weissmandel—together with Andrew (Ondrej) Steiner, Tibor Kováč, Oskar Neumann, Rabbi Abraham (Armin) Frieder, and a group of public figures and activists in the various youth movements—to massively lobby among state functionaries, economic leaders, and Catholic clergy. Members of the group bribed key Slovak figures and intervened with Tiso, yet failed to stop the deportation wave. Subsequently, their multiple efforts to reach a deportation moratorium focused on a two-pronged approach: first, exerting pressure on regime officials, combined with material incentives, particularly vis-à-vis the Interior Ministry's Department 14 head Anton Vašek; and second, entering into negotiations with Dieter Wisliceny, also involving large bribes. Many credit the Working Group with the halting of mass deportations, but other factors also influenced their suspension after October 1942, including pressure from the Vatican and local bishops who were displeased with Tiso.

The temporary halt in deportations convinced the members of the Working Group that bribery was effective. For this reason, Rabbi Weissmandel initiated the Europa Plan, an attempt to save

the remaining Jews in German-dominated Europe by paying ransom. The group entered into secret negotiations with SS officials in the fall of 1942, a time when Himmler was starting to develop an interest in negotiating with representatives of what he deemed "international Jewry" for the purpose of undermining the Allied war effort, but also as a means to obfuscate the ongoing implementation of the "Final Solution" and improve Germany's image in the event of an armistice. Members of the Working Group coordinated with Jewish organizations overseas, particularly the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC), to help raise money demanded by their German interlocutors, until it became clear in late summer 1943 that the Reich's representatives were using the negotiations merely as a means of delay and personal enrichment.[45]

In addition to their pursuit of the Europa Plan, the members of the Working Group tried to assist Jews in a number of ways. They not only tried to improve the conditions of Slovak deportees but also found hiding places for Jewish refugees coming from Poland and provided them with false identification papers. At the same time, the members of the group spread information about the mass murder of Jews, hoping to interfere with the expected deportation of the Hungarian Jews. Slovak Army officers had already reported the mass shootings of Jews in occupied Galicia and Soviet territories in the summer and autumn of 1941. Since the summer of 1942, reports of mass murder in German camps had reached Slovakia; however, eyewitness testimony of Jewish extermination became available only in April 1944, when two Slovak Jews, Rudolf Vrba (Walter Rosenberg) from Topoľčany and Alfred Wetzler from Trnava, managed to escape from Auschwitz. After several weeks in hiding, they were able to provide firsthand testimonies to the ÚŽ, which reached Geneva, the Swiss press, the Czechoslovak government in exile, as well as the United States.[46] Ultimately the efforts of the Working Group failed: some members were arrested, and toward the end of 1944 their leaders, Gizi Fleischmann and Rabbi Weissmandel, were deported. Weissmandel jumped from the deportation train, survived in hiding, and later emigrated to the United States. Fleischmann was murdered in Auschwitz.

THE SLOVAK NATIONAL UPRISING

By the end of 1943, the Ľudák regime was in deep internal crisis. After Germany's military defeats on the eastern front and the capitulation of Italy, the future of the Tiso regime was not bright. The previously fragmented resistance movement, consisting of communists and "civic" (noncommunist) groups, joined forces and created the Slovak National Council (*Slovenská národná rada*, SNR) at the end of 1943. From the spring of 1944 on, the SNR cooperated with the underground group within the Slovak army called the Military Center (*Vojenské ústredie*, VÚ). Their goal was to prepare a military uprising and overthrow the Tiso regime. The plan was to attack the rear of the retreating German Army near the mountainous eastern border of Slovakia, thus opening the Carpathian passes for the Red Army. At the same time, the Ľudák regime was to be overthrown in the west of the country. If that failed, there was to be immediate resistance to the German Army in case of an unexpected German occupation of Slovakia.[47]

During the summer of 1944, Slovakia became the operational area of various partisan groups formed by Soviet officers. They were dropped into Slovak territory to operate in the German rear. The increase in partisan activities and operations of various partisan groups in coordination with the Soviet partisan headquarters, but not with the SNR, provoked German military intervention.[48]

On August 29, 1944, the landscape in Slovakia changed dramatically when the first German units crossed Slovakia's borders. What came to be referred to as the Slovak National Uprising (*Slovenské národné povstanie*, SNP) to resist the German occupation and overthrow the Tiso government began under the command of the Banská Bystrica-based Military Center.

In reaction to the uprising, the HSĽS regime underwent major changes. A new government came to power under Prime Minister Štefan Tiso, and the security apparatus was reorganized. Special units of the Hlinka Guard (*Pohotovostné oddiely Hlinkovej gardy*, POHG) were formed to help the Nazi security forces in suppressing the uprising and persecuting its supporters.

German Einsatzgruppe H der Sipo und des SD units began to

fight in Bratislava with its Einsatzkommandos and Sonderkommandos operating all over the progressively occupied areas of western and central Slovakia. In eastern Slovakia, Nazi Kommando ZbV 27, under the control of KdS Krakau (Krakow), started to operate.[49]

When Nazi Germany invaded Slovakia, its goal was to liquidate partisan groups, but in the area of central Slovakia its units instead faced an organized army. The First Czechoslovak Army in Slovakia, under the command of General Ján Golian, succeeded later by General Rudolf Viest, fought against better equipped and trained German units (and their Slovak collaborators) until October 27, 1944. On that day, the center of the uprising, Banská Bystrica, fell. Insurgents retreated into the mountains and carried out a guerilla campaign; this combat continued until the liberation of Slovakia in 1945.

The German reaction was predictably harsh. The Germans shot or arrested Slovaks whom they suspected of aiding the uprising and razed 93 villages in retaliation for suspected collaboration. A later estimate of the death toll among civilians was 5,304 people, and postwar authorities discovered 211 mass graves resulting from those atrocities.[50] The largest mass killings occurred in Kremnička and Nemecká; other civilians were taken to the various concentration camps where they were tortured and murdered.

The failed uprising and the German occupation ushered in the final bloody stage of the Holocaust in Slovakia. The Tiso regime's hostility toward the remaining Jewish population escalated. The regime attempted to use the "Jewish Question" to strengthen its power, describing the Jews as "Judeo-bolsheviks" and other undesirables who wanted to gain control of Slovakia and take advantage of all good Slovaks and Christians. The regime-sponsored newspapers were filled with antisemitic propaganda that in some ways surpassed in intensity that in the 1940 to 1942 period.

German military and security authorities began to organize deportation trains from Sereď and from eastern Slovakia. From the end of September 1944 to March 1945, 11 transports from the Sereď concentration camp and several transports from Prešov carried the remaining Jews out of Slovakia. Some were sent to

Auschwitz, and others to Sachsenhausen, Ravensbrück, or Terezín. Approximately 13,500 people were deported.[51]

The occupation units and the members of the POHG or other Slovak forces no longer recognized exemptions and employment licenses for Jews. Acts of brutality, robbery, and murder accompanied the deportations, and German units, sometimes with the help of Hlinka Guard (either POHG or field companies of the HG) murdered hundreds of Jews and Roma immediately on capture.

After the Red Army conquered Slovakia in April 1945, Tiso fled first to Austria and then to a Capuchin monastery in Altötting, Bavaria. U.S. forces captured him there in June 1945 and extradited him to the restored Czechoslovakia, where he was tried. On April 15, 1947, the Czechoslovak National Court (*Národný súd*) found him guilty of treason and sentenced him to death. Tiso was executed wearing his clerical garb in Bratislava on April 18, 1947.

SOURCES Political histories of the Slovak state include Yehoshua Robert Büchler, Gila Fatranová, and Stanislav Mičev, *Fragmenty z dejín židovstva na Slovensku* (Banská Bystrica, Slovakia: Datei, 1991); Ingrid Graziano and István Eördögh, *Josef Tiso e la questione ebraica in Slovacchia* (Cosenza: Periferia, 2002); Katarína Hradská, *Prípad Dieter Wisliceny: Nacistickí poradcovia a židovská otázka na Slovensku* (Bratislava: AEP, 1999); Yeshayahu Jelínek, *The Parish Republic: Hlinka's Slovak People's Party 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: Eastern European Quarterly, 1976); Hana Kubátová, *Nepokradneš! Nálady a postoje slovenské společnosti k židovské otázce, 1938–1945* (Prague: Academia, 2013); Eduard Nižňanský, *Nacizmus, holokaust, slovenský štát* (Bratislava: Kalli-gram, 2010); Eduard Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku medzi československou parlamentou demokraciou a slovenským štátom v stredoeurópskom kontexte* (Prešov, Slovakia: Universum, 1999); Peter Sokolovič, *Hlinkova garda 1938–1945* (Bratislava: Ústav Pamäti Národa, 2009); Tatjana Tönsmeyer, *Das Dritte Reich und die Slowakei 1939–1945:*

Politischer Alltag zwischen Kooperation und Eigensinn (Paderborn, Germany: Schöningh, 2003); and these works by James Mace Ward: *Priest, Politician, Collaborator: Jozef Tiso and the Making of fascist Slovakia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013); "' People Who Deserve It': Josef Tiso and the Presidential Exemption," *NatPprs* 30:4 (2002): 571–601; and "The First Vienna Award and the Holocaust in Slovakia," *HGS* 29:1 (Spring 2015): 76–108.

With the fall of the Iron Curtain, a new generation of historians has focused on a myriad of topics related to the Holocaust, including general aspects of the Slovak state, political history of the clerico-fascist nation, local history of towns or specific sites of discrimination, and non-Jewish victims. In addition, many conferences have been hosted in Slovakia whose papers have contributed to numerous edited volumes on the Holocaust in Slovakia. The following list of works is not comprehensive, but should provide the reader with a solid starting point for examining Slovak sources related to the Holocaust. General books and articles about the Slovak state include Gila Fatranová, *Boj o prežitie* (Bratislava: SNM—Múzeum Židovskej Kultúry, 2007); idem, "Die Deportation der Juden aus der Slowakei 1944–1945," *Bohemia* 37:1 (1996): 99–119; idem, "The Working Group" *HGS* 8:2 (Fall 1994): 164–201; Tomáš Gerboc, *Štát proti Židom*, available at www.impulzrevue.sk/article.php?816; Gabriel Hoffmann, *Katolícka cirkev a tragédia slovenských židov v dokumentoch* (Partizánske, Slovakia: Vyd-vo G-print, 1994); Katrína Hradská, "Deportácie slovenských Židov v rokoch 1944–1945 so zreťeľom na trasporty do Terezína," *Hch* 45:3 (1997): 455–471; Yeshayahu Jelínek, *Židia na Slovensku v 19. a 20. storočí* (Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999); Martin Lacko, *Slovenská Republika 1939–1945* (Bratislava: Perfekt, 2008); Ján Mlynárik, *Dejiny židů na Slovensku*, trans. Milan Pokorný (Prague: Academia, 2005); Peter Salner, *Mozaika židovskej Bratislavy* (Bratislava: Albert Marencin Vydavateľstvo, 2007); Peter Salner, *Prežili Holokaust* (Bratislava: Veda, 1997); and Lenka Šindelářová, *Finale der Vernichtung: Die Einsatzgruppe H in der Slowakei*

1944/1945 (Darmstadt: WBG, 2013).

Works that deal with particular labor, concentration, or transit camps include Igor Baka, *Židovský Tábor v Novákoch* (Bratislava: Zing Print, 2001); Marek Danko, "Internačné zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary," (Košice, Slovakia: Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 2010) available at www.saske.sk/cas/public/media/5813/201001_03_danko.pdf; Ján Hlavinka and Eduard Nižňanský, *Pracovný a koncentračný tábor v Seredi 1941–1945* (Bratislava: Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, 2009); Mauro M. Lang-felder, *Žilina: Il vino e il sangue* (Milan: Terziaria, 2003); Eduard Nižňanský and Lucia Könözsyová, eds., "Židovské pracovné stredisko v Degeši: v dokumentoch," *SHN* 10 (2002): 219–236; Karen Spira, "Memories of Youth: Slovak Jewish Holocaust Survivors and the Nováky Labor Camp" (unpub. MA thesis, Brandeis University, 2011); Jana Stráska, "Koncentračné stredisko v Žiline," *AFHUMBW* 3:4 (2010): 88–95; Alexander von Plato, Almut Leh, and Christoph Thonfeld, eds., *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010); and Milena Balcová, "Šiesty robotný prápor Pracovného zboru Národnej obrany a jeho činnoť v rokoch 1941–1944," *VH* 2 (2012): 79–97.

Before 1989, the Holocaust was not addressed in many historical studies. Despite the topic's controversial nature, Ivan Kamenec, Ladislav Lipscher, Livia Rothkirchen, and Ctibor Nečas explored Slovakia's collaboration with Nazi Germany, but many of their manuscripts were not published until after 1991. See Ivan Kamenec, *Po stopách tragédie* (Bratislava: Archa, 1991) or translated into English as *On the Trail of Tragedy: The Holocaust in Slovakia*, trans. Martin C. Styan (Bratislava: H & H, 2007); Ladislav Lipscher, *Židia v slovenskom štáte 1939–1945*, trans. Irma Knezlová and Magdalena Pechová (Bratislava: Printservis, 1992); and Livia Rothkirchen, *Ḥurban Yahadut Slovakyah: teʾur hisṭori bi-teʿudot* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1961); idem, "The Dual Role of the 'Jewish Center' in Slovakia," in *Patterns of Jewish Leadership in Nazi Europe 1933–1945*

(Proceedings of the 3rd Yad Vashem International Historical Conference) (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1979), pp. 219–227. More recent works on the Holocaust in Slovakia include Wacław Długoborski, *The Tragedy of the Jews of Slovakia: 1938–1945: Slovakia and the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question"* (Oświęcim, Poland: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2002); Peter Sokolovič, ed., *Perzekúcie na Slovensku v rokoch 1938–1945: Slovenská Republika 1939–1945 očami mladých historikov VII* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2008); and Jozef Vicen, "K problematike Zaisťovacieho tábora v Ilave v rokoch 1939–1945," in *Slovenská republika 1939–1945 očami mladých historikov IV. Zborník*, eds. Michal Šmigeľ and Peter Mičko (Banská Bystrica, Slovakia: Ústav pamäti národa, 2005), pp. 135–143.

Although the majority of the works focus on Jewish victims, some authors have also written about non-Jewish victims, particularly the Roma and others deemed "asocials." Such works include Karola Fings, Herbert Heuss, and Frank Sparing, eds., *In the Shadow of the Swastika: The Gypsies during the Second World War,* 3 vols., trans. Donald Kenrick (Hatfield, UK: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999–2006); Karol Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2010); Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté Tábory* (Trenčín, Slovakia: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); and Július Tancoš and Rene Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002). For the Roma, see Ctibor Nečas, *Československí Rómové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova Univerzita, 1994); and Milena Hübschmannová, *"Po Židoch Cigáni": Svědectví Romů ze Slovenska, 1939–1945* (Prague: Triada, 2005).

Primary documents on the Holocaust and camps in Slovakia can be divided into edited volumes, archival materials, memoirs, and oral history. The most comprehensive edited volumes were written by Eduard Nižňanský. These crucial works not only include the most important documents, organized thematically, but also place them within the proper historical context. The volumes most used for this chapter were Eduard Nižňanský and Ivan Kamenec, eds.,

Holokaust na Slovensku, *2: Prezident, vláda, Snem SR a Štátna rada o židovskej otázke (1939–1945)* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2003); Eduard Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie anatomie (6.10.1938–14.3.1939)* (Bratislava: Nadacia Milana Simecku, 2001); Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, *5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadacia Milana Šimečku, 2004); and Eduard Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 6: Deportácie v roku 1942* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2005). In addition to the *Holokaust na Slovensku* series, there are primary source compilations in the following works: Katarína Hradská, *Listy Gisely Fleischmannovej (1942–1944): snahy Pracovnej skupiny o záchranu slovenských a európskych židov*: *Dokumenty* (Zvolen, Slovakia: Klemo, 2003); Ladislav Hubenák, ed., *Riešenie židovskej otázky na Slovensku 1939–1945: Dokumenty* (Bratislava: Slovenské národné múseum, 1994); Milena Hübschmannová, *"Po Židoch Cigáni" svědectví Romů ze Slovenska, 1939–1945* (Prague: Triada, 2005); and Ústredný svaz židovských náboženských obcí na Slovensku, ed., *Tragé-dia slovenských židov: fotografie a dokumenty* (Bratislava: The Centre, 1993). The Treaty of Protection can be found in *NCA*.

USHMMA holds more than 3,200 items regarding the Holocaust in Slovakia. Specifically, it holds 15 collections from SNA and various local archives in Slovakia. The most comprehensive collection, RG-57.001M (Slovak Documents related to the Holocaust), contains more than 1,500 reels of documentation from various Slovak ministries, local administrations, applications for exemption from deportation, Aryanization records, and more. In addition, USHMMA holds collections from ÚPN, the Conference for Jewish Material Claims against Germany, ŠOA-B, ŠOA-N, VHÚ, and VHA. The archival records of the International Tracing Service (ITS) are also a valuable source.

The number of published testimonies has grown exponentially since 1989. The following list is only a fraction of the published

memoirs; as one can see, they deal with various experiences including labor camps and concentration camps. Perhaps the best-known memoir was written by Rudolf Vrba, *I Cannot Forgive*, ed. Alan Bestic (1964; Vancouver: Regent College Publishers, 1997). Others include Edith Ernst-Drori, *Des Lebensrechts beraubt: Drei Jahre im Untergrund. Jüdische Schicksale in der Slowakei 1942–1945* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2000); Abraham-Aba Frieder, *Z Denníka mladého rabína*, ed. Emanuel Frieder (Bratislava: Edicia Judaica Slovaca, 1993); Alexander Hochhäuser, *Zufällig überlebt: Als deutscher Jude in der Slowakei* (Berlin: Metropol, 1992); Marie Magdaléna Hornáková-Jodasová, *Neobyčajný život* (Prague: Nakl. Jaroslava Poberova, 2005); Hilda Hrabovecká, *Arm with Tattooed Number* (Bratislava: PT, 2002); David Huban, *Bol som mladý a chcel som žiť* (Bratislava: Múzeum Židovskej Kultúry, 2004); Hani Kehat, *My Nitra: A Family's Struggle to Survive in Slovakia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2015); Ján Gál Podďumbierský, *Z kalicha utrpenia: Rozpomienky na zážitky v koncentračnom tábore v Ilave* (Komárno, Slovakia: Pravda, 1947); Elo Šándor, *Ilava: Zážitky z policajného lapáku a z koncentračného tábora z čias, keď sa rodila naša sloboda* (Brno: Mir, 1947); Harold Saunders, *Zeugnis geben: Von Bratislava durch Auschwitz-Birkenau ins Lager Gleiwitz I und zurück. Jüdische Schicksale in der Slowakei 1938–1945* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2001); Juraj Spitzer, *Nechcel som byť Žid* (Bratislava: Kalligram, 1994); and Juraj Spitzer, *Svitá, až ked je celkom tma* (Bratislava: Kalligram, 1996).

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NOTES

1. Vladimír Srb. *Obyvateľstvo Slovenska 1918–* 1938, available at www.infostat.sk/vdc/pdf/slov1918.pdf, 10; Akiva Nir, "The Zionist Organizations, Youth Movements and Emigration to Palestine in 1918–1945," in *The Tragedy of the Jews of Slovakia*, eds. Waclaw Dlugoborski et al. (Oswiecim, Banská Bystrica: Auschwitz-Birkenau State

Museum, 2002), 37; Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku, 6*.

2. Michal Barnovský, ed., *Dokumenty slovenskej národnej identity a štátnost*, vol. II (Bratislava: Národné literárne centrum, 1998), p. 178.

3. Treaty of Protection concluded between the German Reich and the State of Slovakia, March 23, 1939, 1439-PS, *NCA*, 4:19.

4. Ctibor Nečas, "Pronásledování Cikánů v období slovenského státu," in *Rómovia a druhá svetová vojna,* eds. Ingrid Vagačová and Martin Fotta (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku), p. 41.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p. 42.

9. Ibid.

10. Ward, "The First Vienna Award and the Holocaust in Slovakia," pp. 76, 84, 92.

11. Eduard Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku medzi československou parlamentnou demokraciou a Slovenským štátom v stredoeurópskom kontexte* (Prešov: Universum, 1999), pp. 40, 54.

12. Ibid.

13. Nižňanský and Kamenec, *Holokaust na Slovensku,* 2: 25–26.

14. Decree No. 63/1939 Sl.z., *Slovenský zákonník*, 1939, p. 77.

15. Law No. 113/1939 Sl.z., *Slovenský zákonník*, 1939, pp. 166–170.

16. Fatranová, *Boj o prežitie*, p. 40.

17. Constitutional Law No. 210/1940 Sl.z. *Slovenský zákonník*, 1940, p. 343.

18. Gila Fatranová, "Pracovná skupina: pokus o záchranu," in *Aktivity ilegálnej židovskej Pracovnej skupiny počas holokaustu na Slovensku. Zborník príspevkov zo seminára* (Bratislava: Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, 2007), pp. 6–7.

19. Decree No. 257/1940 Sl.z. *Slovenský zákonník*, 1940, p. 407.

20. Ibid., p. 429.

21. Decree No. 271/1940 Sl.z., *Slovenský zákonník*, p. 262; Ján Hlavinka and Martina Fiamová, "Arizácia židovského majetku," in *Slovenský štát 1939–1945: predstavy a realita*, eds. Martina Fiamová, Ján Hlavinka, and Michal Schvarc (Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2014), 263.

22. Ľudovít Hallon, "Arizácia na Slovensku 1939–1945," *Acta Oeconomica Pragensia 7* (2007).

23. Ján Hlavinka, ""Kapitál má slúžiť národu…" Korupcia v arizácii podnikového majetku na Slovensku," in *Korupcia*, eds. Peter Šoltés and Lászlo Vörös (Historický ústav SAV Veda, 2015).

24. Ján Korček, "Vojensky organizované pracovné formá-cie v pôsobnosti MNO a MV Slovenskej republiky 1942–1945," in *Pracovné jednotky a útvary slovenskej armády 1939–1945. VI. Robotný prápor.*, ed. Dezider Tóth (Bratislava: Zing Print, 1996), pp. 43–92.

25. Kamenec, *On the Trail of Tragedy*, p. 157.

26. Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku,* 5: 11.

27. Decree 198/1941 Sl.z., *Slovenský zákonník*, 1941, p. 643.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku,* 5: 113.

31. Ján Hlavinka and Eduard Nižňanský, *Pracovný a*

koncentračný tábor v Seredi 1941–1945 (Bratislava: Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, 2009), p. 20.

32. Zápisnica o III. zasadnutí Štátnej rady. SNA, fond Úrad predsedníctva vlády, box 242.

33. Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku,* 6: 13.

34. Ibid., 6: 14–15.

35. Zápisnica o III. zasadnutí Štátnej rady. SNA, fond Úrad predsedníctva vlády, box 242.

36. Ward, *Priest, Politician, Collaborator*, p. 231.

37. Ibid., p. 227.

38. SNA, fond MV, box 227, file 1.

39. Letter of the Ministry of Interior No. 12361/42. SNA, fond MV, box 262.

40. Jehošua Róbert Büchler, "Deportácie Židov zo Slovenska do oblasti Lublin v Poľsku v roku 1942," in *Acta Judaica Slovaca*, ed. Pavol Mešťan (Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum-MŽK, 2002).

41. Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku,* 6: 59–61.

42. Kamenec, *On the Trail of Tragedy*, p. 157.

43. Tiso speech reproduced in ibid., p. 206.

44. USHMMA, RG-57.004M, 59/101–102.

45. Yehuda Bauer, *Jews for Sale? Nazi-Jewish Negotiations, 1933–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 91–101.

46. The Vrba-Wetzler Report is available at http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/English45.pdf.

47. Igor Baka et al., *Slovensko a Slováci vo víre druhej svetovej vojny* (Bratislava: Pro Militaria Historia), p. 98.

48. Ibid., pp. 104–108.

49. Dušan Halaj et al. *Fašistické represálie na Slovensku* (Banská Bystrica: ÚV SZPB, Múzeum Slovenského národného povstania), p. 145.

50. Ibid., p. 6.

51. Kamenec, *On the Trail of Tragedy*, p. 337.

BOJKOVÁ

Bojková is located just over 53 kilometers (33 miles) northeast of Bratislava. In 1942, the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Minister-stvo vnútra*, MV), Department 53, created the Educational Asylum for Women (*Ženský výchovný ústav*) on the premises of the state-owned agricultural project. MV issued the asylum's internal order on June 20, 1942. It was intended for "asocial" women, particularly prostitutes. Women were sent to the asylum by the chief of the Police Directorate in Bratislava (*Policajné riaditeľstvo v Bratislave*). In Bojková they lived in housing that the MV provided and were cared for by civilian authorities or nuns.[1] MV's Department 53 administered the center and made administrative and personnel decisions.

The facility had the capacity to hold up to 150 women, but initially housed 35.[2] Dr. Straka, the head of Department 53, considered expanding the center to hold up to 250 people later in 1943. It is known that at one point more than 94 women labeled as "asocial and morally defective" were in the camp.[3] A medical doctor provided health care on the premises. Women kept in the asylum worked at their own farm as well as other farms in the vicinity. During bad weather and off-season they performed tailoring or laundered underwear for state asylums. On May 31, 1943, Dr. Straka asked his superiors in the MV for permission to open a "similar asylum for Jewish females" by building two additional barracks with a total capacity of 200 persons.[4] There is no evidence that this request was approved. It is also not known when the camp was liquidated.

SOURCES Very little is known about this site. Primary sources can be found in SNA, box 549, and in USHMMA in the SNA collection (RG-57.001M), reel 176.

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NOTES

1. “Pracovné útvary pre asociálne osoby ženského pohlavia,” March 16, 1943, Slovak National Archives (SNA), fond MV, box 549, file D-1109/43 (549/D-1109/43).

2. SNA, fond MV, box 577, file 1228/44.

3. “Pánu presidiálnemu šéfovi,” n.d., SNA, fond MV, 549/D-1117.

4. SNA, fond MV, box 577, file 1228/44.

BRATISLAVA/PATRÓNKA

The Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) created the Patrónka concentration camp (officially called *Koncentračné stredisko Židov Bratislava-Patrónka*) on March 5, 1942. The camp was established in buildings belonging to the Asylum for Disabled Persons[1] (*Ústav pre zmrzačených*), which was situated in an old abandoned ammunition factory in Patrónka, a suburb of Bratislava named for its manufacturing of weaponry (*patróny*). Much as Poprad served as a concentration and transit camp for Jews living in eastern Slovakia, Patrónka housed Jews from Bratislava and western Slovakia. As with the Poprad transit camp, Patrónka initially served as a camp for women between the ages of 16 to 45; however, over time, men and families were also detained there.[2]

While the Jews from Bratislava were escorted to the Patrónka camp under the supervision of the police directorate in Bratislava and the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda,* HG), Jews from other western Slovakian towns and districts (such as Trnava, Myjava, and so on) were escorted to the camp by the gendarmerie, together with HG and *Freiwillige Schutzstaffel* (FS).[3] First women from western Slovakian towns were brought to the Červený Most train station, which was less central than Bratislava's main train station, where the camp's guards then escorted them to the Patrónka camp, a distance of one kilometer (0.6 miles).[4] The internees were allowed to bring up to 50 kilograms (110 pounds) of personal belongings in their suitcases, including food and clothing. The deputy commandant, Július Pavlík, conducted personal searches for valuables as soon as the young women arrived in Patrónka. Confiscated items included gold, watches, and pens; these property lists are available in the archives.[5] Three guards were arrested for stealing Jewish property in Patrónka after missing property was found in their houses. They were incarcerated in the Ilava prison.[6]

The Patrónka camp consisted of three buildings. In Building I

(the "good building"), wooden planks without pallets, arranged in two tiers, served as beds. It could house up to 700 Jews. Building II, which was labeled as "damaged," held 70 metal double beds that could accommodate 140 Jews; additional deportees slept on wooden planks. Building III, which was located between the two other buildings, was divided into two parts. One half housed the HG, and the other half of the building provided the necessary office space for the camp commandant. In addition to the three buildings, the Jews built a wooden shed that served as a storage space for the deportees' luggage.[7]

Depending on the part of the camp where they were located, the prisoners slept either on their own belongings or on wooden planks, which could accommodate three people. Some of these wooden planks were found on the floor of the factory, and the Slovak Red Cross provided additional planks from an as-yet unidentified repatriation camp.[8] Some hay was available to use as bedding, which the women spread out and then swept up in the morning. The prisoners were not given any blankets, but used personal belongings brought from home to cover themselves while sleeping. Some women also slept in the factory's offices. The military kitchen supplied food to the camp: for breakfast, the detainees received black coffee and a piece of bread, whereas soup was served for either lunch or dinner.[9]

Camp discipline was strict, and the Jews offered no resistance. The HG was responsible for guarding the camp, which was surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence. The camp commandant was Imrich Vašina, who had been in charge of the ware house; he later became the commandant of Sereď in 1942.[10] During his trial at the Slovak National Court, Vašina admitted that he had to fire 12 to 16 members of the HG for their harsh treatment of Jews in Patrónka.[11] In addition, court records indicate that Vašina accepted at least 50,000 Slovak crowns (Ks) in bribes, as well as alcohol, from individuals and the Jewish Organization (*Ústredňa Židov*, ÚŽ), by which they hoped to avoid deportation.[12]

Deportations occurred once the quota of one thousand persons was achieved in the camp. The first transport, comprising 1,002 young female prisoners, left Patrónka for Auschwitz on March 27, 1942.[13] Transports totaling approximately 7,500 persons left the

camp under Vašina's command.[14] Some transports that departed from Patrónka went through the Žilina camp, where more prisoners were added to the train to fulfill the quota of 1,000 persons per transport. Other, so-called supplementary transports brought Jews from Patrónka to the Žilina and Sereď camps, where they were later put into the transports departing for German-occupied Poland.[15]

Once selected, the deportees marched 3.3 kilometers (just over 2 miles) through the fields to Lamač where the trains were already waiting. The marches took place at night so the local population would not see the deportees. The trains left Lamač at 6:55 P.M., arriving in Čadca for the transfer of the guards at 4:28 A.M.[16]

When the Patrónka camp closed in late August 1942, Vašina was transferred to command the Sereď labor camp. The Slovak National Court sentenced him to thirty years of imprisonment on March 27, 1947.[17] He died in 1954.

SOURCES Patrónka is briefly mentioned in numerous secondary sources, including Eduard Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 6: Deportácie v roku 1942* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2005); Ladislav Lipscher, *Židia v Slovenskom štáte 1939–1945* (Bratislava: Printservis, 1992); and Ivan Kamenec, *Po stopách tragédie* (Bratislava: Archa, 1991).

Primary sources that document the camp at Patrónka can be found in SNA; they are copied in microfilm to USHMMA as RG-57.001M (Slovak Documents Related to the Holocaust) and are in digital form as RG-57.004M (selected records of trials of the National Court of Slovakia, including the Jozef Tiso trial). In RG-57.001M, Patrónka files include reel 17, box 226, file 17; and reel 28, box 215, file 969. Additional documents can be found throughout the collection. RG-57.004M includes the Vašina trial. VHA has 31 testimonies from Patrónka survivors.

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NOTES

1. Martina Fiamová, "Koncentračné stredisko Bratislava–

Patrónka," in Matej Medvecký, ed., *Fenomén Bratislava* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2011), p. 234.

2. VHA #27295, Blanka Broch testimony, February 2, 1997; VHA #1079, Jeannette Nagel testimony, February 20, 1995.

3. Fiamová, "Koncentračné stredisko Bratislava–Patrónka," p. 237.

4. USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 7, box 205, file 612 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/7/205/612).

5. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/17/226/17.

6. USHMMA, RG-57.004M, SNA, folder 10, file 1, pp. 9–10 (USHMMA, RG-57.004M//10/1, with pages).

7. "Hlásenie č. 1," March 7, 1942, SNA, fond MV, kartón 205, 609/1942, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 121–122 (Doc. 22).

8. Ibid., 6: 121 (Doc. 22).

9. "Ministerstvo vnútra," March 12, 1942, SNA, fond MV, kartón 206, 638/42; and fond MV, kartón 287, 406-560-13, reprinted in ibid., 6: 142 (Doc. 37).

10. USHMMA, RG-57.004M/10/1, pp. 9–10.

11. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/28/215/969; VHA #29893, Verona Javorová interview, May 29, 1997.

12. USHMMA, RG-57.004M/10/1, pp. 9–10.

13. "Eskorty pre trasnporty Židov," March 12, 1942, SNA, fond MV, kartón 207/14, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 136 (Doc. 35).

14. USHMMA, RG-57.004M/10/1, pp. 9–10.

15. Fiamová, "Koncentračné stredisko Bratislava–Patrónka," p. 248.

16. "Preprava zaradencov Židov," March 11, 1942, SNA, fond NS, Dr. A. Vašek, Tnlud, 17/46–65, kartón 110, reprinted in

Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 128 (Doc. 29).

17. Ibid., 6: 9–10.

BYSTRÉ

Bystré is located 341 kilometers (212 miles) east-northeast of Bratislava. The Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) created the camp there on July 1, 1942.[1] It was a subcamp of the Hanušovce nad Topľou camp, and it consisted of nine wooden barracks that could accommodate 900 forced laborers. Barracks were built in Hlibovec, Habeš, and Čierne. In addition, a barrack located near the quarry in Hermanovce belonged to the camp. One barrack was set aside to house the camp commander and the gendarmes who were guarding the camp. Approximately two-thirds of the forced laborers were Roma (also referred to as Gypsies, *Cigáni*), and the remaining third consisted of persons labeled "Aryan asocials." The number of inmates fluctuated between 300 and 900.

The Ing. Lozovský and Štefanec construction firm was responsible for building a railway from Vyšný Žipov to Rybníky as a part of the strategic railway line between Prešov and Strážske. The work unit (*pracovný útvar*, PÚ) used mostly unemployed Roma men between the ages of 18 and 50. The barracks were located only about 100 meters (328 feet) from a forest, which led to a high number of desertions. Of the initial 640 workers in Bystré, approximately 200 escaped, mostly to escape the poor housing conditions. Local police arrested some of the deserters and brought them back to the main camp.

The forced laborers were subdivided into two groups, according to their ability to work. Those who could not keep up with the pace either had to stay on the job longer or received deductions from their pay. Some laborers in the camp barely made enough money to pay for their own food. On September 26, 1942, the firm turned away 50 people because they were too weak to work. In addition to decreases in pay for working at a slow rate, deductions were also made for food, social insurance, housing, and the rental of equipment. For example, a worker could make between 93 Slovak crowns (Ks) and 300 Ks every two weeks without deductions; with

deductions that amount could be as low as 75 Ks per pay period.

According to the contract with the MV, the contracting firm was responsible for providing adequate housing. However, the housing in Bystré was substandard and a source of frequent complaints among the forced laborers. Lice, insects, and rodents were found throughout the barracks; even the representatives from MV Department 16, the department responsible for the "asocials," deemed the barracks unsuitable during inspections. At the end of July 1942, two-thirds of the 860 forced laborers did not have blankets or sufficient clothing and slept on insect-and flea-infested wooden boards. One-third of the workers did not have shoes.

The camp commander, Engleman, maintained strict discipline. At first, 14 gendarmes guarded the camp; however, that number increased to 20 on March 15, 1943.[2] The camp commander complained on several occasions that monthly payments were not made to the gendarmes: the MV did not pay the gendarmes' salaries for the months of March, April, and May 1943. On April 15, 1943, 509 laborers (168 asocials and 341 Roma) worked in the camp, and the camp commander complained to the MV that the reeducation lectures could not occur due to a lack of space. He requested that the firm provide larger barracks or rooms for these presentations and for church masses in case of inclement weather. He argued that the laborers could not attend religious worship services in the town because they did not have sufficient clothing. He contended that the high desertion rates were directly correlated with the lack of reeducation presentations. The laborers did not work on Saturday afternoons and used that time to clean their barracks, shower, and wash clothes. They attended church functions on Sunday mornings, but according to Engleman that did not provide sufficient time for training and reeducation. In fact, he requested that the laborers stay in their barracks two Saturdays a month to continue with these vital cultural and reeducation campaigns, an idea that the MV quickly dismissed.

The worst food conditions and frequent complaints came from the camps in Bystré and Hanušovce nad Topľou, over a kilometer away. The camp commander mentioned the insufficient rations in his reports; however, the contracting firm refused to increase food portions. The workers were charged 10 Ks per day for food, even though the rations were very meager. Those who worked in the

kitchen often stole food. For example, when the camp's command inventoried the food supply on January 17, 1943, they found that 12 kilograms (26.7 pounds) of 73 kilograms (160 pounds) of food was missing. When the food arrived in the camp, a gendarme signed for it, and the camp commander locked the food away to prevent theft and other questionable dealings. In addition, Engleman fired Jan Sabol, the camp's cook, who stole food and made soap at night that he later sold. Engleman even started criminal proceedings against him in the district court in Giraltovce. He also fired Vojtech Krupa for failing to prove himself to be an adequate cook.

The camp commander frequently communicated to the MV about the camp's conditions; he was particularly concerned about the lack of gloves and appropriate winter shoes during the cold months; however, nothing came of his complaints.

At first, the laborers traveled to Hanušovce nad Topľou to see a doctor; however, eventually a medic treated the laborers on site so they did not lose a whole day of work in transit. A high percentage of laborers did not work in November and December, mostly because of the severe weather and illness. Among those who did not work, doctors reported 411 injuries and 1,209 cases of illness, particularly ear, eye, respiratory tract and lungs, gastrointestinal, and cardiac conditions. Work was also suspended around Christmas; instead, the workers attended training and reeducation lessons given by the local priest or the camp command.

A typhus outbreak occurred in February and March 1943, and a strict quarantine was enforced for 14 subsequent days. Dr. Róbert Pollák, the camp doctor for the Bystré and Hanušovce camps, concluded that there was a serious shortage of soap and documented the unsanitary conditions. An inspection by state health officials found 12 sick patients. The barracks were in horrible condition, and the officials proposed their disinfection.[3] Because 200 additional laborers were scheduled to arrive on March 14, solving the hygiene situation was particularly important.[4] Pollák and his colleagues recommended that these new workers be barred from the camp until the disinfection of the barracks was concluded.

The Ing. Lozovský and Štefanec company was accused of not

cleaning and properly disinfecting the barracks, an accusation that the firm promptly denied; instead it blamed the camp leadership for the unhygienic conditions. After 6 people became ill with typhus, 50 gendarmes, health personnel, site supervisors, and others were vaccinated first, at 100 Ks per vaccination. Although some workers were deloused, the barracks were not properly dealt with, so the problem persisted despite the camp commander's continuing documentation and reporting.[5]

Unusually favorable weather conditions in March and April allowed the workers to finish most of the road construction. The firm requested the camp be closed between June 1 and 15, 1943,[6] although it was not liquidated until July 22, 1943. One hundred and eighty forced laborers from the Bratislava and Trenčín regions were then moved to the Dubnica nad Váhom camp, 160 workers from the Nitra and Tatra regions were moved to the Ilava camp, and 57 workers from Šariš and Zemplín were moved to the Revúca camp. In addition, the Lanna firm, a firm responsible for another phase of the road construction, transported 44 workers to Lipníky to continue working on its project.[7]

SOURCES Additional information about Bystré can be found in Ctibor Nečas, *Československí Romové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně,1994); Ivan Kamenec, "Vznik a vývoj židovských pracovných táborov a stredísk na Slovensku v rokoch 1942–1944," in *Nové obzory č. 8: Spoločenskovedný sborník východného Slovenska* (Košice: Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1966), pp. 15–38; Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčin: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); Július Táncoš and René Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002); and Marek Danko, "Internačné zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary" (Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, Košice), available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813/.

Primary sources documenting the Bystré camp can be found in USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA collection), reels 185–191; and in SNA, boxes 549–551. Published documents on the MV can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds.,

Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944 (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Simečku, 2004).

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1. "Pracovný útvar–Bystré," March 15, 1943, SNA, fond MV, box 549, file 1087/43 (SNA, fond MV, 549/1087/43).
2. "Veliteľstvo pracovného útvaru Bystré," March 15, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 549/D-1128/43.
3. "Pracovný útvar–Bystré," March 3, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 549/1087/43.
4. "Bystré," n.d., SNA, fond MV, 549/D-1109/43.
5. "Škvrnitý týfus medzi zaradencami tunajšieho útvaru," February 25, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 549/D-1109/43.
6. "Zrušenie pracovného táboru v Bystrom," May 17, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 550/D-1153/43.
7. Ibid.

DEGEŠ

Degeš (today: Rastislavice) is located 72 kilometers (45 miles) east of Bratislava. A forced labor camp for Jews was opened in Degeš in July 1942, when the construction firm, Centrolomy, petitioned the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) for the allocation of additional forced labor. The Nitra regional roads authority called on Government Commissar of Labor Camps, Július Pečúch, who was in charge of the MV's forced labor camps for Jews, to establish the Degeš labor camp for 80 workers to meet the project's goals—building roads between Ivánka, Urmín, Degeš, and Branč, totaling 28.2 kilometers (17.5 miles), and between Taraň and Urmín, amounting to 8.2 kilometers (5.1 miles).[1]

On July 24, 1942, 30 Jewish forced laborers were deployed on the Ivánka-Urmín-Degeš road construction site. The Jews deployed at the camp in 1942 proved reliable and henceforth partially replaced non-Jewish, blue-collar workers on the site.[2]

On February 2, 1943, Pečúch granted the request of the Nitra regional roads authority, thus formally establishing the Degeš Jewish work center (*Pracovné stredisko Židov*). Effective March 3, 1943, the camp was assigned to construction work in the Nitra regional district, and 80 Jewish construction workers were assigned to Degeš.[3] On March 1, 1943, 41 Jewish forced laborers were assigned to work on the 12-kilometer (7.5-mile) Branč-Taraň-Poľný Kešov road segment, and construction began the following day. On temporary assignment, the remaining 39 Jews worked on the Ružový Dvor farm until March 25, 1943.

The Jews were housed in a separate building in Degeš. Altogether there were 75 Jewish laborers and their 133 family members. The laborers were not allowed to leave their labor assignment and accommodations. Wearing the yellow star at work was obligatory. Their earnings not only had to cover their personal living expenses but also support family members. They worked 10

hours a day in summer, 9 hours a day in October, and 8 hours a day in November and December. Jewish workers were paid 3.75 Slovak crowns (Ks) per hour. MV reported that 98,325 hours of forced labor were performed at the camp in 1943, or 1,229 hours per person.[4]

Overseeing the forced labor were foremen Ján Klesken, Štefan Hadzo, and František Hrivniak, as well as labor supervisor Štefan Obranec. Alexander Freund, a Jewish doctor, was in charge of the mandatory weekly medical check-ups.[5]

The Degeš work center ceased to function on September 7, 1944, during the initial and very tumultuous period of the Slovak National Uprising (*Slovenské národné povstanie*, SNP). By means of violence and threats, three gendarmes and five to six members of the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) removed the Jews from the camp. It is not clear where the Jews were taken after the camp was dissolved.[6]

SOURCES Information about the ŽPT at Degeš pri Nitre can be found in Marek Danko, "Internačné zariadenia v Slovenskej Republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary," available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813; Ivan Kamenec, *Po stopách tragédie* (Bratislava: Archa, 1991); and Gila Fatranová, *Boj o prežitie* (Bratislava: Múzeum Židovskej Kultúry, 2007).

Unpublished primary sources on the Degeš pri Nitre forced labor camp for Jews can be found in ŠAN and AMNSP. Published primary documents can be found in Eduard Nižňanský and Lucia Könözsyová, eds., "Židovské pracovné stredisko v Degeši," *SHN* 10 (2002): 219–236; and Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Simečku, 2004).

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NOTES

1. ŠAN, fond Župa nitrianska III, box 568, 1945/I-a/516.
2. ŠAN, fond Župa nitrianska III, box 24, 1132/1942 prez.
3. Ibid.
4. AMNSP, fond IX, S. 152/81.
5. "Pracovné stredisko Židov pri stavbe cesty v Degeši," February 3, 1943, ŠAN Nitra, fond Župa Nitrianska III, box 568, 1945/Ia/516, reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 195–198 (Doc. 97).
6. ŠAN, fond Župa nitrianska III, box 568, 516/1945.

DEVÍNSKA NOVÁ VES

Devínska Nová Ves is located approximately 13 kilometers (8 miles) northwest of Bratislava. Today, it is one of the capital city's suburbs. The Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra,* MV) signed an agreement with the Účastinárske Brickworks and Chemical Companies (*Účastinárske teheľne a chemické podniky*) in Hodonín, which had its offices in Devínska Nová Ves, on June 25, 1943, to establish a forced labor camp, called a work center for Jews (*pracovné stredisko Židov*) in that town. The camp opened on July 5, 1943.

The creation of the camp addressed a shortage of unskilled labor. The laborers not only worked in the brickyard but were also responsible for the construction of materials for state venues, including the Slovak National Bank (*Slovenská národná banka)*.[1] Earlier, on May 31, 1943, the National Defense Ministry (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO) had released 840 people from the Sixth Battalion—a battalion composed of Jewish, Roma and so called "asocial" forced laborers. Of these, 490 were moved to various forced labor camps for Jews, including 68 to Devínska Nová Ves.

The number of laborers fluctuated between 60 and 75. All of the workers were males born between 1917 and 1920. Sixty-seven of the forced laborers were labeled as "Israelites," and four workers had been baptized.[2]

Very little is known about the living conditions in the camp. Although the MV handled the central management and supervision of all forced labor camps for Jews, the camp commander was responsible for daily maintenance and functioning. The forced laborers were subject to the organizational and behavioral rules governing the forced labor camps for Jews.[3] The Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) provided the security in the camp, which was very strict. The MV enlisted the local gendarmes to assist the camp's security forces, in particular with keeping peace at the

camp and preventing desertions.

In addition, the camp commanders ensured that all laborers wore a yellow star in accordance with the Kódex (*Židovský Kódex*, ŽK). The MV also attempted to address the high desertion rates in the camp by no longer allowing the camp commanders to grant leaves of absence or vacations. Previously, such permits could be secured locally, but the new policy stipulated that only the MV could issue the required documentation.[4]

On July 15, 1943, the Slovak MV created the Jewish Council (*Židovská rada*, ŽR) to assist the commander and the Central Office for Jewish Labor Camps (*Ústredná kancelária pre pracovné tábory Židov*) in Bratislava with daily administration of the camp. Karol Zinsenheim, as head of the Jewish Council, was responsible for administrative and labor-related matters. Jozef Koth II addressed matters of materials and food rations. Ladislav Feldmann responded to health and social issues in the camp. The three-member ŽR conducted its work in accordance with and under the direction of the camp's commander.[5]

On August 25, 1943, Karol Volár, the camp's commander, wrote to the MV about the insufficient resources available for his workers and requested 33 pairs of shoes. He noted that the manual labor performed by the laborers in the brickyard was impossible without proper shoeware and urged the MV to remedy the situation quickly.[6]

On September 4, 1944, the camp's commander informed the Central Office for Jewish Labor Camps that 35 men had fled from the forced labor camp in Devínska Nová Ves and 21 remained on site.[7] On December 15, 1943, the Transportation and Public Works Ministry (*Ministerstvo dopravy a verejných prác*, MDVP) and *Účastinárske tehelňe a chemické podniky* firm in Devínska Nová Ves agreed to release 20 to 30 forced laborers to construct Slovak railways. It is unclear when the camp was closed.

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the Devínska Nová Ves camp are Marek Danko, "Internačné Zariadenia v Slovenskej Republike (1939–1945) so Zreteľom na pracovné út-vary," available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813;

Ivan Kamenec, *Po stopách tragédie* (Bratislava: Archa, 1991); and Gila Fatranová, *Boj o prežitie* (Bratislava: Múzeum Židovskej Kultúry, 2007).

Primary sources about Devínska Nová Ves can be accessed in the SNA, MV collection, boxes 1152, 581, and 393; and USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA collection), in reels 178–181. Published primary sources can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Simečku, 2004).

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1. "Správa o židovských pracovných táboroch a strediskách," October 5, 1943, SNA, fond MV, box 581, file 1818-7/43.
2. "Výročná správa Ministerstva vnútra o židovských pracovných táboroch za rok 1943," n.d., AMSNP, fond IX, S 152/81, published in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku,* 5: 254–272 (Doc.117).
3. "Správa o židovských pracovných táboroch a strediskách," October 5, 1943, SNA, fond MV, box 581, 1818-7/43.
4. "Pracovné tábory a strediská židov—zákaz cestovania a udeľovania dovoleniek pre príslušníkov táborov a stredísk," July 29, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 393 D-1041/43.
5. "Pracovné stredisko Židov v Dev. Novej Vsi-židovská rada—zriadenie," June 15, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 581/1475.
6. "Vrátanie topánok," August 25, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 393, D1041/43.
7. "Zbehnutie zaradencov, hlásenie," September 6, 1944, SNA, fond MV, box 581, 1478/44.

DUBNICA NAD VÁHOM/ CONCENTRATION CAMP FOR ROMA

Dubnica nad Váhom (Dubnica), located 120 kilometers (74.5 miles) northeast of Bratislava, was the largest concentration camp for Roma (also referred to as Gypsies, *Cigáni*) in Slovakia during World War II. It played a key role in the persecution of the Roma in 1944. It was originally a labor camp with five wooden barracks, but when it became a concentration camp, the jurisdiction changed from the Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) to the National Defense Ministry (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO). The concentration camp for Roma officially opened on November 2, 1944, and the labor camp closed soon thereafter, on November 15.[1]

The concentration camp was supposed to begin operation immediately after the work unit (*pracovný útvar*, PÚ) was liquidated, but the labor camp's closure proved to be difficult. The MNO ordered workers from the "white race," even those interned for their criminal past, to be released immediately and without further questions. The Roma workers were ordered to stay in the camp because detention was no longer based on putative asocial characteristics but on ethnicity. According to the memorandum, "in this camp, Gypsies will be concentrated here without consideration to age."[2] The labor camp gendarmes staffed the camp until MNO created its own units; part of the gendarmes' responsibility was to create a list of detainees and gather information about them. The detainees were divided by gender and age.[3]

Conditions for the Roma deteriorated once authority for the camp changed from the MV to the MNO, which was responsible for the provision of food. The barracks from the previous labor camp continued to be used. Some Roma were deployed to build fortifications and bomb shelters in the Piešťany region, whereas others continued working in the hydroelectric plants in Ilava and

Dubnica. The number of detainees nearly doubled after the MNO took over: although its capacity was 300, the camp housed 729 Roma in December 1944. Each barrack had 16 rooms that were 5 × 8 meters (16.4 feet × 26 feet) and designed to hold 10 people. However, in December 1944, between 60 and 80 Roma occupied each room. Most slept on the ground on rags because of the shortage of beds and space. They did not have adequate food rations or clothing, and there was a shortage of drinking water. The camp also lacked showers and washrooms.

The extreme overcrowding created catastrophic hygienic and health conditions for the Roma. Within a few weeks, lice and scabies were prevalent. In response, the Roma were shaved and painted with a disinfectant solution. In addition to disease, a difficult winter also adversely affected the prisoners, particularly the children and the elderly. Given that the entire country suffered from a shortage of medical supplies, Wehl-hart, the camp physician, had a particularly difficult task in the camp, lacking supplies to cure even the most basic diseases. Many children died of pneumonia, whereas the elderly died from heart attacks and typhus.[4]

A typhus outbreak occurred on December 14, 1944.[5] The camp was quarantined almost immediately, and Roma deportations to the camp ceased. The typhus outbreak worried many in the surrounding area, Germans and Slovaks alike. The German authorities, fearing an outbreak among the workforce of their vital Škoda ammunition factory in Dubnica, sent a doctor into the camp, who confirmed the unhygienic conditions.[6] The Germans agreed with Dubnica's mayor, Paskai, who demanded that the MV liquidate the camp or at least move it to a new location. However, the MV refused to finance the quarantine, arguing that because jurisdiction rested with the MNO, it was not in the MV's purview to deal with the situation. Because the measures against the typhus outbreak were insufficient, the disease still raged in the camp a month later, on January 17, 1945.[7] At least 43 Roma had died of typhus by the middle of February.[8]

Tensions grew within the camp. The prolonged typhus outbreak caused unrest among the Roma. When one of the guards got sick with the disease, other soldiers refused to guard the camp. A few of the Roma took advantage of the situation and fled, which caused

panic in Dubnica and its surroundings. The retreating German Army was already in the area, and given their concerns about the fate of the ammunition factory, as well as the weaponry in the area, they temporarily took charge of the camp, deploying troops to quash the unrest.[9]

When the Germans took over the camp from the Slovak military, they murdered all those infected as well as those suspected of being sick. On February 23, 1945, the director of the Dubnica arms factory, Sonnewend, allowed a mass grave to be built in the "Valley" (*Údolie*) near Dubnica. Despite the German claim that the sick were going to the Trenčín hospital, in reality, the German soldiers drove the trucks with 26 people to Údolie, murdered the prisoners, and dumped the bodies in the mass grave.[10]

The quarantine ended on February 24, 1945, and control reverted to the Slovak Army under Stotník Mikuláš Mickovic.[11] Although the command changed, the Slovaks were not able to improve camp conditions. The lack of food remained a problem; even though food was available in Ilava, there were no carts to bring the bread to the camp, so hunger prevailed.[12]

When the Germans returned to the camp, Mickovic relinquished command and left with most of the Slovak troops. The Germans wanted to liquidate the camp by shooting the Roma and pressed Poručík Jozef Krkoška for permission to do so on April 6, 1945.[13] When he refused, they decided to move the camp to Moravia. Suspicious of the Germans' intentions, Krkoška tried to get permission from the civil authorities to liquidate the camp, a request that was quickly denied. He then went directly to the Roma and told them when the Slovak Army was leaving. Many did not even wait for the evacuation and fled immediately, after which the locals came to the camp and looted what they could.[14]

Because of the typhus outbreak, Slovak officials wanted to burn the buildings. The retreating German Army solved the problem when soldiers set most of the camp on fire. The construction firms Ing. Lozovský and Štefanec and Ing. Petri, which had originally used inmates of the labor camp, retrieved the remaining materials. The camp was then liquidated.

SOURCES Secondary sources on Dubnica include Ctibor Nečas, *Československí Romové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova Univerzita, 1994); Július Táncoš and René Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002); Karol Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2010); Karola Fings, Herbert Heuss, and Frank Sparing, eds., *In the Shadow of the Swastika: The Gypsies during the Second World War*, 3 vols., trans. Donald Kenrick (Hatfield, England: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999–2006); and Alexander von Plato, Almut Leh, and Christoph Thonfeld, eds., *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010). An estimate on the number of prisoners in Dubnica can be found at www.dubnica.sk/historia/obdobie-ii-svetovej-vojny.

Primary sources include the SNA collection at USHMMA under RG-57.001M, in reels 187, 178, 290–300, 304, 310, and 502. There is also very limited and scattered information in the court records, Ľudový Súd, available digitally in USHMMA, collection RG-57.004M. VHA holds one testimony on Dubnica by Petr Weber.

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, MH, reel 304, box 43, file 1; USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 310/7/5; SNA, MH, box 69, 10349/1944.
2. ŠABY, f. Trenčianska župa, box 65/17311945, reprinted in Nečas, *Československí Romové v letech 1938–1945,* p. 135.
3. AM V SR Levoča, f. E 5, sign 6, reprinted in Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej Republike,* pp. 89–90.
4. ŠAPB, f. ONU Dubnica, box 23/591/1945, reprinted in Nečas, *Československí Romové v letech 1938–1945,* p. 135.

5. ŠABY, f. Trenčianska župa, box 65/37/1943 prez., reprinted in Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej Republike,* pp. 89–90.

6. ŠAPB, f. ONU Dubnica, box 22/7853/1944, reprinted in Nečas, *Československí Romové v letech 1938–1945*, p. 137.

7. "Škvrný týf v cigánskom tábore v Dubnici nad Váhom," January 17, 1945, ŠABY, f. Trenčianska župa, box 65/1731/1945 prez., reprinted in Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej Repub-like,* p. 90.

8. AMV SR Levoča, f. E 5, sign 6, reprinted in ibid., p. 91.

9. ŠABY, f. VD Dubnica, box 15, 4/51-336-1945, reprinted in Nečas, *Československí Romové v letech 1938–1945*, p. 138.

10. ŠAPB, f. ONU Dubnica, box 24, 2194/1945, reprinted in ibid., p. 138.

11. VHAT, f. PSS III, box 3, 489/Dov1945, reprinted in Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej Republike,* p. 92.

12. Ibid.

13. AMV SR Levoča, f E 5, sign 6, reprinted in ibid., p. 92.

14. Ibid.

DUBNICA NAD VÁHOM/WORK UNIT

Dubnica nad Váhom (Dubnica), located 120 kilometers (74.5 miles) northeast of Bratislava, was one of the most important work units (*pracovný útvar*, PÚ) for non-Jews deemed "asocials" (*asociáli*) in Slovakia during World War II. This category included Roma (referred to as Gypsies, *Cigáni*) as well as people accused of "avoiding work."

The Dubnica nad Váhom labor camp was opened by the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) in September 1942, despite the opposition of the municipality as well as of officials of the local Škoda ammunition factory. The decision came about as a result of negotiations between MV and the building company Ing. Lozovský and Štefanec, which was constructing a hydroelectric plant in Dubnica nad Váhom. The PÚ was located at the outskirts of the town, between the railroad and the building site for the plant.

Between September 7 and September 14, 1942, the first 76 workers (*zaradenci*) were brought to the camp; from there, the number grew quickly. By the end of November 1942, there were already 342 workers in the camp.[1] The highest number was reached in the summer of 1943, when the camp housed 423 inmates (of whom 203 were Roma), but the number declined later and ranged between 203 and 286 in 1944.[2] According to Slovak historian Karol Janas, about 2,000 people went through the camp during the period of its existence.[3]

Similarly to other work units for so-called asocials, the work unit in Dubnica nad Váhom was guarded and commanded by gendarmes. While in February 1943 there were 8 gendarmes in the camp, at the turn of June and July 1944 there were 14.[4] The gendarmerie unit responsible for guarding the camp was armed with rifles and a heavy machine gun.[5]

The living conditions in the camp were poor. The camp's original capacity of 300 people was exceeded soon after the camp

opened. The rooms of the five barracks were not heated and were full of bed bugs and lice. Hard manual work and poor-quality food made imprisonment in the unit very difficult. Inmates (workers) were often beaten by gendarmes, and according to preserved documents, even the official investigation of such incidents was conducted by the MV and military prosecutor in 1943.[6] Despite various measures taken by the gendarmes as well as the staff of the building company, there were numerous attempts to escape from the camp, and the number of successful escapes was quite significant. According to the report of the District Gendarmerie Commander in Ilava (who was responsible for monitoring the security situation in the camp), in October 14, 1943, the total number of workers registered in the camp was 327, with as many as 50 workers registered as fugitives.[7]

To provide the inmates of the camp with basic medical treatment MV sent the Jewish doctor, Dr. Martoň, to the camp. Dr. Martoň was later relieved of his camp duties, and the regional state doctor from Ilava, Dr. Habaň, began visiting the camp regularly. This was just temporary, because Dr. Habaň was soon drafted into the army and the camp was left without any medical services in December 1943.[8]

In the summer of 1944, there were 260 workers at the unit, working in three shifts. Due to the terrible hygienic conditions, a typhoid epidemic broke out in the camp on June 20, 1944. As a result, one worker died, and several others were sent to the state hospital.[9]

After the beginning of the Slovak National Uprising (*Slovenské národné povstanie*, SNP) in August 1944 and the occupation of Slovakia, the camp became a concentration camp for Roma. All non-Roma workers were released. In November 1944, jurisdiction changed from the MV to the Ministry of National Defense (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO) but the camp continued to operate as a concentration camp for Roma, including women and children.[10]

SOURCES Primary sources about this camp are scarce; what there is can be found in SNA, fond MV. Secondary sources about this camp can be found in Ctibor Nečas, *Československí Romové*

v letech 1938–1945 (Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně, 1994); Ivan Kamenec, "Vznik a vývoj židovských pracovných táborov a stredísk na Slovensku v rokoch 1942–1944," in *Nové obzory č. 8: Spoločenskovedný sborník východného Slovenska* (Košice: Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1966), pp. 15–38; Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčin: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); Karol Janas, *Perzekú-cie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2010); Július Táncoš and René Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002); and Marek Danko, "Internačné zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary" (Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, Košice), available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813/.

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1. Karol Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2010), p. 41.

2. Július Táncoš and René Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002), p. 78.

3. Soznam príslušníkov žandárstva zaradených u veliteľstva pracovného útvaru v Dubnici n/V., okres Ilava. SNA, fond MV, box 550, D-119/44.

4. Zápisnica o prehliadke Pracovného útvaru v Dubnici nad Váhom, vykonanej v čase od 30. júna 1944 do 6. júla 1944. SNA, fond MV, box 550, D-1128/1.

5. Pracovné útvary—vyzbrojenie guľometami. SNA, fond MV, box 551, D-1185/1.

6. Vyšetrovanie žandárov v pracovných útvaroch. SNA, fond MV, box 551, D-1214/43.

7. Pracovné útvary v okrese Ilava, zpráva o prehliadkach. SNA, fond MV, box 550, 677/1943.

8. SNA, fond MV, box 550, D-1141/3.

9. Zápisnica o prehliadke pracovného útvaru v Dubnici nad Váhom. SNA, fond MV, box 551, 2075/44.

10. Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)*, p. 44.

HANUŠOVCE NAD TOPĽOU

Hanušovce nad Topľou is located 338 kilometers (210 miles) east-northeast of Bratislava. Department 16 of the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV), the office that dealt with the "asocial" question, first proposed the location of the camp on May 26, 1942. Most of the workers in Hanušovce nad Topľou were Roma men between 18 and 50 years old and were assigned to construct a part of the railway between Prešov and Strážske as part of a strategically important project of the Slovak state. The entire railway was more than 61 kilometers (38 miles) long; additional work sites (subcamps) existed in Petič, Bystré, and Nižný Hrabovec. The camp functioned from July 1, 1942, until November 8, 1943.

Some workers were housed in a small castle in Hanušovce; the castle's capacity was 500 people. In addition, the castle also had rooms for the commander, management staff, a kitchen, and some storage space. Additional housing, consisting of eight wooden barracks, was built 500–2,500 meters (0.3–1.6 miles) from the castle. The barracks soon became infested with rodents and other vermin. The Ing. Lozovský and Štefanec firm was responsible for the provision of all equipment, beds, hay, housing, and food. Every forced laborer was supposed to arrive with a blanket and a food bowl, but that was not always the case. The workers slept either on bare wooden boards, or three people slept together on a straw bed.

The laborers awoke at 6 A.M. and, for the next hour showered, exercised, listened to daily orders and presentations, and ate breakfast. They worked from 7 A.M. until noon, ate lunch, and then worked from 1:30 P.M. until 5 P.M. The workers were subdivided into nine-member groups. The labor unit consisted of three to five of these groups, each of which had its own commander.

The MV determined the number of officers needed at each venue. The camp commander was also the head of the security force of seven gendarmes. This number of security personnel was

insufficient for a project stretching 61 kilometers (38 miles), and therefore, the guards could not prevent laborers from escaping. Although physical punishment was officially forbidden, it was an everyday occurrence. Discipline in the camp was strict; infractions could earn laborers up to two weeks in solitary confinement. Given the nature of the work performed, a doctor was supposed to be on site to address medical issues. The hard labor, poor food, and unsatisfactory hygienic environment all contributed to poor health conditions and a very high rate of illness.[1]

The forced workers earned very low wages for their labor and had to pay for food, housing, washing of their clothes, equipment rentals, and upkeep of the camp. The overwhelming majority of the workers were underdressed and lacked shoes, so they had to work almost half-naked and shoeless. Food consisted of a little black coffee and a part of a potato for breakfast, potato or beans for lunch, and, for dinner, potatoes and coffee. The rations were insufficient for the physically difficult labor and so greatly limited the workers' productivity. Of all the labor camps in Slovakia, Hanušovce nad Topľou was reported to have the worst quality food. Conditions did not improve even after the Slovak president Jozef Tiso and Interior Minister Alexander Mach visited the site.

Seven hundred and fifty laborers worked in Hanušovce nad Topľou, of whom 95 percent were Roma. Of the 750 laborers, 90 percent were without underwear, 70 percent lacked shoes, and 50 percent were only partially clothed.[2] Despite these conditions, the workers met their quotas and completed the road-building project. The camp was closed on November 8, 1943.

SOURCES More information about the Hanušovce nad Topľou camp can be found in Ctibor Nečas, *Českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně, 1994); Ivan Kamenec, "Vznik a vývoj židovských pracovných táborov a stredísk na Slovensku v rokoch 1942–1944," in *Nové obzory č. 8: Spoločenskovedný sborník východného Slovenska* (Košice: Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1966), pp. 15–38; Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčin: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); and Július Táncoš, and René Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002).

Primary sources about Hanušovce nad Topľou can be found in SNA, folders 549–551, at USHMMA in RG-57.001M (SNA), reels 185–191. Published documents on MV can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Simečku, 2004).

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1. SNA, fond MV, odd 16, 1942, D-1102/42.
2. SNA, fond MV, odd 16, 1942, D-7369/42.

HIADEL'

The village of Hiadel' is located in the Banská Bystrica region of Slovakia, approximately 179 kilometers (111 miles) northeast of Bratislava. This area, which had belonged to Austria-Hungary, was formally ceded to Czechoslovakia with the 1920 Treaty of Trianon. Scarce evidence suggests that in 1941, Department 14 of the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra,* MV), which dealt with the "Jewish Question," created a work camp for Jews in Hiadel'. The Work Center in Hiadeľ (*Pracovné stredisko*) was one of the first labor camps for Jews created by the Slovak Interior Ministry for a specific construction project and company. This labor camp was established based on the agreement between the MV and the Directorate of State Forests and Properties in Banská Bystrica (*Riaditeľstvo štátnych lesov a majetkov v Banskej Bystrici*). The task of Jewish workers detained in Hiadeľ was to build the road from Hiadeľ to Prašivá peak in the Low Tatras mountain range. All costs related to the opening and upkeep of the camp were covered by the MV.[1] Survivor testimony and other documentation suggest that Jewish forced laborers were registered at Hiadel' as early as July 1941.[2]

Survivor Alex Hochhäuser, who was born in 1912 to a Jewish family in Breslau, completed a brief period of forced labor in Hiadel' after his transfer from a forced labor camp in Žilina. At Hiadeľ, Hochhäuser and approximately 500 young Jewish men initially lived in tents while they built the barracks. The men completed various heavy labor projects, including forest clearing, road construction, and excavation. Hochhäuser, who was a physical education teacher by training, organized regular group exercises for the inmates to help them build their stamina and strength. He remembered that conditions in the camp were difficult. However, the guards became friendlier and more permissive as time wore on. According to him, the labor camp at Hiadel' closed after the ground froze in the fall and earthwork had to be suspended. Hochhäuser was then transferred to the Nováky

forced labor camp.[3]

The fate of the other inmates is not clear, but according to the Central Name Index (CNI) of the International Tracing Service (ITS), other Hiadeľ inmates were dispatched to the Slovak-run camps at Sväty Jur and Sered'.[4]

There is a possibility that the Hiadeľ labor camp reopened in 1942.[5]

SOURCES For secondary information on the Hiadel' labor camp, see Ivan Kamenec, *On the Trail of Tragedy: The Holocaust in Slovakia*, trans. Martin Styan (Bratislava: H&H, 2007).

Primary documentation can be found in Slovak National Archives, fond MV, box 411 as well as the following collections of USHMMA: three VHA testimonies are indexed for Hiadel', including the testimony of former forced laborer Alex Hochhäuser, April 19, 1996 (#13716); see also Gertrud Friedman, August 25, 1995 (#4355) and Itzhac Stern-Shavit, February 12, 1997 (#25783). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several, mostly Jewish, camp inmates registered at Hiadel'. These cards suggest that forced laborers were stationed here in 1941 and possibly in 1942. The cards are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. Výkaz hospodárenia "Fondu pre podporu vysťahovania Židov," SNA, fond MV, box 411, 1498/1943, 200/375/19.
2. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Alexander Hochhäuser, Doc. No. 52034702; and Bartholomew Klug, Doc. No. 53204970.
3. VHA #13716, Alex Hochhäuser testimony, April 19, 1996.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Salomon Schmuel Tibor Givoni, Doc. 52857977; and Adolf Allen Elefant, Doc. No. 52670226.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Larry Alter, Doc. No. 52830111.

ILAVA/DETENTION CENTER

The sixteenth-century castle in the town of Ilava, located 126 kilometers (78 miles) northeast of Bratislava, was historically used as a jail and began to be used as a detention facility in October 1938. On March 24, 1939, the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) issued an order "concerning the imprisonment of the enemies of the Slovak State." It authorized the Interior Minister to "arrange for the jailing of persons whose past and present activities give reason to fear that they would continue to obstruct the building of the Slovak State."[1] Ilava prison became the detention site for Slovak democrats—authors, priests, teachers, journalists, and statesmen—as well as simple farmers, workmen, students, and delinquents.

The penal camp in Ilava (*Zaisťovací tábor v Ilave,* ZTI) became a symbol of lawlessness, state control, and the suspension of civil rights. The camp's goal was to reeducate and reform the individual. The state security regime actively persecuted political opponents, followers of democratic ideals, and people who could not prove their "Aryan" descent. Individuals were imprisoned in Ilava for numerous reasons, including participating in banned parties, publicizing or spreading inflammatory news, insulting the head of state, overcharging for goods, poaching, and assisting "non-Aryans."[2]

The camp's first phase, when it was under Slovak control, lasted from April 29, 1939, to September 1, 1944. During the second phase, mobile German security forces controlled Ilava from September 8, 1944, until Ilava's liberation by the Red Army on April 29, 1945. When the camp was under German control, conditions worsened dramatically.[3]

The jail comprised 190 cells, 2 of which were converted to closets (one for bread and one for prisoners' valuables). Each cell was originally designed to hold only one prisoner, but both the Slovak police and German authorities ignored spatial constraints

and often placed two prisoners in each cell. Prisoners slept in the damp and dirty cells on straw mattresses and pillows. Lice, fleas, and other vermin were "part of the punishment."[4]

The prisoners were banned from speaking to each other; harsher punishments, including solitary confinement and a ban on walks, were imposed on those who were caught even whispering. Prisoners were allowed to walk twice a day, eight paces between one another. Walks were supposed to be for one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon, but their duration was at the guards' discretion. The local priest from Ilava or Púchov arrived every Saturday to celebrate Mass, despite the presence of numerous jailed clergymen. Afterward, the prisoners returned to wash the floors and walls in the blocks. Cleaning time occurred when the prisoners were allowed to leave their cells to throw out the dirty water in the washrooms and replace it with clean water.[5]

Breakfast consisted of a half-loaf of black bread split in three. One hour later, the prisoners were given two deciliters (6.75 ounces) of black coffee in unwashed mugs. The prisoners barely drank the coffee before the porter returned to retrieve the mugs for use by prisoners on other floors. The cell doors were opened after breakfast; every prisoner then emptied their waste buckets.

When the camp became overcrowded, only the strongest and healthiest were selected for work; the others remained in their cells. The "privilege" of leaving the cell and permission to send one letter per month were given only after a prisoner had spent a month in jail. Prisoners welcomed the chance to work outside because doing so also meant receiving increased food rations at the city hall or the priest's house.[6]

The detainees were imprisoned without due process. Many communists (and those from other groups) were imprisoned based on denunciations or following arrests by state and local police officers. The State Security Headquarters (*Ústredňa štátnej bezpečnosti*, ÚŠB) imprisoned more than 500 former communists and communist sympathizers when the war against the Soviet Union began in June 1941.[7] After the start of deportations in March 1942 targeting Slovak Jews, "Aryans" were imprisoned if they were deemed guilty of helping Jews cross borders or obtain false documents or if they were caught housing Jews. Many

Catholic as well as Protestant and Orthodox priests were also imprisoned for baptizing Jews, particularly children, and failing to stop doing so after being warned by the police.[8]

Jews were imprisoned separately, and their punishment was more severe than that meted out to the political prisoners. Poručík Kokavec, on his own initiative, beat every Jew during their interrogations; he was later replaced as the commander by Pospišil and the gendarmes Jerge and Faško. In 1941 and 1942, in addition to the sentences given according to prison rules, Jews were also subjected to physical punishment and beatings; dehumanization; bullying and torture during interrogations; bans on walks, correspondence, and food; and solitary confinement in a dark basement. When one person escaped the camp during a local labor assignment, the entire camp was collectively punished by being denied daily walks for between 10 and 14 days. A torture chamber existed in the church, and screams were frequently heard throughout the jail. This harsh treatment of prisoners continued under the tenure of Pospišil and the gendarmes Jerge and Faško, whom the prisoners nicknamed "guardian angels" ("*strážny anjeli*").[9] In late 1943, when it became apparent that Nazi Germany was losing the war, Pospišil allowed prisoners to receive packages from their families. However, when the packages arrived, he looted them first, after which the guards got a turn, and the prisoners received what was left.[10]

Beginning on February 14, 1944, people could be incarcerated only with written documentation from the MV, which was given on the recommendation of a three-member committee. This Bratislava-based commission also recommended whether people should be imprisoned or released in Ilava. The members of the commission were nominated by the ruling party; the only stipulation was that at least two of the members needed to possess law degrees. On May 27, 1944, the Hlinka Slovak People's Party (*Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana*, HSĽS) nominated Dr. Peter Starinský, Dr. Štefan Lucký, and Štefan Král to the commission. The commission served as Prime Minister Alexander Mach's advisory council, and in most cases the Interior Minister followed its recommendations.[11]

Conditions improved as the Red Army advanced. At times, the

guards left cell doors open so prisoners could visit with friends. Some guards even illegally brought in newspapers or allowed prisoners to send correspondence home. Increased possibilities for communication led to the escape of some of the prisoners on September 1, 1944: when the cell doors opened for the morning walk, the prisoners coordinated a mass escape. By the time the German authorities were mobilized, it was too late.[12]

The ZTI's second phase began when mobile German SS units arrived in Ilava on September 8, 1944. Although the Slovaks still retained some authority over the camp, the Germans assumed primary control. The German SS took advantage of the camp's location (outside the partisan-controlled territories and close to the border) to accomplish two primary tasks: the concentration of prisoners and liquidation of the camp.[13] Many escaped prisoners were recaptured and later deported to concentration camps.

Conditions worsened under German control. As indicated in later court testimony, "there are over 700 people in the concentration camp; there are not enough blankets and the reeducation center will not have enough food to feed them. The conditions are completely desolate, which does not even begin to describe it. It is crucial to fix the situation as soon as possible. Also, some of the newly imprisoned have lice."[14] Over-crowding led to a shortage of beds, and many slept on the bare ground without blankets.

Between December 1938 and August 1944, more than 3,000 people went through the camp—some for days, weeks, months, or even years.[15] Among them were the famous humorist Elo Šándor, author Ján Gál Podďumbierský, senators, actresses, and religious leaders. The camp was liberated on April 29, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Ilava prison include Jozef Vicen, "K problematike Zaisťovacieho tábora v Ilave v rokoch 1939–1945," in *Slovenská republika 1939–1945 očami mladých historikov IV. Zborník* (Banská Bystrica: UPN, 2005); Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Simečku, 2004); Jozef Lettrich, *History of Modern Slovakia*

(New York: Praeger, 1955); Ivan Kamenec, *Po stopách tragédie* (Bratislava: Archa, 1991); Wacław Długoborski, *The Tragedy of the Jews of Slovakia: 1938–1945: Slovakia and the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question"* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2002); Anton Spiesz, Dušan Čaplovič, and Ladislaus J. Bolchazy, *Illustrated Slovak History: A Struggle for Sovereignty in Central Europe* (Mundelein: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2004); and Jan Karel Coetzee, Lynda Gilfillan, and Otakar Hulec, *Fallen Walls: Prisoners of Conscience in South Africa and Czechoslovakia* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2004).

Primary sources on the Ilava camp can be found in SNA, with copies on microfilm at USHMMA, RG-57.001M. This collection holds files on individual prisoners as well as MV correspondence about perceived political enemies. Dr. Peter Starinský's trial records are available at USHMMA in the RG-57.004M (Serphos) collection, reels 5–8. VHA includes seven Ilava testimonies. Two published testimonies are Ján Gál Podďumbierský, *Z Kalicha utrpenia: Rozpomienky na zážitky v koncentračnom tábore v Ilave* (Komárno: Pravda, 1947); and Elo Šándor, *Ilava: Zážitky z policajného lapáku a z koncentračného tábora z čias, keď sa rodila naša sloboda* (Prague: Naklatelství, 1947). The Czechoslovak National Council of Amer i ca published several accounts of survivors of Ilava.

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1. SNA, fond PR, box 741, 443/26-2486, 154-13/12-34/43, February 14, 1944; *Slovenský zákonník*, March 24, 1939.

2. "Dodávanie Osôb do Zaisťovacieho Tábora v Ilave," Dr. Peter Starinskỳ trial, USHMMA, RG-57.004 (Serphos collection), reel 6, pp. 80–82 (USHMMA, RG-57.004/6); SNA, fond Národný súd, A-872, TN lud 49/45.

3. AM SNP Banská Bystrica, fond XII, box 15, pri. No. S 38/89.

4. Podďumbiersky, *Z kalicha utrpenia*, p. 111; *Pravda*,

October 5, 1944.

5. Podďumbiersky, *Z kalicha utrpenia*, pp. 111–113.

6. Ibid.

7. Dr. Peter Starinský trial, USHMMA, RG-57.004/7, pp. 121–125; SNA, fond Národný súd, A-872, TN lud 49/45.

8. Zaisťovací Tábor-Ilava, April 21, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 116, box 411, file 2.

9. As quoted in Kamenec, *Organizácia perzekučneho systému fašistickeho Slovenského štátu*, p. 76.

10. Podďumbiersky, *Z kalicha utrpenia*, p. 135.

11. Dr. Peter Starinský trial, USHMMA, RG-57.004/5, pp. 56–58, 64; SNA, fond Národný súd, A-872, TN lud 49/45, Starinský, No. 295-os/44.

12. Podďumbiersky, *Z kalicha utrpenia*, 136.

13. ŠAPB, fond OU Ilava, box 13, oz spisu 2137/45.

14. Dr. Peter Starinský trial, USHMMA, RG-57.004/5, pp. 85–90.

15. Podďumbiersky, *Z kalicha utrpenia*, Appendix A.

ILAVA/WORK CENTER FOR JEWS

This Work Center for Jews (*pracovné stredisko*) was located near the city of Ilava, 126 kilometers (78 miles) northeast of Bratislava, where the Slovak Construction Consortium (*Slovenská Konstruktíva*) built a hydroelectric plant on the Váh River.[1] The consortium consisted of the firms Konštruktíva, Engineer (*Inžinier*, Ing.) Freýer, Ing. Kruliš, and Ing. Dohnányi.

The first small group of Jews was sent to the building site of the Ilava hydroelectric plant on June 18, 1942, and the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) was assigned to guard them.[2] Jews were held in a small, fenced labor camp that consisted of three buildings. The first building was a barrack for Jewish workers, the second building held a kitchen and a canteen, and the third building consisted of a ware house, a wood-shed, one guard room, and two rooms for the accommodation of the HG.[3]

In January 1943, Ľudovít Zurian, originally from Banská Štiavnica, commanded the camp. Four additional HG members served as guards. On January 28, 1943, there were a total of 56 people in the camp, of whom 51 worked at the building site and 5 in the kitchen. The work lasted from seven to nine hours daily, and Jews worked on the same building projects as Roma and other people deemed "asocials" from the labor camp—the so-called work unit—in Ilava.[4]

On January 25, 1943, the building consortium petitioned the MV to declare this camp an official labor camp for Jews. The MV officially created the Work Center (*pracovné stredisko*) for Jews in Ilava on March 2, 1943, and declared it to be a "separate, closed unit" for Jews that would follow the same regulations as Jewish labor camps in Nováky, Sereď, and Vyhne.[5] The local commander of the HG then became the commander of the work center in Ilava and served in that position throughout 1943.[6] It is also evident that the card files for the workers were created only in late March 1943.[7] On March 30, 1943, two of the four HG guards were

reassigned, leaving the camp with "only two guardsmen."[8]

In March 1943, there were still 56 workers in the work center; they had originally lived in Bratislava, Trenčín, Nitra, Štubnianske Teplice, Humenné, Prešov, and other places. In July 1943, there were 69 workers, and by the end of the year the number rose to 71.[9] During this time, the Ministry of Interior assigned a special role to the Work Center for Jews in Ilava: as a place for Jews from other labor camps who were married to non-Jews, as well as baptized inmates.[10] Therefore, at the end of 1943, as many as 57 of the 71 workers living at the center were registered as "baptized," 4 were declared as having no religion, and 10 were registered as "Israelites."[11]

There is no information available about the living conditions or treatment of the workers in the work center. The center's history beyond 1943 and the date of its closing are also unknown.

The project that the Jews from the Ilava work center helped to build was only completed on December 21, 1944.[12] The completed work did not stand for very long, however, as the retreating German Army blew up most of the bridges across the Váh River and the canal of the hydroelectric plant.

SOURCES Primary sources on the Ilava work center can be found in SNA, fond MV, boxes 394, 419. Additional information is available in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004).

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NOTES

1. "Hydrocentrála v Ilave a Dubnici. Nedostatok robot-nictva, Barakové tábory," August 31, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 37, box 242, file 9000 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/37/242/9000).

2. Doc. 14-1105-3/43. SNA, fond MV, box 394, D-2-14-106 36/42.

3. Plan of the camp. SNA, fond MV, box 394, D-2-14-10636/42.

4. Soznam dozorných orgánov v pracovnom stredisku Židov v Ilave. SNA, fond MV, box 394, D-2-14-10636/42.

5. Zriadenie pracovného strediska Židov v Ilave. SNA, fond MV, box 394, D-2-14-10636/42.

6. Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5.*

7. Kartotéková evidencia Židov—robotníkov zaradencov pracovného strediska v Ilave. SNA, fond MV, box 394, D-2-14-10636/42.

8. SNA, fond MV, box 394, D-2-14-10636/42.

9. Ibid.

10. Pracovné tábory a strediská Židov—správa o stave, organizačnej a pracovnej štruktúre. SNA, fond MV, box 419, 1818, 43.

11. SNA, fond MV, box 394, D-2-14-10636/42.

12. "Ilava, pracovný útvar," n.d., ŠABY, f. VD Ilava, box 15/4/489-3525-1943, reprinted in Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčin: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008), p. 82.

ILAVA/WORK UNIT

The Ilava work unit was located just north of the city of Ilava, 126 kilometers (78 miles) northeast of Bratislava. The Ministry of Transportation and Public Works (*Ministerstvo dopravy a verejných prác*, MDVP) awarded the Slovak Construction Consortium (*Slovenská Konstruktíva*) a government contract to build a hydroelectric plant in Ilava on the Váh River.[1] The Slovenská Konstruktíva consisted of the firms Konštruktíva, Engineer (*Inžinier*, Ing.) Freýer; Ing. Kruliš, and Ing. Dohnányi. The project suffered from labor shortages, so the companies asked the Slovak regime to establish a work unit (*pracovný útvar*, PÚ) at the end of 1942 for Roma ("Gypsies") and other "asocials." Because the firms were already able to provide housing for 240 workers, and it was not possible to work on this project in the winter, the government granted the consortium's request in the spring of 1943. The work unit opened on March 22, 1943.[2]

The Ilava PÚ for Roma and other asocials was fenced in and located just above the waterway project.[3] The inmates were males ages 18 to 45 who were capable of performing hard labor, particularly excavation. Their task was to finish the canals' foundation, build canals on the river, and then erect a hydroelectric plant.

The gendarmerie (*Žandárstvo*) provided security. The commander, gendarmerie officer Štefan Ďurný, and nine subordinates guarded the work unit. Most were from the Orava region and were notorious for being brutal to the inmates. They did not allow the workers to go anywhere unescorted.

The two officials responsible for camp logistics were Pavol Makúch and Jozef Šimko. The latter spent two weeks in training at Dubnica in February 1943 before reporting to Ilava.[4]

The housing in Ilava was insufficient, and as numerous monitoring reports suggested, it was infested with vermin.[5] Despite these shortcomings, the forced laborers had to pay 50

Slovak cents (1 US cent) per day for housing. Ten days after the camp opened, the firms reported to MV the need for more workers and six additional barracks were built to house them. The newly erected barracks contained planks with some hay, as well as pillows and blankets. The guards were housed in bigger barracks that also contained space for offices, storage, a shoemaker, and a tailor. The camp was fenced in, and a new administration building was built. Because the Bystré camp was closed around that time, its supplies and materials were moved to Ilava. One hundred and sixty inmates were moved from Bystré to Ilava on June 23, 1943. A new barrack was built for them, and it was finished the day they arrived in camp.[6]

Securing food for the forced laborers was problematic; the amount of the rations was not only inadequate but often the food arrived late. The first food shortage occurred shortly after the camp opened on March 24, 1943. The camp lacked potatoes, and both the camp commander and the Ilava district officer were unable to secure them. The MV sent 15 truckloads of goods to the area, but they were not labeled for the Ilava work unit and so were delivered elsewhere.[7] The situation did not improve much in the following months, and the daily ration was lowered to 20 decagrams (7.05 ounces) per person. The camp inmates did not receive dairy products and other fats, so the employers had to provide them. The firms' other workers resented this state of affairs, because the reallocation of foodstuffs came at the expense of their rations. The consortium asked MV to provide compensation for unanticipated expenses or at least to increase the rations, but the request was denied.[8]

Hunger and other difficult living conditions, including a lack of basic hygiene, worsened the prisoners' health.[9] The state district physician, Dr. Križanová-Pivková, performed her camp physician duties solely as part of her wider responsibility, so she spent very little time on meeting the prisoners' health care needs. When Dr. Tomaschoff arrived on May 17, 1943, he built an infirmary within a month. The infirmary was so good that other PÚs sent their patients to him.

The Ilava work unit also experienced a financial scandal. The Ing. Petri and Ing. Danisovič firms awarded themselves unmerited bonuses and skimmed money. They were later investigated for

these financial irregularities.[10]

The working hours were from 6:15 A.M. to 6:30 P.M. in summer and 7:15 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. in winter, including a 90-minute lunch break.[11] The forced laborers earned 3.75 Slovak crowns (Ks) per hour and a 1-Ks bonus per hour in the winter. In inclement weather, the forced laborers earned 10 Ks per day. Most of the inmates did not have sufficient supplies or clothing for the required labor. When the camp commander asked the MV for clothing and shoes, it sent 150 pairs of shoes and 500 pairs of undergarments on May 17, 1943. Despite the shipment, the inmates still lacked proper winter attire, which proved problematic during the fall of 1943. In addition, those who received the shoes lacked socks. The situation was further complicated by insufficient storage space for supplies.

Despite the obstacles, the PÚ was very productive, and the number of inmates regularly increased in 1943. Five hundred forced laborers were in Ilava at the end of June 1943. Approximately 1,000 persons went through the camp; the numbers peaked in the summer.

At Ilava, the release of inmates occurred infrequently: only 65 persons were released in the first four months, mostly for health reasons. The work groups operated along stretches 8 kilometers (4.7 miles) long, to which only one HG guard was assigned, which afforded many opportunities for escape. By July 31, 1943, 52 prisoners took advantage of inadequate fencing and security to escape, of whom 35 were later recaptured and returned to the camp. A new group of "asocial" forced laborers was formed from the recaptured escapees. They worked under the supervision of two HG guards, were housed separately from the other workers, and could go outside their barracks at night only in their nightshirts and under the room commander's supervision. These additional security measures drastically decreased the number of escapes.

The work was very difficult. Yet, despite not having sufficient tools or clothing, the Roma were classified as obedient and hard workers. Regardless of the harsh conditions, they continued with the work and, along with other inmates, achieved almost the impossible—both canals were built within a year, reinforced, and

ready for finishing work. Although the MV wanted to close the camp before the winter of 1943, the project was only completed on December 21, 1944.[12] The completed work did not stand for very long, as the retreating German Army blew up most of the bridges built across the Váh River and the canal of the hydroelectric plant.

SOURCES Secondary sources about the Ilava work unit can be found in Ctibor Nečas, *Československsští Romové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně, 1994); Ivan Kamenec, "Vznik a vývoj židovských pracovných táborov a stredísk na Slovensku v rokoch 1942–1944," in *Nové obzory č. 8: Spoločenskovedný sborník východného Slovenska* (Košice: Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1966), pp. 15–38; Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčin: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); Július Táncoš and René Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002); and Marek Danko, "Internačné zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary" (Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, Košice), available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813/.

Primary sources on the Ilava work unit can be found at SNA, available at USHMMA as RG-57.001M. The records are scattered; however, most documents can be found in reels 37, 114, 116, 178, and 187. Additional documents can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004). VHA contains seven testimonies with references to Ilava.

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NOTES

1. "Hydrocentrála v Ilave a Dubnici. Nedostatok robot-nictva, Barakové tábory," August 31, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 37, box 242, file 9000 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/37/242/9000).

2. Ibid.

3. “Pracovný útvar Ilava,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-57.001M /178/551/2.
4. SABY, f. Trenčianska župa, box 65/37/1943.
5. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/37/242/9000.
6. Ibid.
7. “Pracovné stredisko Ilava,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-57.001M/187/575/11, SNA, fond MV, 2441/1106/1944.
8. “Ilava,” n.d., SNA, fond MV, 2441/D-1043/1944, reprinted in Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory,* pp. 81–82.
9. AMV SR Levoča, f. E 5, sign 6, reprinted in ibid., pp. 81–82.
10. ŠABY, f. VD Ilava, box 14, 5/2020/1943.
11. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/37/242/9000.
12. “Ilava, pracovný útvar,” n.d., ŠABY, f. VD Ilava, box 15/4/489-3525-1943, reprinted in Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory*, p. 82.

IVÁNKA PRI DUNAJI

Ivánka pri Dunaji is located almost 13 kilometers (8 miles) northeast of Bratislava. The Slovak Lower Moravian Water Cooperative (*Slovenské dolnomoravské vodné družstvo*, Moravod) in Malacky signed an agreement with the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) to create a labor camp, called a Work Center (*pracovné stredisko*) to address a labor shortage for one of the firm's projects. On December 12, 1941, 26 Jews were arrested and escorted to the labor camp, where they were forced to dig dikes and construct the canal in Ivánka pri Dunaji.[1] The laborers traveled by bus, which was paid for by the Jewish Center (*Ústredňa Židov*, ÚŽ).[2]

Not much is known about the daily lives of the forced laborers. The Jews lived in military barracks and ate in the communal kitchen. The Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) was responsible for camp security, along with the camp commander. The camp was under the same strict rules and regulations as the forced labor camps for Jews at Nováky, Sereď, and Vyhne. On February 10, 1942, 10 Jews were released from the PÚ on a doctor's recommendation, who assessed them as being unable to perform physically intensive labor.[3]

At the end of 1943, 66 male laborers worked in Ivánka pri Dunaji. All but one were single. Forty-seven of the workers were classified as "Israelites," and 19 were baptized. In total, they worked 83,176 hours for 480,649.13 Slovak crowns (Ks).[4]

On January 4, 1944, the Šúrskej Basin State Building Office requested eight Jewish forced laborers, all men born between 1919 and 1921, for the damming of mountain streams near Ivánka pri Dunaji. The project suffered from a lack of technical experts, and the additional laborers were required for the completion of their project. Two days later, the MV denied the request, because the men were "fully utilized in the labor force."[5]

It is not clear when the camp was closed.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Ivánka pri Dunaji forced labor camp for Jews can be found in SNA, fond MV, boxes 178 and 392. This documentation is available at USHMMA as RG-57.001M. Selected documents about the camp can also be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004).

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NOTES

1. "Židia, zaradení do pracovného strediska," February 10, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 178, box 11, folder 342.
2. "Soznam robotníkov židov," December 12, 1941, SNA, fond MV, box 178, folder 104/42.
3. "Ivánka pri Dunaji, pracov. stredisko, zoznam eskortovaných Židov do práce," February 10, 1942, SNA, fond MV, box 178, folder 106/42.
4. "Vyročná správa Ministerstva vnútra o židovských pracovných táboroch za rok 1943," n.d., reproduced in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 254–272 (Doc. 117).
5. "Ivánka pri Dunaji, o prepustenie Židov z prac. stred. a prikázanie do prac," January 4, 1944, SNA, fond MV, box 392, folder 1013/44.

JABLONICA

Jablonica (Bratislava District) is located approximately 32 kilometers (20 miles) northeast of Bratislava. On August 19, 1944, the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) ordered the commander of Kostolná to transfer its forced laborers to the newly created forced labor camp for Jews at Jablonica. The forced laborers were responsible for the second phase of rail construction between Jablonica and Plavecký Svätý Mikuláš (located approximately 31 kilometers [19 miles] north of Bratislava), a segment of a rail line that was almost 23 kilometers (14 miles) in length.

After the Bratislava Construction Company (*Bratislavská stavebná spoločnosť*) signed an agreement with the MV, the camp was created on August 16, 1944, only days before the Slovak National Uprising (*Slovenské národné povstanie*, SNP). Of the 87 people assigned to Jablonica, 8 were sick, so only 79 were able to work. A member of the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG), Valenta, liquidated the camp on September 5, 1944. The prisoners fled quickly, most of them leaving their belongings behind in the barracks. The property was listed with the local police station in Cirova. The command at the police took possession of these items, as well as the keys to the barracks and storage facilities.[1]

SOURCE A primary source documenting the Jablonica camp can be found in SNA, fond MV.

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NOTE

1. Prevedenie odsunu, August 19, 1944, SNA, fond MV, box 581, file 1441/44.

JARABÁ

A forced labor camp, called a work unit (*pracovný útvar*, PÚ), for Roma (also referred to as Gypsies, *Cigáni*) and people deemed "asocials," was established in Jarabá, a central Slovak village located 207 kilometers (129 miles) northeast of Bratislava. In June 1942, the Ladislav Hits engineering company petitioned the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnú-tra*, MV) to create a labor camp for "asocials" in Jarabá, the workers to be deployed in the construction of an 18.4-kilometer (11.4-mile) state road through the mountain pass from Čertovica to Mýto pod Dumbierom.

The housing in Jarabá consisted of three old wooden barracks built on cement foundations on the slope of the Čertovica Mountain, just north of Jarabá village. Each barrack housed up to 100 people, but the camp never reached full capacity. The barracks included wooden boards and some straw for bedding, and the company charged each forced laborer 0.50 Slovak crowns (Ks) for accommodations.

Although the forced laborers were paid a meager sum, they had to pay not only for their accommodations but also for their food and the tools used on the road project. The company purchased bowls and spoons and brought them to the PÚ, but the forced laborers paid fees for their use. The camp commander ensured that there was a washing machine near the PÚ, but the inmates had to pay to have their few clothes washed. Because some forced laborers did not earn enough money to cover their housing and food costs, the company expected the rest of the laborers to make up the difference.

Starting on July 3, 1942, six gendarmes guarded the camp.[1] Shortly thereafter, two transports of workers arrived in Jarabá: 25 forced laborers arrived on August 9, and 48 more on August 18, 1942. Problems arose for the camp commander immediately after the arrival of the first group, because the forced laborers only had

the clothes on their backs, which were insufficient for the mountainous terrain and climate. Many were shoeless, some had lice, and others were too sick to work. Moreover, the PÚ did not have food for the newly arrived forced laborers or for upcoming transports.

The camp commander immediately wrote to MV asking for more clothing and shoes, citing the weather conditions, and requested additional food rations. More than 73 workers were sick and still performed manual labor. The barracks were missing utensils, beds, furniture, and heaters.

The camp was also located far from the work site: the workers had to travel 6 to 9 kilometers (3.72 to 5.6 miles) to the site each day on taxing treks over rocky terrain. For the shoeless, this ordeal was very painful, and those who had shoes quickly wore them out.

Members of the second transport, just as those in the first one, lacked sufficient clothing, had lice, and some were even very sick. Six people were released because they were not able to work at all. Constant food shortages forced the camp commander to inform the MV and the Ladislav Hits engineering company once again that half the people were starving. Forced laborers in the third transport also arrived without adequate clothing, shoes, and blankets; they slept on hay in the extreme cold. Altogether, the living conditions in the Jarabá camp significantly hindered productivity and jeopardized the forced laborers' health.

Reveille was at 4 A.M. and curfew at 9 P.M. The camp commander repeatedly requested healthy laborers—not those with contagious diseases, such as scabies, or long-term illnesses, such as lupus—be sent to the camp. There was a medical doctor assigned to the PÚ from the village of Jarabá, but he did not make a single visit to the camp. The camp commander was worried that disease would spread among workers and, more importantly, the gendarmes.

Because of disease, inability to work, and escapes, the number of workers decreased to 38, leading the Ladislav Hits engineering company to request 50 more able-bodied workers from the MV on September 9, 1942. The MV agreed and sent more forced laborers from the Bánovce nad Bebravou, Prievidza, and Topolčany districts.

The district offices continued to ask MV for more forced laborers, because many of Jarabá's inmates were sick and in need of hospitalization. The camp was liquidated on November 21, 1942. Most of the forced laborers were released to their residences, and it is unclear how much of the road-building project was ever completed.

SOURCES Very little is written about the Jarabá camp. Brief mentions can be found in Ctibor Nečas, *Československí Romové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brne, 1994); Ivan Kamenec, "Vznik a vývoj židovských pracovných táborov a stredísk na Slovensku v rokoch 1942–1944," in *Nové obzory č. 8. Spoločenskovedný sborník východného Slovenska* (Košice: Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1966), pp. 15–38; Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory:* (Trenčin: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); and Július Táncoš and René Lužica *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002). It is also mentioned in www.multikulti.sk/dok/kapitola-3.pdf.

Primary documents can be found in USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA), particularly in reels 176–180.

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NOTE

1. "Zápisnica," July 25, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 176, box 547, file 18.

KOSTOLNÁ

Kostolná (also referred to in some sources as Kostolná pri Trenčíne) is located 104 kilometers (64 miles) northeast of Bratislava. On January 17, 1944, the Tatra construction company in Bratislava and the Tatranská construction company in Poprad requested that the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Minister-stvo vnútra*, MV) establish a forced labor camp for Jews near Kostolná.[1] The agreement was finalized between the MV Department 14, which oversaw the "Jewish Question" in Slovakia, and the firms on February 3, 1944.

The labor camp, also referred to as a work center (*pracovné stredisko*), was located just outside the village, but its inmates had no contact with the town's residents.[2] The workers were responsible for constructing the canal and other waterway projects on the Váh River near Kostolná. Many of the forced laborers arrived from work centers at Sväty Jur, Láb, and Zohor. The number of laborers fluctuated between 100 and 200.[3] On February 3, 1944, the camp commander wrote to the MV regarding the adverse effect that inclement weather was having on his forced laborers. With the worsening of the weather over the previous several months, at least 10 people were unable to work, and 12 more were in the hospital. He also noted that one forced laborer was in a prison in Bratislava.[4]

The construction companies were responsible for building the isolated barracks as well as washrooms, toilets, a kitchen, a communal dining room, a dispensary, storage space, offices for the commander and the Jewish Council, and housing for the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG). The laborers slept on hay pallets and were responsible for the work center's upkeep. The companies provided work supplies; if something was damaged, either the worker had to pay for the machinery or the center had to provide alternative supplies. The communal kitchen functioned at camp expense; fees for food were deducted from forced laborers' salaries every two weeks.[5]

Jewish laborers (*Židia-robotníci*) were paid 2.50 Slovak crowns (Ks) per day and received this payment every two weeks.[6] Because they were not covered under national health insurance, each worker had to pay for his health care, or else the entire camp forced labor population had to cover that cost. In emergency situations, the forced laborers were transported to the Jewish hospital in Sereď.

The camp followed all the rules set out by the MV for forced labor camps for Jews and was under military discipline. The number of inmates fluctuated only with the MV's written consent. The forced laborers were guarded by three members of the HG and their commander Jozef Kotlárik. The single guards were paid 50 Ks per day and the married ones 70 Ks per day. The camp commander received 400 Ks more per month than the guards. According to the MV agreement, the company was required to reimburse the center for any security-and disciplinary-related expenses. The members of the HG attended anti-Jewish presentations that dealt with the treatment of Jews. A number of the guards drank heavily and disclosed privileged information to the camp laborers.[7]

The camp's Jewish Council (*Židovská rada*, ŽR), consisting of three members, was created by the MV on March 24, 1943. Ján Engel was its head, Ladislav Müller dealt with labor and social matters, and Oskar Löwy oversaw medical and health concerns. These men were forced to serve on the ŽR, functioning as an advisory council for the camp commander, as well as the Central Office for Jewish Labor Camps (*Ústredná kancelária pre pracovné tábory Židov*) in Bratislava.[8]

In July 1944, the Ministry of Transportation and Public Works (*Ministerstvo dopravy a verejných prác*, MDVP) requested the transfer of 50 workers to the Dubnica nad Váhom labor camp. This group was transported by the HG at the new employer's expense and then isolated from the non-Jewish workers already working at Dubnica. The rest of the workers were transferred to the Jablonica forced labor camp on August 3, 1944.[9] On August 19, 1944, the barracks were returned in good condition, as attested to in a document signed by the head of the ŽR, Ján Engel, and the two firms in Poprad and Bratislava.

SOURCES Primary sources are available at USHMMA, collection RG-57.001M (SNA), particularly in reels 187 to 190. Published primary sources can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004). VHA contains three testimonies that include references to Kostolná.

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NOTES

1. "Zmluva," February 3, 1944, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 188, file 575, box 22 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 188/575/22),
2. VHA #1743, Dov Golan testimony, March 29, 1995.
3. USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 188/575/22.
4. "Veliťelstvo prac. strediska Židov—Kostolná pri Trenčíne," February 3, 1944, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 187/574/32.
5. USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 188/575/22.
6. VHA #33686, Walter Polák testimony, July 4, 1997.
7. Ibid.
8. "Pracovné stredisko Židov v Kostolnej," May 17, 1944, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 187/574/25.
9. "Veliťelstvo prac strediska v Jablonci," August 19, 1944, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 190/581/28.

KRAĽOVANY

Kraľovany is located 186 kilometers (116 miles) northeast of Bratislava, at the confluence of the Váh and Orava Rivers. On February 3, 1944, the engineering firm, Tatranská stavebná účastiná spoločnosť, signed a labor agreement with the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) to open a forced labor camp for Jews at Kraľovany. The Jewish forced laborers were deployed to lay concrete for a second rail track near Kraľovany, to link to a two-track railroad tunnel being built in Poprad. The 100 workers lived in makeshift housing that, according to the camp commander, was sufficient for the short term.[1] The forced laborers were ineligible for national health insurance, so the company was responsible for paying their social insurance fees and providing medical care. In case of emergency, the Jewish forced laborers were to be sent to the Jewish hospital in Sereď at the Kraľovany camp's expense.

On January 4, 1944, the MV gave orders to relocate the Jewish forced laborers and the camp directorate from the Ivánka pri Dunaji labor camp. On January 5, 1944, the Jewish inmates left on a passenger train at 5:06 A.M. to Bratislava and then took a 6:05 A.M. train from Bratislava to Kraľovany. The camp commander enforced strict discipline during the transport; freight cars were reserved for the forced laborers. The inmates paid for their transportation and were told they would be reimbursed later; however, it is unclear whether they actually received any compensation.

Mikuláš Letko was the camp commander of Kraľovany. The warden and deputy commander was Viliam Bolgáč of the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG). The MV also created a three-member Jewish Council (*Židovská rada*, ŽR), consisting of Ladislav Kurtag, the head of the council; Erich Grünwald, the deputy and accountant; and Armin Bermann.[2] Their main assignment was to assist the camp directorate and the Central Office for Jewish Labor Camps in Bratislava (*Ústredná*

kancelária pre pracovné tábory Židov v Bratislave).

The workers were paid at the end of each month. In addition, the Central Jewish Office (*Ústredňa Židov*, ÚŽ) sent money to the camp to augment the laborers' food supply. In 1944, 2,915 Slovak crowns (Ks) were given to the camp from funds raised by the ÚŽ.[3]

The German Army transported heavy machinery on the railroad, and the train stopped at Kraľovany where weapons were unloaded. Slovak partisans who operated in the area seized some of the weapons, and empty trains continued eastward.[4]

It is unclear when the camp was liquidated; however, the forced laborers were moved to the Banská Belá labor center, 77 kilometers (48 miles) southwest under HG supervision. On February 18, 1945, German troops occupied the village and, in early April, destroyed almost all railway tracks, bridges, and tunnels.

SOURCES Primary documentation on the Kral'ovany camp can be found in USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA), in particular reels 187 and 188. Published primary sources can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Simečku, 2004). VHA holds three testimonies that mention the camp.

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NOTES

1. "Hlásenie o prevedení odsunu pracovného strediska Židov v Ivanke pri Dunaji do Kráľovan," January 7, 1944, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 188, box 575, file 26 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 188/575/26).

2. "Návrh na vymenovanie židovskej rady v prac. strediskách," April 19, 1944, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 187/574/25.

3. "Pre žid. prac. tábory—zpráva o použití," August 29, 1944, SNA, fond ÚHU, box 344, III/A-1731 reprinted in Nižňanský et al., eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 290–292 (Doc. 126).

4. VHA #19687, Leo Elias testimony, September 10, 1996.

LÁB

Láb is located about 26 kilometers (16 miles) northwest of Bratislava. In early June 1943, the Slovak Lower Moravian Water Cooperative (*Slovenské dolnomoravské vodné družstvo*, Moravod) approached the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Minister-stvo vnútra*, MV) about creating a camp in Láb to provide forced laborers for one of its projects. The two parties signed a contract to create a work center (*pracovné stredisko*) at Láb on June 19, 1943. The forced laborers were tasked with regulating the Malina Stream by building a canal.[1]

From June 1, 1943, jurisdiction over the Sixth Labor Battalion (*Šiesty robotný prápor*, ŠP) was transferred from the National Defense Ministry (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO) to the MV. When the center was created, it was subject to the same organizational rules as Sereď, Nováky, and Vyhne, the three main Slovak forced labor camps.

The forced laborers lived in barracks and ate in communal kitchens. Initially, 60 people of a total of 814 laborers were assigned to Láb, but the number grew to 139 and fluctuated throughout the camp's existence.[2] In 1943, 105 Jewish forced laborers worked in Láb, comprising 3 percent of such workers in Slovakia in 1943. A report for the year 1943 provided demographic information about the labor force. Only 1 of the 105 workers was married, 93 were considered "Israelites," and 12 were baptized. In 1943, the Jewish laborers worked 98,691 hours. On December 31, the number of workers rose to 200.

The commander of the camp was Tomáš Vlček, and members of the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) provided security. The MV paid the guards 50 Slovak crowns (Ks) if they were single and 70 Ks if they were married, per day. It also provided housing and social insurance for them. In addition to camp security, the Jewish Council (*Židovská rada*, ŽR) participated in the camp's administration. Ladislav Muller was the head of the ŽR in Láb,

Villiam Rosenberg was his deputy, and Oscar Lövy dealt with health concerns.[3]

On December 10, 1943, the MV ordered the transfer of more than 200 forced laborers from Láb and Svätý Jur to Kostolná, another work center in northwest Slovakia. The Hlinka Guard transported all the internees to Kostolná on December 15, and the camp was closed.

SOURCES Primary documents about the Láb forced labor camp for Jews can be found in SNA, fond MV, which is available in microform at USHMMA as RG-57.001M, reels 185–191. Published primary sources can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004). VHA holds three testimonies from survivors who had been interned at Láb.

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NOTES

1. "Pracovné stredisko židov v Lábe—zradenie," July 6, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 185.
2. SNA, fond MV, box 395, file 19651/1943.
3. "Pracovné stredisko židov v Lábe—židovská rada—zriadenie," July 15, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, reel 185.

LIPNÍKY

Lipníky is approximately 332 kilometers (206 miles) northeast of Bratislava. In connection with the construction of the Prešov-Vranov nad Topľou railway line, the Slovak authorities opened a forced labor camp in the village of Lipníky (Prešov district). Under police guard, the forced laborers reported to the Lanna construction firm (in one document, it is spelled Lamma). The camp had an average population of 180, 90 percent of whom were not Jewish. It opened in the beginning of July 1941 and temporarily closed on December 10, 1941, because of epidemics among the inmates. The Lanna firm then requested an additional 225 Jews from Prešov, but it is not clear where they were quartered.[1]

The camp reopened in the spring of 1942 as a penal camp, amid the deportations of Jews from Slovakia. However, the forced laborers remained on the railway construction project until its completion in mid-1943. As many as 600 prisoners were held in Lipníky. After its closure, the inmates were moved to the forced labor camp at Petič near Chmeľov (Giraltovce district), more than three kilometers (two miles) northeast of Lipníky. According to historian Marek Danko, the camp conditions improved during Lipníky's second year of operation.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Lipníky camp are Marek Danko, "Internačné zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary" (Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, Košice), available at www.saske.sk/cas; *Encyklopedie válečného zajetí a internace* (Prague: EVZI Estranky.cz, 2010), available at www.evzi.estranky.cz; and Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmila Kubátová, and Irena Malá, *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague: Svoboda, 1969).

Primary sources involving the Lipníky camp can be found in ŠAPO (USHMMA holds parts of this collection under

RG-57.011). As cited by Danko, a report on the Lipníky camp can be found in ŠAPO, pobočka Prešov, F ONV PO 1945–1948, inv. č. 62, k. 32, č.s. 17.702/1947.

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NOTE

1. Židovsky pracovný tábor fy Lamma, October 3, 1941, USHMMA, RG-57.011 (ŠAPr), file 2721/1941.

MARIANKA

Marianka (German: Mariatal) is located about 12 kilometers (7 miles) north of Bratislava. In the autumn of 1944 it became a place of confinement for those citizens of the United States and other American countries who were of Jewish origin but were so far granted various exceptions from the local anti-Jewish legislation. On September 5, 1944, only a few days after the beginning of the German occupation of Slovakia, a group of 75 such foreigners sent a delegation to the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Ministerstvo zahraničných vecí*, MZV), to ask for protection. An official of the Ministry informed the delegation, which Milton Haar led, that the protection would take the form of "confinement to a certain place." They would receive additional information after the MZV had settled matters with various other competent ministries.

On September 19, 1944, the Head of Slovak State Security Headquarters (*Ústredňa štátnej bezpečnosti,* ÚŠB) informed the Regional Gendarmerie Headquarters in Bratislava that the above-mentioned Jews were to be confined in the old manor house in Marianka, and he asked that the regional headquarters send two gendarmes to this "camp for American state citizens" as soon as possible. According to the document, the confinement originally differed from internment by definition (the internees could provide for themselves) and the concentration of Jews in Marianka was already ongoing. The requested gendarmes were supposed to provide the camp with "necessary protection" and "order."

Living conditions and the details on the management of the camp are unknown. From the documents of the German Einsatzgruppe H der Sipo und des SD, which organized the German security and persecution operations in Western and Central Slovakia, it is clear that the German security apparatus followed the activities of Slovak officials related to the Marianka camp closely. It is also clear that the number of Jews confined in Marianka rose. On October 11, 1944, German security forces

raided the manor house in Marianka, and SS-Hauptsturmführer Alois Brunner arrested 187 Jews there.[1] On October 17, 1944, the Einsatzgruppe-H staff was informed that the Jews they had arrested had been deported to Auschwitz through the camp in Sereď, except for three American citizens who were left behind, but remained under strict supervision.[2] There is no further information on the identity or fate of these people.

SOURCES Secondary sources on Marianka include Ivan Kamenec, *Po stopách tragédie* (Bratislava: Archa, 1991) as well as Ján Hlavinka and Eduard Nižňanský, *Pracovný a koncentračný tabor v Seredi 1941–1945* (Bratislava: Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, 2009).

Primary sources on Marianka can be found in National Archives and Records Administration, Records of the Reich Leader of the SS and Chief of the German Police, Microcopy T 175, Roll R641.

Ján Hlavinka

NOTES

1. "Judenversteck in Mariatal bei Pressburg," NARA, Microcopy No. T 175, Roll R641, 000447.

2. Vermerk, NARA, Microcopy No. T 175, Roll R641, 000429.

MILOSLAVOV

Miloslavov is located about 15 kilometers (9 miles) southeast of Bratislava and is sometimes referred to as Alžbetín dvor and in the military context as Kolónia Alžbeta (Mischdorf in German and Annamajor in Hungarian). Together with Veľký Kýr near Nitra, the camp established in Miloslavov was part of the Slovak government's first attempt to expel Jews from Slovak territory in early November 1938, less than one month after the promulgation of Slovak autonomy on October 6, 1938.

On November 1, 1938, a day before the announcement of the First Vienna Award in which Germany and Italy decided on new Czechoslovak-Hungarian borders, a pro-Hungarian demonstration took place in Bratislava. Local police arrested several Jews at this demonstration. When the decision of the convening powers, signed on November 2, became known, several radical Ľudáks members decided to blame and punish the Jews. On the very next day, they met at the Carlton Hotel in Bratislava to discuss the "Jewish Question" with SS-Obersturmführer Adolf Eichmann, who had traveled from Vienna. HSĽS member and lawyer Jozef Faláth, as well as the Chief of the Academic Hlinka Guard (*Akademická Hlinkova garda*) Jozef Kirschbaum and the head of Deutsche Partei Franz Karmasin, were present at the meeting.[1] It resulted in a proposal to deport Jews living in Slovakia to the surrendered territory, which was to become Hungarian. Faláth and Eichmann discussed the matter with Prime Minister Jozef Tiso on November 4, 1938. After Tiso approved the proposal, he instructed Faláth on its implementation. Faláth went to the Police Directorate in Bratislava (*Policajné riaditeľstvo v Bratislave*) and established a telephone connection with district offices all around Slovakia. On behalf of the Center for the Solution of the Jewish Problem in Slovakia (*Centrála pre riešenie židovského problému na Slovensku*), which had just been created, Faláth ordered district offices to cooperate with the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) and to arrest all Jews "without material means" and "push them,"

by midnight of the same day, over the new border.[2] Jews with property worth more than 500,000 Czechoslovak crowns (Kč) were to be arrested in order to prevent their emigration with their property.[3]

The deportation started immediately; thousands of Jews were rounded up on November 4, 1938, by the gendarmerie and HG and forcibly transported over the new borders. A few hours after the action began, the original order was changed, and Jews of foreign citizenship became the target of deportation. The deportation policy was stopped by Tiso's order of November 7, 1938, but by then, about 7,500 people had already been deported from Slovakia.[4] The deported Jews were left in a temporary "no man's land" between Hungary and Czechoslovakia with almost no money (50 Kč per person) and in cold weather.

Miloslavov became one of the places where these deportees were concentrated. The camp in Miloslavov was situated some 250 meters (821 feet) from the Slovak-Hungarian border and was located on the dirt road near Štvrtok na Ostrove.[5] Neither country claimed responsibility for the camp; both blamed each other for its existence.

The camp was set up in an open space and unguarded. The situation of people in the camp was terrible, and Jewish organizations in Slovakia started to take care of them.

The Central Office of the Autonomous Orthodox Jewish Religious Communities (*Ústredná kancelária autonómnych ortodoxných židovských náboženských obcí*) designated Heinrich Schwartz to negotiate with the state authorities in Bratislava about the fate of the Jews in Miloslavov. The Slovak Army allowed Schwartz to visit the camp on November 24, 1938.

On November 27, Marie Schmolka, the manager of HICEM Prague, visited the camp in Miloslavov (to which she referred as "Mischdorf"). In her report, she wrote the following on the situation in the camp:

> More than 300 refugees found themselves in an open field for one week, in a temperature which went as low as 2 degrees below zero during the daytime and 5 degrees below zero at

night. They built scanty huts and roofs from maize stalks and dug pits in which they placed their children (some of these children are only a few months old). Only the self-sacrificing assistance of the Jews of Bratislava saved them from certain death by starvation and freezing …. During the last week (the refugees now find themselves 14 days near Mischdorf), the Jews were able to provide four furniture vans in which those who are very ill could be bedded on straw and, for the others, low tents were erected, each tent accommodating 20 people, while others are still in the shelters formed of maize stalks. Until now they had to fetch water from a distance of about one kilometer, and only now a pump has been erected.[6]

Jews who have been expelled from Slovakia await their fate in the Miloslavov tent camp (Mischdorf in German) in no man's land on the border between Slovakia and Hungary, December 1938.
USHMM WS# 81325, COURTESY OF THE WIENER LIBRARY FOR THE STUDY OF THE HOLOCAUST & GENOCIDE.

On November 29, 1938, the president of the Orthodox Jewish Religious Communities wrote to Prime Minister Tiso regarding the camps in Miloslavov and Veľký Kýr, describing in detail the horrid conditions that the detainees were experiencing. According to his letter, more than 300 persons were being held in the Miloslavov camp at the end of November; there were 120 men, 77 women, and 105 children of various ages, including many infants. Of these detainees, 17 were Slovak citizens, 30 from

Subcarpathian Rus', 28 from local territory, 22 from Poland, 38 from Germany, and 197 were without state citizenship. Many of those without state citizenship had lived in Slovak territory for de cades. A good number of the detainees were old and sick. Many were in poor physical condition due to malnutrition, substandard housing, and the lack of hygiene.[7]

The letter also suggested ways to improve conditions in the camp, with these modifications to be funded by the Jewish community, and not the local or national government. For example, all Jews unable to return to their homes could be taken to individual buildings owned by Jewish organizations under Slovak police control. The organization promised to take care of housing, food, and any necessary medical assistance for the detainees. For those holding Slovak citizenship, the president of the Orthodox Jewish Religious Communities asked for permission for them to return to the cities in which they had lived. For those without Slovak citizenship, he asked that they be given time to liquidate their property and tie up other matters before departing Slovakia; the organization would provide financial assistance for those returning to Subcarpathian Rus' or Poland.[8] He assured the prime minister that every phase of this plan would be implemented and paid for by the Jewish organization and that the detainees would not cause any trouble. In addition, the Jewish community would serve as a liaison with foreign offices and foreign nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to facilitate emigration. The old Jewish hospital in Bratislava was to be used to hold Jews who could not return to their homes or could not stay with family members.

Jewish organizations in Bratislava provided help and supplies to the camp inmates, but living conditions worsened drastically after a period of heavy rains and cold temperatures. Local officials were afraid the camp would become a security risk and warned against the possibility of epidemics, which threatened the surrounding villages and guards in the camp. Starting on November 30, 1938, all contact with the camp was forbidden, which also included the provision of organizational help from Bratislava. The Hungarian border police began to furnish supplies for building barracks. Local officials continued to plead with the national government to liquidate the camp for fear of potential epidemics, as well as the

security threat. They argued that the number of Hungarian Jews was growing, and there was the possibility that the demarcation line could move, effectively placing the camp in Slovak territory and making it a Slovak problem.[9]

On December 8, 1938, the Slovak Country Office (*Krajinský úrad*, KÚ) allowed the Jews who lived in camps in Veľký Kýr and Miloslavov to return to the Slovak territory of Czechoslovakia. Jews who had a legal domicile on Slovak territory could return to their home towns and villages and were to be brought there by their "home" district authorities (district offices).[10]

However, Jews from the Czech lands, Subcarpathian Rus', and Poland were deported to those territories.

On December 19, 1938, 118 Jews, including 56 children, were allowed to leave Miloslavov and to return to Slovak territory. According to a document of January 1939, they obtained certificates and emigrated.[11] Those who remained were taken by security personnel in the middle of the night and transported to Hungary. The whole action was planned to take place in secret, so as not to cause a stir among the populace.[12]

SOURCES Brief mention of the Miloslavov camp can be found in Ivan Kamenec, *On the Trail of Tragedy: The Holocaust in Slovakia* (Bratislava: H & H, 2007); Ladislav Lipscher, *Židia v slovenskom štáte, 1939–1945* (Bratislava: Printservis, 1992); Gila Fatranová, *Boj o Prežitie* (Bratislava: Múzeum Židovskej Kultúry, 2007); and Tomáš Gerboc, "Štát proti Židom," available at www.impulzrevue.sk/article.php?816.

Primary documents on the Miloslavov camp can be found in SNA, available in microform at USHMMA as RG-57.001M, reels 26 and 178. Published primary sources on the camp can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie (6.10.1938–14.3 1939)* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2001).

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NOTES

1. Eduard Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita medzi československou parlamentnou demokraciou a slovenským štátom v stredoeurópskom kontexte* (Prešov: Universum, 1999), 39.

2. Ibid., 40.

3. Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie*, pp. 228–229 (Doc. 110).

4. Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku medzi*, 54.

5. "Hlásenie styčného dôstojníka úseku Bratislave," November 30, 1938, ŠOKA Pezinok, fond Styčný dôstojník Bratislava 1938–1938, box 1, 64, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie,* pp. 254–255 (Doc. 127).

6. Marie Schmolka, "Report by Marie Schmolka on her visit to the refugee camp in Mischdorf, on November 27, 1938, and other expulsions of Jews," *EHRI Documents*, accessed April 6, 2017, https://visualisations.ehri-project.eu/items/show/1.

7. Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 250–251. "Židia vykázaní z Maďarska—žiadosť o úpravu," December 6, 1938, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 26, box 206, file 638 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/26/206/638); SNA, fond KÚ-P, box 309, 70.414/38.

8. "Umiestnenie vyhostených židov, nachadzajúcich sa na hraniciach pri Mischdorfe a pri Nitre," November 29, 1938, SNA, fond KÚ-Presidium, box 309, bez čísla, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 250–252 (Doc. 125).

9. Ibid., pp. 252–254.

10. Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku medzi*, 62.

11. Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie*, p. 258, n71.

12. "Židovská otázka na Slovensku," n.d., SNA, fond KÚ, box 309/77581/1938, reprinted in ibid., pp. 258–259 (Doc. 130).

MOST NA OSTROVE

Most na Ostrove (today: Most pri Bratislave) is located over 12 kilometers (7 miles) east of Bratislava. The first work units (*pracovné útvary*, PÚ) were created in Most na Ostrove and Očová for Aryan "asocials" in Slovakia as early as 1941 to address labor shortages in various state projects. Records show that Roma (referred to as Gypsies, *Cigáni*) were held in such camps as well.[1] The Most camp opened on June 10, 1941, under the auspices of Law 129/41 (forced labor). It held 40 forced laborers, who constructed the nearby state road. The Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) was responsible for handling the camp's personnel issues—including command of the gendarmes—whereas the rest of the camp's administration fell to agencies of the Bratislava župa.[2]

The Most camp was liquidated on December 10, 1941, and the forced laborers were sent home. On their arrival, they had to register with their hometown's office, which was charged with observing their behavior. Road construction was supposed to resume in 1942, but according to an MV communication, it did not.[3]

SOURCES Very little has been published about the early Slovak work camps. Some information can be found in Peter Sokolovič, ed., *Perzekúcie na Slovensku v rokoch 1938–1945: Slovenská republika 1939–1945 očami mladých historikov VII* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2008); and Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčín: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008).

Primary sources can be found in USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA), particularly reel 116.

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NOTES

1. Karol Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa), 35.

2. "Výkaz hospodarenia," March 22, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 116, folder 411, box 2 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/116/411/2).

3. "Pracovné útvary," March 19, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/116/411/2.

NIŽNÝ HRABOVEC

The village of Nižný Hrabovec is located north of the Slovak-Hungarian border (as set by the First Vienna Award of 1938), approximately 352 kilometers (219 miles) east and slightly north of Bratislava. It is situated about 28 kilometers (17 miles) southeast of Hanušovce nad Topľou, which was the site of a forced labor camp between July 1, 1942, and November 8, 1943. Roma and others whom Department 16 of the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) deemed to be "asocial" were detained there.[1] Nižný Hrabovec was a subcamp of Hanušovce nad Topľou camp. The inmates were likely forced to participate in construction of the rail line between Prešov and Strážske. Like the workers housed at Hanušovce nad Topľou, the forced laborers stationed at Nižný Hrabovec also had to endure catastrophic conditions and abuse. The inmate population at Nižný Hrabovec likely mirrored that at Hanušovce nad Topľou.

SOURCES For secondary information on the Nižný Hrabovec camp, see Michael Zimmermann, *Rassenutopie und Genozid: Die nationalsozialistische "Lösung der Zigeunerfrage"* (Hamburg: Christians, 1996); and Marek Danko, "Internačné zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary," *Čas* 1 (2010), available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813/.

Primary documentation about the Nižný Hrabovec camp is scarce. The CNI of the ITS contains a few inquiries about individuals detained at Nižný Hrabovec. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTE

1. For an example of a non-Roma "asocial" held in the camp, see

ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Stefan Ferenc, Doc. No. 52961030.

NOVÁKY

The village of Nováky is located in the Upper Nitra Valley, 124 kilometers (77 miles) northeast of Bratislava. As in Sereď, in the summer of 1941, the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Minister-stvo vnútra*, MV) decided to build a large labor camp for Jews in Nováky, at the premises of the former military store houses. MV took over these store houses from the Defense Ministry (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO) on October 2, 1941.[1] By the end of November 1941, 386 Jewish workers were already deployed at the site tearing down the old store houses and constructing new buildings.

In early 1942, while the camp in Nováky was still under construction, the Slovak government started to organize the deportation of Jews from Slovakia. As in the case of Sereď, MV decided to use the Nováky camp as a concentration and transit camp (*Koncentračné stredisko Židov*).

The section used as the concentration camp was built on the premises of the first complex, located closest to the road near the railroad station. The store houses for ammunition were converted into housing for deported Jews. The first complex also housed the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) and a canteen set up by the Jewish Center (*Ústredňa Židov*, ÚŽ). Except for the state building office, the premises were nearly vacant until March 1942.

Mikuláš Polhora, a former employee of the Propaganda Office (*Úrad propagandy*), became the camp's commandant on March 3, 1942. On March 18, MV allocated 301,000 Slovak crowns (Ks) for the camp's operation.[2]

The guards for the camp were supplied by the HG. At the beginning of April, 1942, there were 68 guards at the camp; however, that number increased to 120 in August, 1942.[3] Several of these guards committed atrocities against Jews.[4] On March 28, 1942, in correspondence with the MV, Polhora inquired whether deportations should include children under age 18 and people over

45 and received an affirmative answer to both queries.[5]

In the beginning, Jews who arrived in Nováky to join one of the transports stayed there for only a short period of time, usually around 5 to 10 days, with a small amount of luggage (limited to 50 kilograms [110 pounds]). They lived in horrible physical conditions, but even that paled in comparison to the stress that their uncertain future produced.[6]

During the camp's existence, three transports left Nováky for the Lublin region in German-occupied Poland; the first one left at 7:15 P.M. on March 30, 1942.[7] The HG Chief of Staff, Otomar Kubala, visited the concentration camp the day before the transport and was happy with the camp's operation, as well as with the anticipated deportation. At that time, 1,200 Jews were in Nováky, of whom 1,000 were dispatched on that first transport to Lublin. Another transport of 1,000 people left Nováky for the Lublin region on June 11, 1942.[8] The transports were meticulously timed to ensure arrival in Čadca, a town on the Slovak-Polish border 190 kilometers (118 miles) from Bratislava, at 4:28 A.M. It was in Čadca that the Slovak HG transferred control of the transport to the German authorities; German guards then escorted the Jewish transports to a predetermined camp.[9]

Several smaller transports were sent from Nováky to a concentration camp in Žilina, where the prisoners were put into the transport departing for German-occupied Poland. Although the exact number of people deported remains unknown, the estimate is that the number is between 4,000 and 5,000.[10]

Furthermore, the Reich sent SS-Oberscharführer Ernst Brückler, referred to as "a German friend" and consultant in documents, to ensure the camp's efficient operation. Brückler quartered with Nováky's HG unit, and the camp covered his daily food expenses.[11]

In addition to the people brought to Nováky for deportation, other Jews built the labor camp in Nováky. Beginning on April 22, 1942, the families of Jewish workers were brought to Nováky as the workers continued to expand the camp.[12] Once the deportations ended in October 1942, the camp was expanded to hold more Jews for forced labor. Slovak fascists then operated it as a self-sufficient labor camp.

Jewish workers were employed in 22 workshops.[13] Production increased significantly once the deportations ceased. The HG supervised the workers, who worked 10 hours a day in the summer months and 9 hours in the winter; no one was allowed to remain in the barracks during work hours; sick people were sent to the infirmary.[14]

Tailors dominated camp manufacturing, producing men's and women's clothing, undergarments, and backpacks for the Ružomberok textile company.[15] In addition to manufacturing various goods, Nováky prisoners also worked in agriculture with the purpose of making the camp self-sufficient. Among other things, they raised cows and angora rabbits.[16]

The prisoners lived in three wooden barracks housing 80 to 100 people each: those with families lived together in barracks designated for families, and those who were single lived in barracks for individuals.[17] Each barrack was assigned a team of Jewish guards comprised of one commander and three other men, responsible for camp security and sounding an alarm in case of an emergency.[18] Each barrack also adhered to police regulations by storing ladders, four buckets of water, and four boxes filled with sand for emergencies.[19] The prisoners slept on plank beds and straw; however, sewers, water pipes, and lavatories with cold and hot water were built to improve the poor hygienic standards.[20] One of the buildings housed an infirmary, including a dentist's office, which handled less serious cases of illness; the more complicated cases were sent to the Jewish hospital at Sereď.[21] The population was forbidden from leaving the camp without permission from the camp commandant; permission was also needed for any outsiders to enter the camp.

Jewish prisoners at forced labor in the Nováky labor camp, circa 1942–1944. USHMM WS #83089, COURTESY OF THE SLOVENSKY NARODNY ARCHIV.

Under the leadership of Dr. Oskar Neumann, the Jewish Center (*Ústredňa Židov*, ÚŽ) played a significant role in the camp's operation. Just as in the labor camp in Sereď, with the ÚŽ providing funds and bribing the relevant officials, the Interior Ministry established schools in Nováky in January 1943, including a kindergarten and a nursery, so that mothers could work as well.[22] Moreover, the students served as apprentices in the camp's workshops. Children's homes were later established in the camp.[23]

A Jewish Council (*Židovská rada*, ŽR) headed by Dr. Otto Mandler helped run the labor camp in Nováky. It had five official members and four who assisted. It did everything possible to improve the living conditions in the camp.[24]

Although Jews lived in overcrowded conditions, they tried to live as normal a life as possible, creating cultural, educational, and sports activities in the camp. In a very short time, theatrical and folk song performances took place. The education committee organized various courses, including courses in the Slovak language, history, and geography, in which many people participated. A library also existed, thanks to donations by Jews outside the camp.[25] Some Jews played sports, including volleyball, table tennis, and soccer. Religious services were held in the camp,

mainly for baptized Jewish Christians.

Despite all of these improvements, the food did not contain sufficient calories, and because its nutritional value was very low, gastrointestinal illness became a common problem.[26] In addition, heart disease and traumas were widespread as a result of the suffering sustained by people living in such close proximity and under psychological stress. Diseases resulting from exhaustion were an everyday occurrence as well.[27]

In July 1943, 1,530 Jewish forced laborers—849 men and 681 women—were in the Nováky camp, as well as 171 children under 14 years of age. In July 1944, just before the camp was dissolved, the number of forced laborers grew to 1,679 people.[28]

In 1942, the Jews did not receive any wages, working only for room and board. From 1943 on, they received 4 Kč per person a day, which was increased after the introduction of the so-called bonus system.[29] This new approach immediately resulted in much greater productivity. In 1943, the volume of transactions reached 15 million Kč and grew over time due to an increase in the number of workers and their efficiency.[30]

In February 1943, Mikuláš Polhora was accused of showing compassion for the Jews. He was recalled from his post and replaced by Jozef Švitler, a noncommissioned officer of the gendarmes, who arrived directly from Department 14 of the MV.[31] The HG controlled the camp, but the number of guards declined after the deportations. In total, 19 members of the HG resided there at the beginning of 1943.[32] Their number decreased gradually until they were replaced by gendarmes in the spring of 1944. The gendarmes were both better qualified and more responsible than the members of the HG.[33]

The Jews in Nováky were well aware of the danger around them, so some decided to flee to Hungary, others organized underground movements and smuggled weapons into the camp, and still others decided to cooperate with the illegal communist party in Nováky.[34] The camp was dissolved on the second day of the Slovak National Uprising on August 29, 1944. A number of the Jews formed their own partisan unit and joined the uprising.[35]

SOURCES Of the Slovak camps, Nováky, together with Sereď

and Vyhne, is mentioned in the greatest number of secondary sources. These books offer extensive documentation: Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku 2004); Eduard Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 6*: *Deportácie v roku 1942* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Simečku, 2005); Igor Baka, *Židovský tábor v Novákoch 1941–1944* (Bratislava: Zing Print, 2001); and Wacław Długoborski et al., *The Tragedy of the Jews of Slovakia: 1938–1945: Slovakia and the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question"* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2002).

Primary sources dealing with the camp include the SNA MV collection microcopied to USHMMA as RG-57.001M and the Anton Vašek trial records, digitized in USHMMA as RG-57.004M, folders 10–12. Additionally, Nováky's organizational chart is available in USHMMA's "Slovakian Jewish Labor Camps collection" in Acc. No. 1998.A.0303. Juraj Špitzer's memoir, *Nechcel som byt žid* (Bratislava: Kalligram, 1994); his collected essays, *Svitá, až keď je celkom tma* (Bratislava: Kalli-gram, 1996), and *Koncentračný a pracovný tábor pre židov Nováky 1942–1944* (Nováky: N.P., 2000) trace his ordeal through numerous camps, including Nováky. VHA holds 77 testimonies of people who had a war time experience in Nováky.

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NOTES

1. ŠOKA-Pr so sídlom v Bojniciach, fond Okresný úrad Prievidza, box 69, 1668/41.

2. "Účtovanie v koncentračných strediskach Židov—smernice," March 18, 1942, SNA, fond MV, kartón 267, 406-560-13, reprinted in ibid., p. 6: 158 (Doc. 57).

3. SNA, fond MV, carton 230, 1468/42; box 262, 12 509/42.

4. Špitzer, *Nechcel som byť žid*, 73; ŠOA-B, Okresný ľudový

súd Prievidza, V. Kimlička 9/46; M. Vachále, 26/46.

5. Telefonogram, March 28, 1942, SNA, fond MV, kartón 216, 1082/1942, reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 208 (Doc. 123).

6. SNA, fond MV, box 206, 638/42.

7. "Hlásenie o stavu transportu v Novákoch," March 30, 1942, SNA, fond MV, kartón 210, bez čísla, reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 216 (Doc. 132).

8. SNA, fond Národný súd, Dr. Anton Vašek, Tn ľud 17/46; Baka, *Židovský tábor v Novákoch 1941–1944*, 44.

9. "Preprava zaradencov Židov do práce," March 11, 1942, SNA, fond Národný súd, Dr. Anton Vašek, Tn ľud 17/46 (box 110), reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 128 (Doc. 29).

10. Ibid.

11. "Nemecký poradcovia v koncentračných miestach," March 23, 1942, SNA, fond MV, box 214, 783/42; Baka, *Židovský tabor v Novákoch 1941–1944*, 40.

12. "Nováky," December 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 343, box, 223, file 19 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/343/223/19, p. 19).

13. "Návrh ubikačnèho poriadku pracovnèho tábora pre Židov v Novákoch," n.d., USHMMA, RG-57.001M/115/409/6. pp. 2–3.

14. Ibid., p. 8.

15. Ibid., pp. 8–10.

16. "Správa veliťeľa Židovskèho tábora v Novákoch," SNA, PR, 2231/b.č., reproduced in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 163 (Doc. 83); Nováky, December 7, 1942, p. 2.

17. "Nováky," December 7, 1942, pp. 5–7.

18. "Návrh ubikačného poriadku pracovného tábora pre Židov v Novákoch," n.d., USHMMA, RG-57.001M/115/409/6.

19. Ibid.

20. SNA, fond MV, 580/1392/44; "Zápisnica," May 10, 1943, YVA, fond m-5/81, reproduced in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 229 (Doc. 109); SNA, fond MV, 207/700/42; SNA, fond Národný súd, Dr. Anton Vašek, Tn ľud 17/46; Špitzer, *Nechcel som byt žid*, p. 73.

21. "Zápisnica," May 10, 1943, p. 229; SNA, fond MV, 419/1481/43, and 580/1392/44.

22. SNA, fond ÚHU, box 434, I II/A 1731/44.

23. SNA, fond MV, 420/1958/43; 411/1498/43.

24. Baka, *Židovský tábor v Novákoch 1941–1944*, p. 76.

25. SNA, fond MV, 574/1031/44; 421, b.č.

26. SNA, fond MV, 580/1392/44; "Zápisnica," May 10, 1943, p. 2; "Zápisnica," October 27, 1943, reproduced in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 248 (Doc. 116); "Referát MUDr. Jakuba Špíru zo Židovského pracovnèho tábora v Novákoch," January 20, 1944, reproduced in ibid., 5: 272–275 (Doc. 118); SNA, fond MV 421, b.č.; 395, 1134/43.

27. "Zápisnica," October 27, 1943, reproduced in ibid., 5: 248 (Doc. 116); "Referát MUDr. Jakuba Špíru zo Židovského pracovného tábora v Novákoch," January 20, 1944, pp. 272–275.

28. SNA, fond MV, 421, b.č.

29. Stavebné Oddelenie," n.d., SNA, fond MV, 263/13666-1/42, reproduced in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 164 (Doc. 85); SNA, fond MV, 411/1498/43; fond Povereníctvo vnútra—pracovné tábory, kartón 9, D-1196-1/44.

30. SNA, fond MV, 411/1498/43; kartón 419, 1838-1-6/43; carton 578, D 1260-1-8-1.

31. SNA, fond MV, 395/1140/43; kartón 409, 1443/43.

32. SNA, fond MV, 394/1051/43; kartón 579, D-1300-4/44.

33. "Pracovnè tábory Židov—dozorná," April 11, 1944, SNA, fond MV, reproduced in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 282–284 (Doc. 121).

34. Špitzer, *Nechcel som byt žid*, pp. 247–289; Hela Volanská, *Hrdinky bez pátosu* (Bratislava: Vydavatel'stvo politickej liter-atúry, 1967), pp. 132–134.

35. Špitzer, *Nechcel som byt žid*, pp. 247–248.

NOVÉ MESTO NAD VÁHOM

Nové Mesto nad Váhom (German: Neustadt an der Waag) is located 83 kilometers (52 miles) northeast of Bratislava. Before the war, it was home to one of the largest Jewish communities in Slovakia. On June 9, 1939, in a ceremony in its decorated courtyard, the Baiersdorf Old Age Home was repurposed to aid any Jew suffering hardship. Rabbi Armin Frieder became the chairman of the Ohel David Home and Shelter. Moreover, a local committee of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee was established under his leadership and participated in the maintenance of the institution. In 1941, 230 Jewish seniors were cared for at the shelter.

The Slovak Interior Ministry's (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) Department 14, which dealt with the "Jewish Question," created a temporary camp for Jews in Nové Mesto nad Váhom on February 12, 1943.[1] This camp was supposed to be moved to the Nováky labor camp, but the temporary site became permanent. The camp was officially called the "Central Jewish Old People's Camp Home in Nováky with transitional headquarters in Nové Mesto nad Váhom" (*Ústredný židovský taborový starobinec v Novákoch v prechodnom sídle v Nové Mesto nad Váhom*). The MV ruled that the elderly were taking up resources in the labor camps at Vyhne, Nováky, and Sereď and needed to be moved elsewhere so that working Jews could take their place. Nové Mesto nad Váhom maintained the Jewish community home, which was completely furnished and not a financial burden to the labor camps.

Shortly after the camp's establishment, a female prisoner cut through the barbed wire fence and escaped with her two children. To prevent further escapes, brick walls and additional rows of barbed wire were built to encircle the site.[2] Administratively, the prisoners in the Nové Mesto nad Váhom camp were counted as part of the labor camps' population, despite their being held in a separate place.[3] The Nové Mesto nad Váhom district office supervised the camp.[4] The number of prisoners varied, as did the

demographics, though there were several hundred in the camp at any given time. The Slovak Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) was responsible for camp security. The camp was administered by Jewish leaders, including Armin Frieder.

Anton Vašek's report to Slovak Interior Minister Alexander Mach on August 2, 1944, documented the conditions of the six barracks built in the large garden and courtyard of the home for the aged. The wooden barracks were built by the General Construction Cooperative (*Všeobecné stavebné družstvo*) in Bratislava and by workers in the Sereď labor camp. The first barrack was designed for married couples. The second barrack, termed the "patient pavilion," housed the doctor, nurses, medical rooms, and prisoner patients. One room was designed for male patients and another room for female patients. The third barrack contained 18 rooms, each housing four people. One large room was designated as the common dining room. The fourth and fifth barracks served, respectively, as collective housing and housing for individual families. The sixth barrack, which was designed similarly to the fourth one, contained 18 rooms. Because many people, sick and healthy alike, went through the camp, sanitation was very important, as was discipline.[5]

Resources, including pillows and blankets, were taken from the previously Jewish-owned Ples Hotel for camp use. Despite that, more blankets, food and supplies were needed to keep up with the constantly increasing number of inmates. Dr. Irena Baumová, a local doctor, served as camp physician and frequently requested additional medical supplies from the MV.[6]

After the German takeover of Nové Mesto nad Váhom on September 2, 1944, all remaining Jews were slated for deportation. Despite the efforts by Armin Frieder to organize hiding, on October 17, 1944, 920 Jews, including Rabbi Frieder's parents and Gizi Fleischmann, a prominent leader of the Slovak Working Group (*Pracovná skupina*), were deported to Auschwitz via Sereď. The Jews were marched to the Stúpava train station under heavy guard by the Nazi SS. It is unclear exactly when the camp was officially liquidated.

SOURCES A brief history of the camp can be found at Nové

Mesto nad Váhom's history website, available at http://nmnv.sk/historia/zidia_stavby_ohel.html.

Primary sources can be found in USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA) collection, particularly in reels 186, 190, and 191. Published documents can be found in Eduard Nižňanský ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 6: Deportácie v roku 1942* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2005). VHA contains 11 testimonies that reference the camp. A published testimony was written by Emanuel Frieder, *Z Denníka mladého rabína* (Bratislava: Edícia Judaica Slovaca, 1993); see also Emanuel Frieder, *To Deliver Their Souls: The Struggle of a Young Rabbi during the Holocaust* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1991).

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NOTES

1. "Správa o Ústrednom židovskom táborovom starobinci v Novom Meste nad Váhom," August 1, 1944, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 190, box 581, file 4 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 190/581/4).
2. VHA #676, Gloria Ungar testimony, January 18, 1995.
3. "Pracovné tábory židov—zriadenie ustredného táboroveho starobinca," February 2, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 186/573/3.
4. Ibid.
5. Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 289–290.
6. "Židovský taborový starobinec," March 23, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 186/573/4.

OČOVÁ

Očová is located 169 kilometers (105 miles) east-northeast of Bratislava. The first work units (*pracovný útvar*, PÚ) in Slovakia were created as early as 1941 to hold non-Jews deemed "asocials" and address the labor shortages in various state projects. Records show that Roma (Gypsies) were also imprisoned in such camps. Camps of this type existed in Očová (Lazy Trnavy; *Horárňa—Lazy Trnavy*) and Most na Ostrove. The very small PÚ in Očová was created on May 26, 1941. Twenty forced laborers worked for the Directorate of State Forests, Žarnovica (*Riaditeľstvo štátnych lesov Žarnovica*) in Očová. The Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) was responsible for supplying and supervising the personnel administering the Očová camp, which was liquidated on November 20, 1941. The forced laborers were sent home, where they were required to register with the local office and their behavior was monitored.[1]

SOURCES Very little has been published about the early Slovak camps. Some information can be found in Peter Sokolovič, ed., *Perzekúcie na Slovensku v rokoch 1938–1945: Slovenská republika 1939–1945 očami mladých historikov VII* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2008); and Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčín: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008).

Primary sources can be found in USHMMA RG-57.001M (SNA), particularly reel 116.

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NOTE

1. "Výkaz hospodarenia," March 22, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 116, folder 411, box 2.

PETIČ

Petič is a mountain or mountain pass between Lipníky and Medzianky, located north of the Slovak-Hungarian border (as set by the First Vienna Award of 1938) and approximately 330 kilometers (250 miles) east and slightly north of Bratislava. It is situated about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) northwest of Hanušovce nad Topľou, which was the site of a forced labor camp that operated between July 1, 1942, and November 8, 1943. Roma and others deemed "asocials" according to the Interior Ministry's (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) Department 16 were detained there. MV opened this work unit (*pracovný útvar*, PÚ) for the construction company, Lanna, one of the companies building the strategic Prešov–Strážske railway. Roma and others were detained for the construction of the railway section from Petič to Kapušany.[1] A total of 320 inmates were in the PÚ in Petič in the middle of August 1942.[2]

The barracks of the Petič PÚ were situated between Petič and Megeš.[3] There is also evidence that Jewish forced laborers were registered at the site. However, many of the Jewish inmates likely spent only a brief time at Petič before they were transferred to other labor camps.[4]

SOURCES For secondary information about Roma inmates at the Petič camp see Michael Zimmermann, *Rassenutopie und Genozid: Die nationalsozialistische "Lösung der Zigeunerfrage"* (Hamburg: Christians, 1996); Marek Danko, "Internačné zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary," *Čas* 1 (2010), available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813/; and Ctibor Nečas, "Pracovní útvary tzv. asociálů a Cikánů na východním Slovensku v roce 1942," in *Rómovia a druhá svetová vojna,* eds. Ingrid Vagačová and Martin Fotta (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku), pp. 58–67.

Primary documentation is scarce. The CNI of the ITS contains several inquiries about individuals detained at Petič. Most of them were Jewish forced laborers.

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NOTES

1. Nečas, "Pracovní útvary tzv," p. 58.
2. Ibid., p. 65, n34.
3. Ibid., p. 61.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Danilov Moschcovitch, Doc. No. 52818771; also CNI card for Rafila Fuchs, Doc. No. 53038225.

POPRAD

Poprad is located 256 kilometers (159 miles) east-northeast of Bratislava. On March 19, 1942, the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) established a transit and concentration camp (called *Koncentračné stredisko Židov*) in the military complex, Pod Gerlachom, located in an isolated area near Poprad. The camp initially housed Jewish women between the ages 16 and 45 from eastern and central Slovakia. Over time entire families, including children were transported to the camp.[1] The camp commandant, Jozef Petrík, received 151,000 Slovak crowns (Ks) from the MV to pay for security, emergency supplies, and office supplies to ensure the camp's functioning.[2]

The head of MV's Department 14, Gejza Konka, who made an agreement with the Defense Ministry (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO) that it evacuate the premises, planned for the transit camp to be operational by the middle of March 1942. As part of the site's reconfiguration from military facility to transit camp, the beds were removed and replaced with hay, and the toilets were replaced by latrines; no showers were installed. The camp was surrounded by barbed wire and held separate water and electricity meters to measure usage. The camp was overcrowded, and the size of its population varied widely. The facility provided housing for approximately 1,500 civilians in wooden barracks and stables; the camp's architects estimated that the housing would be temporary to accommodate a widely fluctuating number of inmates.[3]

The camp was under the supervision of Jozef Petrík and his deputy Jozef Bohuška. Petrík was a young and energetic army officer (the only army officer to serve as a camp commandant), and therefore, discipline was strict.[4] The Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) which guarded the camp interacted with the commandant with respect, and Petrík's authority in the camp was unquestioned. He also employed two Jewish orderlies who were

responsible for maintaining cleanliness and order.[5]

After the camp was repurposed, Petrík requested beds for the guards in his correspondence with the MV on April 13, 1942. In subsequent correspondence, Petrík inquired about heating in the camp. Poprad is located at the base of the Tatra Mountains, and March and April are still considered winter-time; therefore, the lack of heating in the camp was problematic, particularly at night.[6] In addition to Petrík, a German officer was also sent to Poprad to ensure that the camp would operate efficiently and that the preparations for deportation would run smoothly. MV ordered Petrík to provide "the German friend" with adequate housing (a room) and food in the city.[7]

Unlike in other concentration camps in Slovakia, the inmates in the Poprad camp did not work, but spent their entire days in the camp awaiting further instructions. Some witnesses say that the HG treated the women in the camp relatively well while others reported frequent beatings of men, particularly of doctors.[8]

In addition to holding Jews in the former military barracks, the camp also housed Jewish physicians from Šariš-Zemplín county (*Šarišsko-zemplínska župa*), located in eastern Slovakia, in two large rooms in the stables. Although there was some straw on the ground, the floors were bare. According to survivors, the doctors had to eat the food they brought with them because they were not fed for the first two to three days. The doctors were kept separately from the young women and were responsible for manual labor around the camp, particularly cleaning the latrines.[9]

The first Slovak transport of 1,000 young women left Poprad on March 25, 1942, shortly after the camp opened. On their arrival at Auschwitz, the girls received tattoo numbers 1,000 to 1,998. Only a few of them survived.[10] When the number of deportees in the camp reached 1,000 in number, a transport would depart Poprad, either for Auschwitz or the Lublin district. The inmates were transported by rail cars for days. The HG accompanied them to Čadca, a town located on the Slovak-Polish border and 118 kilometers (just over 73 miles) from Poprad, where the Nazi SS took over. All transports were scheduled to leave the Poprad train station at 8:10 P.M. and arrive in Čadca at 4:28 A.M.[11] The number of persons who passed through the transit camp reached 7,000:

three transports (March 25, April 2, April 22) went to Auschwitz and four (May 24, May 29, May 30, June 12) to the Lublin district.[12]

The camp was disbanded at the beginning of October 1942, and Department 14, the ministry responsible for Jewish affairs, returned the site to the MNO on October 8, 1942. After most of the Jews had been transported to killing centers in German-occupied Poland, a few construction specialists stayed behind to repair the buildings. These Jews worked from the beginning of October until the end of November 1942, and when their work was completed, they were transferred to the Slovak concentration camp in Nováky.[13]

In addition to the transit camp outside the city, the old Jewish school in Poprad was also used as a detention site for females. The women slept on the ground and used their possessions as blankets. They also relied on their own food supplies because they were not given food in the school.[14]

SOURCES The secondary literature for Poprad is sparse. Eduard Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: *Deportácie v roku 1942* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Simečku, 2005), provides some documentation about the camp as well as Petrík's correspondence with MV. In addition, Ivan Chalupecký and Ivan Bohuš, *Dejiny Popradu* (Košice: Oriens, 1998), mention the transit camp in two short paragraphs and lists the transports to German killing centers. On the 60th anniversary, a plaque was placed on the Poprad train station in 2002 to commemorate the first transport of young women who perished in Auschwitz; see www.slovak-jewish-heritage.org.

Primary documentation for the Poprad transit camp can be found in SNA and copied in microfilm to USHMMA as RG-57.001M (Slovak Documents Related to the Holocaust). In RG-57.001M, Poprad files include reels 112, box 394, file 55; reel 17, box 207, file 14; and reel 7, box 205, file 564. Additional documents can be found throughout the collection. VHA contains 31 testimonies from survivors who were in various Poprad detention sites.

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 17, box 207, folder 14 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/17/207/14).
2. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/7/205/564.
3. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/17/207/14.
4. "Sťahujeme Židov zo Slovenska," *Gardista*, May 31, 1942, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 376–378 (Doc. 294).
5. Ibid.
6. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/24/230/1885.
7. "Soznamy Židov," March 29, 1942, SNA, fond MV, kartón 207/4, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 214–215 (Doc. 130).
8. VHA #19588, Naphtali Bleich testimony, September 5, 1996; VHA #20034, Lea Ganik interview, September 25, 1996.
9. VHA #33798, Eugene Schnitzer testimony, September 5, 1997.
10. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/18/177/1.
11. "Preprava zaradencov Židov do práce," March 11, 1942, SNA, fond NS, Dr. A. Vašek, Tnlud 17/46-65 (kartón 110), reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 127–128 (Doc. 29).
12. D.1.5705. Moreshet Archives Givat Haviva.
13. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/112/394/55.
14. VHA #18638, Blanka Feder testimony, July 30, 1996; VHA #25341, Gizela Sokolov testimony, January 30, 1997.

REVÚCA

In early 1943, the Ladislav Hits construction company asked the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) to establish a work unit (*pracovný útvar*, PÚ) for 150 persons deemed "asocials" in Revúca, a town located 230 kilometers (143 miles) east and slightly north of Bratislava. The company had plans to construct railway lines from Slavošovce to Chyžnian Voda (today part of Lubeník), a distance of 30 kilometers (19 miles), and from Revúca to Tisovec, a distance of 20 kilometers (12 miles). The MV accepted the application and signed a contract with the company on March 1, 1943. The camp was officially established on March 8, and the MV promised to send 150 to 200 forced laborers to the camp between March 15 and April 15, 1943.[1] The camp population included Roma ("Gypsies"), as well as others deemed "asocial" by the Tiso regime.

The firm arranged housing for 100 to 120 forced laborers outside Revúca and for 80 to 100 people in Muránska Dlhá Lúka, a village located 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from Revúca. The forced laborers arose at 4 A.M. and arrived by train at Revúca at 5:13 A.M. They worked from 6:00 A.M. until noon and from 1 P.M. to 6 P.M., returning to their quarters around 7:00 P.M.

The forced laborers lived in two wooden barracks, built from unsanded boards and only partly insulated. The quarters were infested with vermin. Often two forced laborers slept on each bed. The construction company was supposed to provide the workers with clothing and blankets, but failed to do so. The forced laborers arrived shoeless at the camp, and the shoe shortage remained a perennial problem: in June 1943, 10 people worked without shoes, in July that number doubled, and in August the number grew to 50.

The barracks housed between 80 and 100 workers, and toilets were behind the barracks. The camp commander's barrack was built first; it also had two rooms for forced laborers and the tailor and shoemaker workshops. The second was built in the spring of

1943 and housed more laborers. About 100 additional workers were housed in the former Klein house on Štefánikova Street about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the camp. It was an older house with many rooms and a sizable garden. However, even the Klein residence was infested with vermin. Eight gendarmes and one supervisor were housed in a complex called "Stará Máša," located 150 meters (492 feet) from the camp.[2] They were all housed in a small room, 6.3 meters long, 5.04 meters wide, and 3.2 meters high (20.7 feet by 16.5 feet by 10.5 feet).

Slovak government reports indicated that the housing was insufficient; the lack of space was problematic for both the gendarmes and workers. On June 30, 1943, the firm tried to disinfect the forced laborers' rooms by applying hot steam to the beds.[3]

The camp commander first divided the forced laborers into two groups—the Roma and the others—and then subdivided each into three groups: the first consisted of people deemed intelligent, obedient, and hardworking; the second were inmates with a checkered past, but who were not considered incorrigible; the third comprised "lifelong criminals" viewed as undisciplined, lazy, and dangerous. Group placement mattered because the first group had priority in clothing, received the highest wages, and had the privilege of leaving the camp for family visits. Members of the third group endured the strictest security, received the lowest wages, and had no privileges. They were also deployed on the worst, most difficult assignments; the guards often beat them and forced them to work to exhaustion. Their daily working hours were constantly prolonged. During what should have been their normal "breaks," their tasks included obtaining water and cleaning toilets.

On March 10, 1943, the Police General Command sent 10 gendarmes to the camp. The camp commander, also the commander of the gendarmes, was František Krasňanský; he oversaw organization, security, training, and discipline, and Ján Znamenák served as his deputy.[4] The gendarmes were armed and authorized to use deadly force as necessary. When disciplinary problems arose, the forced laborers' detention was lengthened, or they were threatened with transport to the Ilava penal camp as enemies of the state.

The forced laborers worked in teams comprised of nine members and a leader. Three to five teams worked in a squad. They were paid a token wage of 10 Slovak crowns (Ks) per day (before deductions) that was so low that it did not even cover the costs of food and housing (11 Ks per day). In addition, the Ladislav Hits firm withheld money from the prisoners' wages to cover social insurance, equipment rental, and camp maintenance fees. After all these deductions, only 2 Ks remained per day. Ladislav Hits applied to the Ministry of Transportation and Public Works (*Ministerstvo dopravy a verejných prác*, MDVP) for reimbursement for the wages it paid to the prisoners, but this request was denied.[5]

At the Revúca camp, food and medical attention were substandard. Not much is known about the camp diet, other than that the rations were very small and drew frequent complaints. The inmates received coffee or soup in the morning and then only one course each for lunch and dinner. Dr. Ľudovít Herald, the district doctor, was the physician responsible for health care at the camp, but visited infrequently. Because he was very busy in his clinic in the village, the gendarmes took the sick workers there.

The horrible working conditions and very low wages prompted a large number of escapes. The camp commander justified this high escape rate to the MV by explaining that he had only 10 gendarmes to guard the laborers working on the railway line, which was 7 kilometers (4.35 miles) in length and was surrounded by forests. In 1944, the inmates had to turn in their shoes and clothes at night to minimize escapes.[6]

Despite the harsh conditions, the inmates were able to engage in some supervised religious and cultural activities. Each Sunday, the Revúca priest celebrated Mass at 8 A.M. at the camp. There were movies shown in the camp as well. In addition, the workers formed a soccer team and played against the Revúca club.

A representative from the Interior Ministry, Ján Huban, visited the camp on December 14, 1943. He saw that the inmates were housed in one barrack, which was not insulated and had gaps in the walls and roof. On December 11, 1943, the inmates were moved to a wooden house across from the wooden barrack.[7]

On September 1, 1943, 130 "asocials" and 154 Roma were

working at Revúca. At the beginning of the summer of 1944, 49 "asocials" and 51 Gypsies remained in the camp. The MV liquidated the camp on June 10, 1944. Some of the "asocials" were released, others were transported to the camp at Dubnica nad Váhom, and still others fled.

SOURCES Information about the Revúca camp can be found in Ctibor Nečas, *československí Romové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně, 1994); Ivan Kamenec, "Vznik a vývoj židovských pracovných táborov a stredísk na Slovensku v rokoch 1942–1944," in *Nové obzory č. 8: Spoločenskovedný sborník východného Slovenska* (Košice: Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1966), pp. 15–38; Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté Tábory* (Trenčin: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); Július Táncošand René Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002); and Marek Danko, "Internačné zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary" (Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, Košice), available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813/.

Primary sources on the Revúca camp can be found at SNA, available at USHMMA as RG-57.001M, mainly in reels 177, 187, and 188. PÚs are also briefly mentioned in postwar collaborator trials. Published documents on the MV can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004). VHA contains seven testimonies that mention the Revúca camp.

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NOTES

1. "Revúca-zriadenie pracovného útvaru," March 4, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA), reel 177, box 550, file 5 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/177/550/5).

2. "Zápisnica," December 14, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M

/177/549/3.

3. “Pracovný útvar v Revúcej—vykonanie prehliadky,” July 2, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/177/549/3.

4. “Revúca—zriadenie pracovného tábora,” November 7, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/177/549/3.

5. Ibid.; “Pracovný útvar,” November 5, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/177/549/3.

6. “Revúca, pracovný útvar-neprístojnost, šetrenie,” October 7, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/177/549/3.

7. “Pracovný útvar,” November 5, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/177/549/3.

SERED'

Sereď (in some sources referred to as Sereď nad Váhom) is located 49 kilometers (30 miles) east-northeast of Bratislava. On September 18, 1941, on the orders of the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV), the construction of the labor camp for Jews started in Sereď. Jewish workers reconstructed the former military store houses and built new barracks in the town.[1] The camp, which was supposed to hold 3,000 people, never reached this capacity, but served as a transit camp, labor camp, and, finally, from September 1944 to March 1945, a Nazi SS-run detention and penal camp.

Several months after the start of construction, the Slovak government began to organize deportations of Jews from Slovakia to German-occupied Poland. As in the case of the camp in Nováky, MV had decided to use the camp in Sereď as the transit and concentration camp: the official name of the camp was Concentration Center for Jews in Sereď (*Koncentračné stredisko Židov in Sereď*). On March 2, 1942, Jozef Vozár, a 34-year old member of the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) and former locksmith, became the camp's commander. Surrounded by barbed wire, it was guarded by 56 HG members who committed violent crimes against Jews prior to their deportation.[2] Three full transports and five smaller transports carrying 4,463 people departed Sereď by the end of September 1942. Full transports with the requested quota of 1,000 people departed on March 28, April 12, and April 21, 1942.[3] Smaller, so-called supplementary transports headed to the Žilina concentration center where the prisoners were placed temporarily. The value of the confiscated Jewish property was estimated to be at least 200,000 Slovak crowns (Ks).[4]

During the period of these deportations, inmates of the camp were divided into two categories: inmates (*zaistenci)* and forced laborers (*zaradenci*). The first workshops started to operate at this

time.

Imrich Vašina, the former commander of the Bratislava-Patrónka camp, replaced Vozár on September 1, 1942. Described as a cruel man, who once beat up a Jewish girl during a roll call until she fainted, Vašina took advantage of his authority, which eventually led to his dismissal.[5]

From the end of September 1942, Sereď became a labor camp, whose revenues were progressively generated by a wide range of profitable workshops, as well as gardening and farming. The difficult living conditions improved slightly during the labor camp phase. Prisoners slept on two-tiered wooden bunks and worked in various workshops throughout the day. The most important and surprisingly well-equipped facility was the woodworking workshop. It produced various products, from furniture and wooden interiors to stairs and windows. Workers in Sereď produced very high-quality goods; even Slovak Interior Minister Alexander Mach had his furniture built in Sereď.[6] Toys, clothes, hats, luggage, knitwear, and lace items were also produced in various workshops by Jewish men, women, and children. Angora rabbits were raised for their fur. Cardboard, concrete tubes, and various chemicals were also produced.[7] Although the labor camp only began production in 1942, in 1943 its turnover was 17 million Ks and its profit about 2 million Ks, greater than that generated by the Nováky and Vyhne labor camps.[8]

An eight-member Jewish Council (*Židovská rada*, ŽR), headed by Alexander Pressburger, helped run the labor camp.[9] Many Jews participated in cultural and physical activities outside of work. The physical training department was created in September 1942, when the commander allowed the prisoners to play soccer in the camp yard. The theater department arranged its first performances on December 5 and 6, 1942, which generated such interest that performances became a regular occurrence. Indoor games, including table tennis, chess, and dominos, were popular. As at Nováky, Jews were allowed to participate in numerous educational courses outside of working hours, and a library was established in November 1942.[10] Religious services took place, but the Jewish converts to Christianity were privileged in this respect.[11]

A children's school opened officially in Sered' in January 1943,

but it had existed unofficially since November 1942. Originally two and then, in October 1943, three teachers were appointed for the two classes.[12] Apprenticeships in camp workshops brought the students into the production process. Summer holidays for children were organized in the same way as at Nováky: they could leave the camp to stay with Jewish families, at their expense. A nursery and a children's home were available for the youngest children.[13]

Living quarters at the Sered' labor camp, early 1940s. USHMM WS #83095, COURTESY OF THE SLOVENSKY NARODNY ARCHIV.

The camp in Sereď was unique in one respect: the Jewish hospital in Bratislava (Židovská nemocnica v Bratislave) was moved from Bratislava to the Sereď camp on July 17, 1942. It consisted of 22 rooms—accommodating 120 to 150 patients—on one level of a former military ware house.[14] There were 6 physicians and 10 certified nurses working in the hospital. Originally it was not subordinated to the commander of the camp and struggled with financial problems, however, because its bud get relied on patient fees.[15] In May 1943, the hospital was converted into a hospital for Jews from all over Slovakia. Jews living outside the camps had to pay for any medical treatment received.[16] It mainly served the Jewish inmates of labor camps and labor centers.

From the medical viewpoint, the situation in the camp was

comparatively tolerable. Many people were overworked; mental disorders were common. Despite inoculations, there were cases of typhoid, diphtheria, and whooping cough. Most of the diseases were caused by unsanitary conditions. The Jewish hospital often nursed the victims of HG beatings.

The size of the HG force gradually decreased. By the end of March 1944, only six members of the HG remained, and eventually all were replaced by gendarmes.[17] At that time the camp also received a new commander, Jozef Pilník; however, in May he was replaced by Jozef Juraj Matuščín, who held this post until the camp's dissolution.[18] All these changes helped slightly improve the very harsh conditions for the Jews.

In 1944, the number of escapes from the camp increased. In expectation of an armed uprising, some prisoners organized an underground movement, but its scope and preparation were not as extensive as at Nováky. Communication between the Sered' group and the partisans was hindered by the camp's strategically unfavorable location. However, despite the great risk, three illegal organizations operated inside the camp: the Communist Party of Slovakia (*Komunistická strana Slovenska*, KSS), *Hashomer Hacair*, and *Makabi Hacair,* the latter two left-leaning Zionist youth organizations.

After the outbreak of the Slovak National Uprising on August 29, 1944, the camp fences were breached, and many inmates escaped. Some then participated in the revolt. However, the town of Sereď was soon occupied by German units, and the camp was robbed by German soldiers. On September 12, 1944, the Einsatzgruppe H der Sipo und des SD, which established its headquarters in Bratislava, sent 33 members of the SS into the Sereď camp, which then became a detention and penal camp.[19] During the next two weeks, units subordinated to Einsatzgruppe H, including the Slovak HG units and other security bodies, brought hundreds of Jews, whom they had arrested during their advance, into the Sereď camp. The camp became overcrowded with Jewish prisoners very soon, reaching a population of about 3,000 inmates.[20] This was more than double the camp's maximum capacity. During these two weeks Jews were not deported from Sereď, but numerous cases of harassment, rape, and murder occurred.[21]

In the last few days of September 1944 (the exact date is unknown), SS-Hauptsturmführer Alois Brunner, Adolf Eichmann's right-hand man, took over the camp and started to organize transports of Jews. Brunner organized 11 transports of approximately 11,500 people from Sered' to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, Sachsenhausen, Bergen-Belsen, and Terezín between September 30, 1944, and March 31, 1945.[22] During Brunner's tenure at Sered', Emanuel Kolm, originally from Vienna, was the Judenälteste of the camp, and several workshops were in operation. For some period of time, hundreds of partisans and people suspected of supporting the uprising were held in Sereď in a separate block.[23] At least 44 Jewish and non-Jewish prisoners were shot during that period.

The Red Army liberated the camp on April 1, 1945.

SOURCES Sered' is mentioned in numerous secondary sources about war time Slovakia. This essay builds on the introduction in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004), which also reproduces primary documents about the camp. The most comprehensive book about the camp is by Ján Hlavinka and Eduard Nižňanský, *Pracovný a koncentračnýy tábor v Seredi 1941–1945 (* Bratislava: Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, 2009). Scholarly articles that mention Sered' include Katarína Hradská, "Deportácie slovenských Židov v rokoch 1944–45 so zreteľom na transporty do Terezína," *Hč* 45: 3 (1997): 455–471; Gila Fatran, "Die Deportation der Juden aus der Slowakei 1944–1945," *Bohemia* 37:1 (1996): 99–119; and Vlasta Kladivová, "Osudy židovských transportů ze Slovenska do Osvětimi," in Dezider Tóth, ed., *Tragédia slovenských Židov: materiály z medzinárodného sympózia, Banská Bystrica 25–27 marca 1992* (Banská Bystrica: Datei, 1992), pp. 139–166. A memorial website about the camp's history is available at www.edah.sk/zidia/snm—mzk—muzeum-holokaustu-sered.

Primary sources on Sered' can be found at USHMMA, which holds microform copies of documentation from SNA under RG-57.001M, reels 21, 47, and 190; and SNA's Slovakian Jewish

Labor Camps collection (Acc. No. 1998.A.0303). At USHMMA, personal collections include the Peter O. Vlcko papers (RG-20.015*01); Hana Kovanic photographs (Acc. No. 2003.416.1); Elizabeth Kardos Langelder Kux collection (Acc. No. 2007.224); Michael A. Diamond papers (RG-10.404); and the Avraham Abba Frieder collection, including *Z denníka mladého rabína* (Bratislava: Slovenské Národné Múzeum, 1993). VHA holds 227 testimonies that include information on Sereď.

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Trans. Marianna Kramarikova

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA fond MV, reel 21, box 227, file 6 (unpaginated) (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/21/227/6); SNA, 61/42, 1258/44.

2. SNA, fond MV, 1464/43.

3. Hlavinka and Nižňanský, *Pracovný a koncentračnýy tábor v Seredi 1941–1945,* pp. 3–36.

4. "Priloha," n.d., SNA, fond MV, 21/227/6.

5. VHA #41802, Shari Shayo testimony, March 10, 1998.

6. "Hlásenie veliteľa žid. strediska, Sered', I. Vašinu," September 8, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/42/259/11643; SNA, fond MV, 1358/43.

7. "Hlásenie veliteľa žid. strediska, Sered', I. Vašinu"; SNA, fond MV, 01/42; 421/43; 1498/43; 1586/43; 1370/43; 1498/43.

8. SNA, fond MV, box 578, 1249/44.

9. "Pracovné tábory a strediská," July 20, 1943, SNA, fond MV, box 478, 406-545-12, 1483/44, reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 244–245 (Doc. 112).

10. USHMMA, RG-57.0010M, SNA, 119/419/8; SNA, fond MV, 421/43, 12 817/42; and fond ÚHÚ, II A-173/44.

11. SNA, fond MV, 1958/43; 1666/43; 13569/42, 1498/43; 1306/44.

12. SNA, fond MV, 1958/43, 1833/43; 1958/43; 1442/44; 13533/42; 421/43; 11655/42; 1409/44;1267/43; Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 149; Hlavinka and Nižňanský, *Pracovný a koncentračný tábor v Seredi 1941–1945*, pp. 88–89.

13. "Zriadenie jasiel-praktické vyučovanie," October 14, 1942, SNA, fond MV, box 262, 11269/42, reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 154 (Doc. 81).

14. "Správa o Židovskej Nemocnici v Seredi," n.d., USHMMA, RG-57.001M/47/271/19.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/190/579/39.

18. Ibid.

19. Archiv bezpečnostních složek (ABS), Prague, fond 325, 325-165-1.

20. Testimony of Alexander Gregor, Archív Ústavu pamäti národa (AUPN), Bratislava, f. BA-S, S-98.

21. Testimony of Vojtech Kvetňanský, Yad Vashem Archives, YVA, M.48/940; ABS, fond 325, 325-90-7; ABS, fond 319, 319-13-4.

22. YVA, M.48/940; Gila Fatran, "Die Deportation der Juden aus der Slowakei 1944–1945," *Bohemia. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der böhmischen Länder* 37 (1996): 118.

23. Testimonies of Juraj Roth, Alexander Gregor (Weiss), and Ján Lachký, YVA, M.48/940.

SVÄTÝ JUR

The village of Svätý Jur is located about 14 kilometers (9 miles) northeast of Bratislava. On June 19, 1943, the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) and the waterway company, *Slovenské dolnomoravské vodné družstvo* (Slovak Lower Moravian Water Cooperative; Moravod), signed an agreement to create a forced labor camp for Jews—sometimes referred to as a work center (*pracovné stredisko*, PS)—to construct a canal on the Šúr River. The camp was created on July 3, 1943, just outside the village, and held 133 forced laborers.[1]

The Svätý Jur camp prisoners were former military personnel from the Sixth Labor Batallion (*Šiesty robotný prápor,* ŠP) who were released by the Slovak National Defense Ministry (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany,* MNO) on June 1, 1943, and placed under MV jurisdiction. At the end of 1943, 99 men remained in the camp. All of them were single, and 87 were classified as Jewish.[2]

The forced laborers lived in barracks and animal sheds just outside of the village and were prohibited from entering Svätý Jur.

The Slovak Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) was responsible for security in the camp and at the work site. The camp commander was Jozef Kotlárik. The camp was required to adhere to laws from the "Rules of the Jewish Labor Camps" ("*Poriadok židovských pracovných táborov*").[3]

According to the agreed-on contract with Moravod, the employer was responsible for paying small monthly wages and providing housing to both forced laborers and HG personnel, as well as office space for the HG. The Jewish Council (*Židovská rada,* ŽR) assisted with the camp's administration. Ján Engel headed the ŽR, and Ľudovít Schulz was his deputy, Alazár Kosenfeld was charged with taking care of health issues, and Ladislav Kardoš was responsible for social services.[4]

On November 18, 1943, Moravod suggested that the camp be liquidated because there was not enough work to justify its continued existence. When the camp was closed on December 13, 1943, the forced laborers were moved to the Kostolná or Kraľovany camps, and the barracks were returned to Moravod.[5]

SOURCES Limited secondary information on the Svätý Jur forced labor camp can be found in Marek Danko, *Internačné zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreťeľom na pracovné úvary* (Košice: Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 2010); Ružena Bubeničková, Ludmila Kubaltová, and Irena Malá, *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague: Svoboda, 1969); and Vladimir Vavrinský, *Tábory nútenej práce na Slovensku v rokoch 1941–1953* (Banská Bystrica: Univerzita Mateja Bela, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the Svätý Jur forced labor camp can be found in USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA), reels 158, 185, 187, and 190. Published primary sources can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004). VHA holds 15 testimonies that mention Svätý Jur.

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NOTES

1. "Pracovné stredisko židov pri stavbe obvodného kanálu "Šúr" v Sv. Jure sriadenie," July 3, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 185, box 571, file 14 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 185/571/14).
2. "Štatút pre židovské tábory a strediská," n.d., USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 190/581/2.
3. USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 185/571/14.
4. "Pracovné stredisko zidov vo Svätom Jure—židovská rada zriadenie," July 15, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 185/571/15.

5. “Odsunovací plan prac. Stredísk,” December 10, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 187/574/25.

ÚSTIE NAD ORAVOU

Ústie nad Oravou is located 227 kilometers (141 miles) east-northeast of Bratislava. Negotiations to create a labor camp there began in the summer of 1942, when the engineering firm of Bugan and Danišovič requested 400 laborers for the construction of the Orava dam, for which it had a state contract. However, because the firm could not provide housing for these laborers, the negotiations were tabled until 1943. On August 20, 1943, Peter Starinský, director of the Slovak State Security Headquarters (*Ústredňa štátnej bezpečnosti*, ÚŠB), wrote a memo to the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) about the need to establish a camp for arrested Ukrainian civilians, to eliminate potential state security breaches.[1,2] The MV agreed and created the Ústie nad Oravou forced labor camp on August 28, 1943.[3]

Before the camp was created, work on the Orava dam was progressing slowly because of the small workforce; in fact, only 70 people were working on the project at that time. When the MV approved the camp, the Bugan and Danišovič firm built two wooden barracks for the newly acquired workforce, with a capacity of up to 300 people. The barracks were built on concrete foundations and were in adequate shape. Inside the barracks were three-tiered bunks with pillows and blankets, and heating was provided by boilers. The firm provided food in consultation with the camp's commander. It also supplied the required silverware, plates, and glasses.

In addition to the two barracks, another building housed a communal kitchen, three additional rooms, and storage space. The camp also included a potable water source as well as 10 toilets, showers, hot water, and sinks.[4] The barracks were surrounded by a wooden fence, and the firm had plans to further secure the camp site. A Jewish doctor provided health care. Women also worked in the labor camp and were housed separately from the men.

The forced laborers, all born between 1917 and 1922, worked 8-

to 11-hour shifts. They were awakened at 5 A.M. daily and worked from 6 A.M. until noon and then from 1:30 P.M. until 6:30 P.M. On September 29, 1943, 34 Ukrainians, both men and women, worked in the camp and earned 55 Slovak crowns (Ks) per day, but of this amount 16 Ks were paid for rations and housing.

The camp commander was Eduard Koseček, and his deputy was Štefan Kamenský. Six additional gendarmes were responsible for the camp's security. The district gendarmes office provided food and accommodations for them.[5] The MV had requested eight energetic and trustworthy gendarmes, at least two with previous camp experience and at least two who spoke Ukrainian.[6]

Koseček's reports suggest that conditions were relatively good during the camp's first several months: they did not list any complaints from the camp's workers, which was remarkable for a forced labor camp.[7] The camp commander encountered a few issues with the cooks, however. He fired Vincenc Tomášek because, according to the report, he mismanaged food rations.[8] In addition, the commander continuously noted the lack of clothing and shoes of the workers and asked the MV to provide sufficient footwear. In fact, many workers did not have any shoes and wore only scraps of clothing while working on the site.[9]

The number of workers in the camp fluctuated. Conditions worsened for laborers when Slovak Roma (also referred to as Gypsies, *Cigáni*, in Slovak police reports) were brought to the camp to augment the insufficient workforce. Between 100 and 300 additional workers, mostly Roma, arrived at the camp in September 1943; many were in poor health and lacked adequate clothing. The firm was obligated to provide shoes, clothing, and a sufficient number of gendarmes for the site. However, not only were the Roma's requests for clothing and proper shoes denied but also the camp commander told the gendarmes to beat them.[10] Some of the workers who did receive clothing found that they were infested with lice. The food—both the size of the rations and their quality—worsened. The MV directed the camp leaders to house the Roma in separate barracks from the Ukrainians and to limit their interactions.[11]

On October 5, 1943, the camp commander addressed the poor clothing conditions once again in a report to the MV. He argued

that the laborers were not dressed properly, and because the Upper Moravia climate was particularly harsh, they could not work.[12] On November 2, 1943, the camp commander sent workers to the project in −7° C degrees Celsius (19° Fahrenheit). Four workers were shoeless. Some laborers attempted to flee the site, and others refused to work in the subzero temperatures of the following week.

On November 12, 1943, in a military order, the MV issued stricter guidelines for the administration of the camp. The orders prohibited card playing and all walks. It also created an emergency prison for laborers who misbehaved. The order restricted movement to and from the camp to staff and only to those who had special permission from the camp commander.[13] Ten laborers fled, but were recaptured by local police forces and returned to the camp. The firm did not request additional laborers after November due to harsh weather.

The camp was liquidated on December 31, 1944, when the non-Roma laborers were freed and the Roma laborers were moved to the Dubnica nad Váhom camp. The dam was completed and still functions.

SOURCES Information about this camp can be found in Ctibor Nečas, *Československí Romové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně, 1994); Ivan Kamenec, "Vznik a vývoj židovských pracovných táborov a stredísk na Slovensku v rokoch 1942–1944," in *Nové obzory č. 8: Spoločenskovedný sborník východného Slovenska* (Košice: Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1966), pp. 15–38; Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčin: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); Július Táncoš and René Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002); and Marek Danko, "Internačné zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary" (Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, Košice), available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813/.

Primary sources on the Ústie nad Oravou camp can be found at SNA, available at USHMMA as RG-57.001M, mainly in reels 177, 187, and 188. Additional documents can be accessed in the SNA, fond MV, boxes 549, 551, 1894, and 2440. Published

documents can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004).

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NOTES

1. Ukrajinskí robotníci—zaradenie do práce," August, 20, 1943, SNA, fond MV, box 551, folder D1197, file 43 (SNA, fond MV, 551/D1197/43).
2. "Zápisnica," August 20, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 551/D1197/43.
3. "Pracovný útvar Ústie nad Oravou," n.d., SNA, fond MV, 549/1087/43.
4. "Pracovný útvar v Ústí nad Or. zriadenie," September 6, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 551/D1197/43.
5. "Zriadenie pracovného útvaru v Ústí nad Oravou," September 8, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 551/D1197/43.
6. "Pracovný útvar v Ústi nad Or. zriadenie," September 6, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 551/D1197/43.
7. "Pracovný útvar Ústie nad Oravou," n.d., SNA, fond MV, 549/1087/43.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. "Vodná nádrž na Orave," November 4, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 551/D1197/43.
11. "Pracovný útvar v Ústí nad Oravou—postupné dodávanie asociálnych osôb," October 4, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 551/D1197/43.
12. "Pracovný tábor ukrajinských útečencov v Ústí nad Oravou," October 5, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 551/D1197/43.
13. "Zápisnica," November 12, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 551/

D1198/43.

VEĽKÝ KÝR

Located 78 kilometers (49 miles) east of Bratislava, Veľký Kýr, which is near the city of Nitra (Hungarian: Nagy-Kér and later Nyitranagykér), was the second camp created near the demarcation line established between Slovakia and Hungary after the First Vienna Award of November 2, 1938. Together with Miloslavov, the establishment of Veľký Kýr was part of the Slovak government's first attempt to expel Jews from Slovak territory in late 1938, less than one month after the promulgation of Slovak autonomy on October 6, 1938.

A day before the First Vienna Award was announced, a pro-Hungarian demonstration took place in Bratislava, at which local police arrested several Jews. Once the decision made by the high powers about the new borders with Hungary was known, Ľudáks blamed the Jews for it. At the Carlton Hotel in Bratislava, on November 3, 1938, a meeting of several Ľudáks members took place to discuss the "Jewish Question." Among the conferees were SS-Obersturmführer Adolf Eichmann, who had arrived from Vienna; radical HSĽS member and lawyer Jozef Faláth, Chief of the Academic Hlinka Guard (*Akademická Hlinkova garda*); and Jozef Kirschbaum, as well as the head of the *Deutsche Partei* Franz Karmasin.[1] The deportation of Jews to the Hungarian occupied territories was proposed at the meeting, and the proposal was submitted to Prime Minister Jozef Tiso on November 4.[2] After Tiso approved the proposal, he instructed Faláth to take charge of its implementation. On the very same day, Faláth established the Center for the Solution of the Jewish Problem in Slovakia (*Centrála pre riešenie židovského problému na Slovensku*) at the Police Directorate in Bratislava and instructed the district offices all around Slovakia to arrest Jews "without material sources" and to "push them" to the surrendered territory by midnight of the same day. Jews owning property worth more than 500,000 Czechoslovak crowns (Kč) were to be arrested in order to prevent them from emigrating.[3]

Deportations began immediately: the HG and gendarmes rounded up Jews and drove them to southern Slovakia, to territory that would soon be Hungarian, and left them in open lands with just 50 Kč per person. A few hours later, the original order was changed, and instead of Jews without property, Jews of foreign citizenship became the target of deportation.[4]

As soon as Hungarian police rounded up these Jews, it returned them to the temporary "no man's land" between Hungary and Slovakia, where the camps at Miloslavov and Veľký Kýr had been created in early November. Neither country claimed responsibility for these camps, and each blamed the other for their existence. The demarcation line included a 3-kilometer (1.86-mile) neutral zone and another 1.5-kilometer (0.9-mile) zone that the Slovak Army was not supposed to cross. The returned Jews were beaten, tortured, and denied food.

The deportation was stopped on November 7, 1938, based on Tiso's order. However, about 7,500 Jews had already been deported from all over Slovakia to various places in that "no man's land."[5]

Conditions in the Veľký Kýr camp were inhumane; there was no shelter, and the interned Jews had brought very little food along with them. The elderly and the children, in particular, became sick in the cold and rainy November weather.

On November 26, 1938, Slovak and Hungarian authorities met in Veľký Kýr to discuss the "Jewish Question." The agreement that they signed allowed those Jews who could prove their Czechoslovak citizenship to enter Slovak territory. The Slovak Country Office (*Krajinský úrad*, KÚ) affirmed this agreement on December 1, 1938, but added that for each Czechoslovak citizen, one Hungarian citizen would be sent to Hungary.[6] Therefore, while the agreement remained in force, implementation was slow, and hundreds of people languished in the Veľký Kýr and Miloslavov camps in desolate conditions. The lack of food, shelter, and hygiene created serious health problems, which proved risky to the border police and villagers as well.

As the situation in the camp reached a critical state, Jewish organizations in Bratislava attempted to intervene. On November 29, 1938, the president of the Orthodox Religious Communities

wrote to Slovak prime minister Jozef Tiso regarding the camps in Miloslavov and Veľký Kýr, outlining the horrid conditions experienced by the detainees. According to his letter of November 29, 1938, there were 344 people interned at Veľký Kýr: 132 men, 73 women, and 139 children of various ages.[7] The Jewish organization suggested ways to improve their conditions at the Jewish community's expense, and not that of the local or national government. For example, all Jews unable to return to their homes or who could not be taken in by family members could be housed in buildings owned by Jewish organizations under Slovak police control, such as the old Jewish hospital in Bratislava. The organization promised to take care of the Jews' housing, food, and medical care. For those holding Slovak citizenship, the president of the organization asked for permission for their return to specific cities. For those not allowed to return, he asked for a respite before deportation to allow them to liquidate their property and other matters before departing Slovakia. He assured the prime minister that every phase of this plan would be implemented and paid for by Jewish organizations and that the detainees would not be in anyone's way. In addition, the Jewish community would serve as a liaison with foreign offices and foreign nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to facilitate immigration. The organization offered to provide financial assistance for those returning to Subcarpathian Rus' or Poland.[8]

Even though the Jewish organizations in Bratislava provided help and supplies to those in the camp, their living conditions worsened drastically after heavy rains and cold temperatures. Local officials were afraid the camp would become a security risk and warned against the possibility of epidemics, which threatened the surrounding villages and guards in the camp.

On December 8, 1938, KÚ allowed the Jews who lived in Veľký Kýr and Miloslavov to return to the Slovak territory of Czechoslovakia. Jews who had legal domiciles in Slovak territory could return to their home towns and villages and were to be brought there by their "home" district authorities (district offices).[9]

On December 12, 1938, the KÚ informed the districts that they were able to transport home local Jews on Tuesdays and Fridays. They were required to bring police escort and a truck, and all expenses were to be paid by the Jewish religious community.[10]

Thus, for example, Móric Silberberg, his wife Berta, and daughter Aranka were transported from the Veľký Kýr camp to Bánovce nad Bebravou on December 16, 1938. They were disinfected in the county hospital in Nitra and temporarily housed in the Jewish poor house at the Jewish community's expense.[11]

Those Jews whose official domicile before deportation from Slovakia was in Czech lands, Subcarpathian Rus, or Poland, were sent there. Some were interned again in camps in Patrónka (Bratislava), Nitra, and Zlaté Moravce under gendarme and HG control.

A group of 158 Jews who arrived in Veľký Kýr on November 4, 1938, was taken back to Slovakia on February 21, 1939. It is unclear, however, when the camp was liquidated and under what conditions.[12]

SOURCES Very little information exists about Veľký Kýr. Brief mention of the camp can be found in Ivan Kamenec, *Po stopách tragédie* (Bratislava: H & H, 2007); Ladislav Lipscher, *Židia v slovenskom štáte, 1939–1945* (Bratislava: Printservis, 1992); and Eduard Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku medzi československou parlamentnou demokraciou a Slovenským štátom v stredoeurópskom kontexte* (Prešov: Universum, 1999),

Primary documents about the camp can be found in SNA, available in microform at USHMMA as RG-57.001M, reels 26 and 178. Published primary sources on the camp can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie (6.10.1938–14.3.1939)* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2001).

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NOTES

1. Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku*, p. 39.
2. Ibid., 40.
3. Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie*, pp. 228–229 (Doc. 110).

4. “Úradný zoznam,” December 4, 1946, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie*, p. 241 (Doc. 118).

5. Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku*, p. 54.

6. Ibid, 60–61.

7. “Umiestnenie vyhostených židov, nachadzajúcich sa na hraniciach pri Mischdorfe a pri Nitre,” November 29, 1938, SNA, fond KÚ-Presidium, box 309, bez čísla, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie*, pp. 250–252 (Doc. 125).

8. Ibid., p. 252.

9. Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku*, p. 62.

10. Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie*, pp. 234–237 (Doc. 116).

11. “Hlásenie,” December 17, 1938, ŠOKA Topolčany, fond Okresný Úrad v Bánovciach nad Bebravou, box 66, 522/41 prez., reprinted in ibid., 6: 259–290 (Doc. 134).

12. “Židovská otázka na Slovensku,” February 21, 1939, SNA, fond KÚ-Presidium, box 309, 77581/1938 prez., reprinted in ibid., 6: 258–259 (Doc. 131).

VYHNE

Located 140 kilometers (87 miles) northeast of Bratislava, Vyhne was the smallest of the three labor camps set up by the Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV). During the camp's first phase, from February 1940 to February 1942, the barracks housed 326 Jewish refugees from German territories who had been imprisoned in Sosnowiec, Poland. Under the so-called Nisko operation, one of the first deportations of Jews from Nazi Germany, a transport left Ostrava for Nisko, but got stuck in Sosnowiec on November 1, 1939, after a wooden bridge near Zarzecze collapsed.[1] On December 14, 1939, the Jewish Central Bureau (*Židovská ústredná úradovňa*, ŽÚÚ) lobbied the MV to provide temporary housing for these Jews prior to their immigration to Palestine, and the MV agreed to establish a camp at Vyhne.

The small spa town seemed suitable for a camp because the baths were no longer in use. Their owner, a Jewish woman, Dr. Alžbeta Forgáčova (neé Ungárova), lived in Budapest at the time. Not only was the spa isolated from the town of Vyhne but also the nearest railway station was in Bzenica, 7 kilometers (4.35 miles) away.[2] The camp consisted of the Old Bath House with 42 rooms, the New Bath House with 35 rooms, Hell's House with 42 rooms, and the Park House with 2 rooms. The Jews paid 2.50 Slovak crowns (Ks) for room and board and an additional 1.67 Ks per month for linen.[3]

The Vyhne camp was originally supervised by the District Office in Nová Baňa and the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) commander in Vyhne: Izidor Luptovský. Since the district office in Nová Baňa was located 27.8 kilometers (17.3 miles) southwest of Vyhne, Luptovský had broad powers, which included giving passes for Jews to leave the camp.[4] The camp itself was established and financially supported by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC), which helped Jews from Germany immigrate to the United States. The MV agreed to house

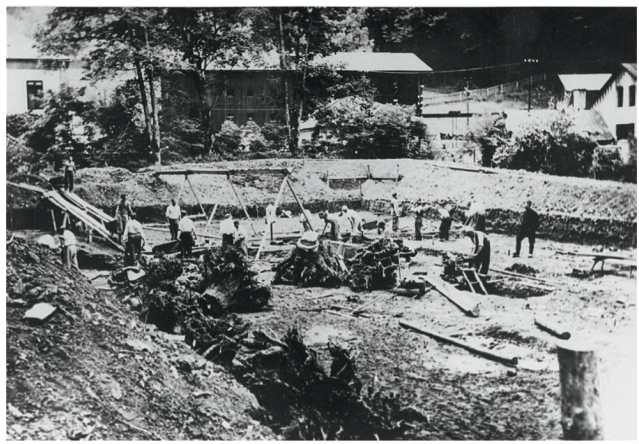
these Jews for a few months while the AJJDC, with direct cooperation from the ŽÚÚ, helped the Jews to immigrate.[5] Many MV documents concern the activities of the Jews outside of the camp or the monitoring of their behavior in the camp. Although the camp was not encircled by barbed wire, contact with the local population was prohibited. There was a sign at the camp's entrance warning Aryans not to enter.[6] Many baptized Jews, those with papers protecting them from deportation, and those who bribed HG were among those living in Vyhne.[7]

Changes occurred in Vyhne in early 1942. On February 14, 1942, the MV converted it to a labor camp similar to Sereď and Nováky. The next day, the HG High Command appointed Ján Gindl as camp commander.[8] At that time, the deportation of Slovak Jewry was in preparation. Some Jews were deported to German-occupied Poland from Vyhne in March, April, and September 1942. Arguments arose between Luptovský, who was by then a government commissar, and Gindl, regarding the kind of work that Jews had to do. Gindl thought that renovating the spa and constructing a swimming pool would allow Jews to pay their debts to the Vyhne spa for their lodging.[9] Gindl lived in a nearby villa with his wife and son while two gendarmes lived in a separate barrack in the camp.[10]

The camp averaged about 300 workers, an average of under 12 percent of the entire Slovakian labor camp population, making it by far the smallest of the three camps. Jews worked in Vyhne from 6 A.M. to 12 P.M. with a 15-minute break and then from 2 P.M. to 8 P.M., again with a 15-minute break. Men worked 53 hours per week and women worked 48 hours, excluding Sunday.[11] In 1942, most of the laborers worked at various construction sites at the spa, including building the swimming pool. Other Jews worked in one of the nine workshops in the camp, producing women's and men's clothing, gloves, and toys. In addition, many processed leather waste for use in shopping bags, wallets, and belts.[12] The workers were not paid, but received room and board, work clothes, and a very small sum of pocket money.[13]

The spa was set up like a hotel and included a number of rooms. Each family was allotted one room, which included four beds, a table, some chairs, and a wardrobe. Each Saturday, the HG made rounds to inspect the rooms. Every one was lined up, and the

guards turned violent if standards were not met. The camp included a large park.



Jewish prisoners building a pool at the Vyhne camp, circa 1942.
USHMM WS #83092, COURTESY OF THE SLOVENSKY NARODNY ARCHIV.

Security was not as tight as in other camps because conditions were relatively satisfactory in Vyhne.[14] A four-member Jewish Council, under the direction of Jozef Safrany and Dr. Ulrich Einhorn, helped run the camp.[15] The food was relatively good; Jewish cooks manned the communal kitchen and fed not only those in the camp but also the guards. Local farms supplied fruits and vegetables. On Saturday afternoons, children in the camp received milk. Jews possessed their own clothing; mail went in and out of the camp regularly, with goods arriving from families on the outside. Jews organized theater presentations, recited Hebrew readings, and played sports. The Vyhne soccer team played against the Nováky team and "beat them decisively."[16]

Children could also leave the camp for summer vacations if they had family members who would take them in.[17] As in other camps, the Jewish Center (*Ústredna Židov*, ÚŽ) created a school for the laborers' children. One kindergarten teacher supervised 15 young children. A nine-hour compulsory school day was mandated for children under 10 year of age; those over 10 years old attended school for seven hours and worked an additional two hours in the

camp.[18]

Two doctors served in the camp's infirmary; one dentist was also on site. More serious cases were taken to Banská Štiavnica's hospital 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) away.

Slovak gendarmes replaced the HG in Vyhne on April 1, 1944.[19] Vyhne was liberated after the Slovak National Uprising erupted in late August 1944. By the time the partisans liberated the camp on September 1, 1944, the gendarmes had abandoned their posts. Many young inmates joined the revolt, whereas most others found refuge in areas of Slovakia already liberated by Slovak partisans. Some people remained in the camp because they had nowhere else to go. The camp was officially dissolved on September 21, 1944. At the end of the war, locals plundered the compound and set it on fire.[20]

SOURCES Secondary sources that briefly describe the camp at Vyhne are Ivan Kamenec, *On the Trail of Tragedy* (Bratislava: H & H, 2007); Ladislav Lipscher, "Jewish Participation in the Slovak Resistance Movement," *SJA* 7:2 (1997): 40–52; and Karen Spira, "Memories of Youth: Slovak Jewish Holocaust Survivors and the Nováky Labor Camp" (unpublished MA thesis, Brandeis University, 2011).

Primary sources on the Vyhne camp can be found in USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA), reels 34, 112, and 290–300; for charts and maps, see RG-57.010, Slovakian Jewish Labor Camps collection; and for photos and personal collections, see USHMMPA (WS #83090–83092). Published primary documents gathered from ŠOKA and SNA can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Documentačné stredisko holokaustu, 2004). VHA has 12 testimonies that mention Vyhne.

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NOTES

1. Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku,* 5: 23.
2. "Vyhne—koncentračný tábor Židov," n.d. SNA, fond 209, ÚŠB, box 864/6, reprinted in ibid., 5: 102 (Doc. 47).
3. "Zápisnica," February 5, 1942, SNA, fond MV, box 192, 14-D4-314/42.
4. ŠOKA, Žiar nad Hronom, fond OÚ Nová Baňa, box 27, 542/42; SNA, fond MV, box 192, 14-D4-314/42.
5. "Zidovski utecenci zo Sosnovic v Polsku, povolenie k pricestovaniu na Slovensko," January 29, 1940, ŠOKA, Žiar nad Hronom, fond OÚ Nová Baňa, box 27, 542/42.
6. VHA #33112, Marta Weiss testimony, September 16, 1997.
7. "Zidovsky pracovny tabor—Vyhne, Vznik," June 17, 1942; VHA #19559, Juliana Filová testimony, September 3, 1996.
8. SNA, fond MV, box 192, 14-D4-314/42.
9. "Využitie pracovných síl židov," June 7, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 112, box 394, file 53 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/112/394/53).
10. ŠOKA, Žiar nad Hronom, fond Notársky urad vo Vyhniach, box 143, 1306/42; VHA #31071, Zuzana Skácelova testimony, March 15, 1997; VHA #19559, Juliana Filová testimony, September 3, 1996.
11. "Koncentračný tábor cudzozemských Židov vo Vyhniach," May 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/34/237/6384.
12. Ibid.; "Využitie pracovných síl židov," June 7, 1943.
13. "Výročná správa Židovskych táborov 1943," n.d., AMSNP, fond IX, S 152/81, reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 254–272 (Doc. 117).
14. VHA #19559, Juliana Filová testimony, September 3, 1996.
15. SNA, fond MV, box 278, 406-545-12, 1483/44.
16. Ibid.

17. VHA #33112, Marta Weiss testimony, September 16, 1997.

18. “Výročná správa Židovskych táborov 1943.”

19. “Pracovné tábory Židov—dozorná a strážna služba,” April 11, 1944, SNA, fond MV, 581,1472/44, reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 282–284 (Doc. 121).

20. VHA #31071, Zuzana Skácelova testimony, March 15, 1997; VHA #19559, Juliana Filová testimony, September 3, 1996.

ŽILINA

Žilina is located 169 kilometers (105 miles) northeast of Bratislava. The Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) created the Žilina concentration camp (*Koncentračné stredisko Židov*) on March 21, 1942, during the preparations for the deportation of Jewish people from Slovakia. The camp was created in the abandoned Štefaniková military barracks on Rajecká Road in Rudiny, in the north of Žilina. The Žilina city council, under the direction of Mayor Vojtech Tvrdý, vehemently opposed the camp's location, so the camp was moved into nearby military barracks, then under Defense Ministry control. Because of Žilina's location, every trans-port of Jews from Slovakia passed through the town on its way to camps in German-occupied Poland.

The camp initially consisted of six or seven wooden barracks from the abandoned military camp; most lacked flooring. To expand the camp's capacity to 2,900 people, there were plans to build emergency and temporary housing, with its construction expected to take one month. The number of those interned was expected to fluctuate based on the size and number of transports. The camp was surrounded by electrified barbed wire. Only one water source existed in the camp.[1]

In addition to military barracks, at least 300 people were housed in the horse stables outside the military barracks. The stables reeked of chemicals and urine. There was some hay, but for the most part, prisoners just slept on the ground. As one survivor described it, "Sanitary conditions there were zero, there was nothing."[2]

Jews from the entire Slovak territory were concentrated in the camp; often, entire families—men, women, and children—were brought to the camp. The camp held 1,200 people at its peak and a minimum of 150.[3] Jews were told they were going to Nazi Germany to work and were allowed to take 50 kilograms (110.2 pounds) of luggage with them. Prisoners slept on wooden boards

or hay and used their own blankets. According to survivors, the camp was overcrowded; the people slept next to each other and often on their sides because there was no room to turn over. The men were taken out of the camp daily to work in the city (to clean the streets or perform other public works), while the women worked in and around the camp. The children were not forced to work; they spent their time waiting around or entertaining themselves in the camp.

On March 10, 1942, the MV appointed Rudolf Marček, a former teacher, as camp commander.[4] Soon after, the MV gave Marček 151,000 Slovak crowns (Ks) for camp maintenance. Marček's deputies included Richter, Malý, and Mútňanský. Security was provided by the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG); the HG also managed the transports under the careful watch of a German advisor. Bullying, humiliation, and physical abuse were rampant. During postwar National Court hearings, Marček admitted that he had to fire 66 of the 75 members of HG because of their brutal treatment of the camp prisoners. Bribes were common in Žilina; Marček admitted that they ranged between 500 and 20,000 Ks. In the beginning, the HG guards were bribed with liquor to "close their eyes" to escape. However, even if bribes were effective in postponing deportation or facilitating escapes, other Jews were taken, in order to reach the transport quotas.

In addition to the HG, privileged Jews were used to control the population. Juraj Klein, nicknamed the "Jewish Commander," was the liaison between the Jewish Center (*Ústredňa Židov*, ÚŽ) and the camp command. When bribed he would alter the deportation lists. Soon, his actions were reported to Interior Minister Alexander Mach, and he was sentenced to confinement in the Ilava penal camp. He was hanged for his crimes after the war.

The prisoners were subjected to personal searches on entering the camp, and the HG profited from their charges' misery, stealing most of their valuables and taking bribes. Žilina survivor Alex Hochhäuser noted the poor conditions of the camp in his memoir: "Poverty, filth, and desperate faces of starving people. Very bad hygienic conditions and supply. Fleas and lice, and atrocities from the side of the HG were preconditions of hell in Auschwitz."[5] The camp commander was responsible for providing food, but because the rations were so minimal, Jewish organizations supplemented

them. The rations were given out in the camp corridor, and all the inmates had a clay mug for food. The HG restricted the output of water to barely a drop, so that in the summer people stood in line for hours to get some water.[6] There was one latrine, and everyone cleaned themselves outside near the stone well.

According to the MV, 19 transports left Žilina, most to Auschwitz. Seven transports went to the Lublin region. The HG beat prisoners on their way to the train, and before boarding, they cut their rucksacks off their backs.[7] Trains left Žilina at 3:20 A.M. and arrived in Čadca, a town on the Slovak-Polish border, an hour later, where the Jews were turned over to the German authorities.

The last transport from Žilina, and the last from Slovakia in 1942, left on October 20. Several scholars have noted differing number of Jews transported from Žilina. According to published records, 26,384 Jews passed through the camp. The MV liquidated the camp on October 24, 1942. Jews who remained were transferred to Sereď or Nováky; those living in the Žilina district went to Sereď.[8]

SOURCES Secondary literature on the Žilina concentration camp includes Peter Frankl and Pavel Frankl, *Židia v Žiline* (Zilina: Edis, 2009); Ladislav Lipscher, *Židia v Slovenskom štáte 1939–1945* (Bratislava: Print servis, 1992); Wacław Długoborski et al., eds., *The Tragedy of the Jews of Slovakia, 1938–1945: Slovakia and the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question"* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum; Banská Bystrica: Museum of the Slovak National Uprising, 2002); Mauro M. Langfelder, *Žilina: Il vino e il sangue* (Milan: Terziaria, 2003); Vavro Ryžavý, *Žilina a Slovenské národné povstanie* (New York: Universum Sokol Publications, 1981); Haim Gordon, *The Rise and Decline of the Jewish Community of Žilina (Slovakia)* (Jerusalem: A. Klein Ltd., 2003); and Jana Stráska, "Koncentračné stredisko v Žiline," *AFHUMBW* 3:4 (2010): 88–95.

Primary documents about the Žilina concentration camp can be found at SNA, microcopied to USHMMA as RG-57.001M, including reels 22, 23, 111, and 112. Personal collections at

USHMMA include the Arieh Klein papers (Acc. No. 2005.323.1). Published documents on the Žilina concentration camp can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 6: Deportácie v roku 1942* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Simečku, 2005). VHA holds 79 testimonies from Žilina survivors. Two published testimonies are by Alexander Hochhäuser, *Zufällig überlebt* (Berlin: Metropol, 1992); and Marie Magdalena Horňanová-Jodasová, *Neobyčejný život* (Prague: Nakl. Jaroslava Poberová, 2005).

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NOTES

1. "Koncentračný tábor—Žilina," March 3, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 112, box 394, file 55 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/112/394/55); USHMMA, RG-57.001M/111/392/18.
2. VHA #36997, Milan Drahoš testimony, October 1, 1997.
3. VHA #06806, Adolf Burger testimony, December 18, 1995.
4. "Sústredenie a preprava Židov," March 12, 2942, SNA, fond MV, box 205/269/1942, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 139–143 (Doc. 37).
5. Hochhäuser, *Zufällig überlebt,* p. 87.
6. VHA #33804, Stella Raab testimony, September 14, 1997.
7. "Žilina," n.d., USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 22/230/1484.
8. "Žilina," October 25, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M /22/205/596.

ŽILINA/WORK CENTER

Žilina is located 169 kilometers (105 miles) northeast of Bratislava. The Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) officially created the Žilina forced labor camp on December 28, 1942, under Decree 1453/42; however, the camp's dates of existence are disputed by numerous sources. Some sources claim that the camp was active from September 1, 1941, until August 29, 1944, whereas others focus exclusively on 1943.[1] The labor camp, also commonly referred to as a work center (*pracovné stredisko*), was located on Štefániková Street, Number 7, just outside of the city near the Váh River. More than 250 Jewish forced laborers living in the camp built the soccer stadium for the Municipal Sports Club Žilina (*Mestský športový klub Žilina*).

The soccer stadium's construction began in late 1940; by the spring of 1941, the lawn, athletic track, and a substantial part of the stands were completed. The first friendly match between Žilina and Banská Bystrica occurred on August 10, 1941. The Žilina district commander (*Okresný veliteľ*, OV) of the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) was responsible for all matters related to the camp, including supplies, housing, clothing, medical issues, and camp security, which the HG provided. The camp commander, Vojtech Zavodský, also happened to be the patron of the local soccer club.[2] Not only was Zavodský involved in the construction of the soccer stadium but he also "Aryanized" the plant for the transport of building stone from the quarries. Arpád Stark, the Jewish owner of this plant, his wife, and their two children were sent to a concentration camp and never returned.

The HG was the official employer and had full jurisdiction over the camp. The laborers worked eight-hour shifts; however, their hours were extended if necessary. As the employer, the HG paid Jewish workers based on their marital status. Married Jews received 3.80 Slovak crowns per hour (Ks); single Jews received 3.50 Ks per hour. In addition, the HG provided each laborer three meals a day, clothes, shoes, and housing. The fee for these services

was 14.45 Ks per day. Therefore, for married men, their daily earnings decreased from 30.40 Ks to 15.95 Ks; for singles, their pay deceased from 28 Ks to 13.55 Ks per day.[3]

The construction of the soccer stadium was supposed to take a year, and it continued even in the winter months. On July 20, 1943, Anton Vašek, the head of MV Department 14, which oversaw the "Jewish Question" in Slovakia, reported to Slovak prime minister Alexander Mach that there were 54 people in the camp. This number accounted for 1.4 percent of the total number of people in camps in Slovakia during that time. Of the 54 laborers, 46 were men and 8 were women; 23 were single, 29 married, 1 divorced, and 1 widowed. Thirty-six were "Israelites," and 18 were baptized. Together in 1943, the laborers worked 74,211 hours, and the expenses totaled 318,526.90 Ks.[4]

The laborers continued to live in the camp until the Slovak National Uprising broke out on August 29, 1944. When the antifascist revolt started in Slovakia, the forced laborers were liberated, and many joined the partisans. The stadium, recently renovated, is still in use by the Žilina soccer club.

SOURCES Very little has been written about the work center in Žilina; most publications focus on the nearby transit camp. Some information on the work center can be found in Haim Gordon, *The Rise and Decline of the Jewish Community in Žilina* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2003). Some historical information is also provided on the MŠK Žilina's official web-page at www.mskzilina.sk/index.php?url=static&stranka=8.

Primary sources are located at USHMMA in the SNA collection, RG-57.001M, reel 112. Documents on the Žilina work center can also be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004).

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1. USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 112, box, 392, file 18.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. “Výročná správa židovských pracovných táborov a stredísk 1943,” n.d., ANSMP, fond IX, 152/81, reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku,* 5: 254 (Doc. 117).

ZOHOR

Zohor is a village located 21 kilometers (13 miles) northwest of Bratislava and approximately 6 kilometers (almost 4 miles) east of the Slovak-Austrian border. On May 31, 1943, the waterway company, Moravod; Ing. Gustáv Hamburger in Skalica, and the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) signed an agreement to create a forced labor camp—at the time referred to as a work center (*pracovné stredisko*)—just outside of Zohor. The camp, called the "Jewish work center in the construction of levees —Morava River, Zohor" (*Pracovné stredisko Židov pri stavbe ochrannej hrádze rieky Moravy v Zohore*), held Jewish forced laborers *(prislušníci)* who erected levees and dug canals on the Morava River.[1]

The workers were former forced laborers of the Sixth Labor Battalion (*Šiesty robotný prápor*, ŠP) who were discharged from the National Defense Ministry (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO) on June 1, 1943, and thereafter came under MV control. The Jewish Council (*Židovská rada*, ŽR), created on July 15, 1943, consisted of the chair, Armin Beerman, and Armin Kaudl, who dealt with health and social issues.

The camp commander was Tomáš Vlček, and several members of the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG), including Viliam Bolgáč, served as guards. Discipline was strict. Moravod was responsible for paying the MV-supervised HG camp guards and for furnishing their provisions and accommodations. The camp operated under the rules and regulations governing forced labor camps for Jews.

Moravod also provided housing for the forced laborers, which included barracks, a communal kitchen, and an office. These barracks were located about 50 meters (164 feet) from the train station and accommodated approximately 150 laborers. Survivors recalled fleas and other pests in the wooden barracks. The forced laborers slept on wooden boards and had military-issued blankets

that were also infested with parasites. They wore blue uniforms at work.

On November 24, 1943, Moravod requested that MV dissolve the Zohor camp. When it ceased to exist, the laborers were moved to Kraľovany, a forced labor camp located 180 kilometers (110 miles) northeast of Zohor. Forty-three young people were also transported to Kraľovany. The MV ordered them to be ready to leave on December 2, 1943, on the 6:05 A.M. train. Ján Eugen Šallay, the central ware house manager of Moravod, inspected the barracks on December 15, 1943. The barracks were subsequently returned to the company.[2]

SOURCES Primary sources on the Zohor camp can be found in USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA), reels 158, 187, and 190. Published primary sources on this camp can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004). VHA holds three testimonies that mention the camp at Zohor.

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NOTES

1. "Pracovné stredisko židov pri stavbe ochrannej hrádze rieky Moravy v Zohore," July 6, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 185, box 571, file 15 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 185/517/15).

2. "Pracovné stredisko v Zohore," n.d., USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 187/574/28.

Jews who have been rounded up for forced labor march through the streets of Tunis carrying shovels, December 1942. USHMM WS #07044, COURTESY OF BUNDESARCHIV.

TUNISIA (FRENCH AND ITALIAN CAMPS)

[*Editor's note*: Because little specific information is available on most of the French and Italian camps in Tunisia, we have chosen to provide a lengthy introduction, including source information, followed by the (necessarily) brief camp entries.]

With regard to the persecution of Jews in North Africa, Tunisia occupies a special place. Unlike Libya, it was not a colony of an Axis power during World War II, but a protectorate of France and thus of an occupied country largely under Nazi Germany's control. Unlike Morocco and Algeria, Tunisia experienced the landing of German troops in November 1942, so that large parts of this country came under direct military occupation by the Wehrmacht. As an ally of the Wehrmacht, Italy also sent army units to Tunisia,

although they were de facto under German leadership. Tunisia was also exceptional in that Italy, in the context of its Mediterranean policy, laid claim to the country, and the German authorities took that into account in their occupation policies. At the same time, Nazi Germany was not prepared either to terminate French control over the country or to grant Tunisia independence. Consequently, during the German-Italian occupation of Tunisia there were altercations not only between the independence movement and the French and Italian authorities but also between the German and the Italian authorities. In addition, the French resident-general (*résident-général*) in Tunis, Amiral Jean-Pierre Esteva, introduced the antisemitic Jewish Law (*Statut des juifs*) in March 1942.[1] Although this anti-Jewish policy was less onerous than that in Vichy France, it still included "Aryanization" measures. Thus, Tunisian Jews were caught in the middle: between the French Vichy administration; the German persecution apparatus; the independence movement, which in large part was anti-Jewish in orientation; and the Italian authorities, which sought to gain sovereignty over Tunisia in the long term.

Before World War II, there were around 85,000 Jews living in Tunisia, more than half of whom were residents of Tunis, the capital. Most held Tunisian citizenship, and several thousand—primarily foreign soldiers and administrative employees—also had French citizenship. In addition, about 5,000 Jews were Italian citizens. Along with prosperous and well-educated Jews, in the individual Jewish communities there were numerous poor and poorly educated members. Of the Italians living in Tunisia, the Jews were among the most affluent, whereas the Italian non-Jews in many cases were fishermen and simple workers. In 1942, the Italian government protested against the endeavors of the Vichy administration to "Aryanize" Jewish property. It viewed those efforts as an attempt to take possession of the substantial property of these individuals and simultaneously to weaken Italy's position in Tunisia. The Italian government later took the same stance with regard to the Germans' persecution of Jews, because protection of the wealthy Jews was seen at the same time as protection of the Italian "national spirit" (*italianitá*) in Tunisia.

On November 9, 1942, following the invasion of Algeria and Morocco by British and U.S. troops the previous day, the

Wehrmacht began landing forces in northern Tunisia—all around the capital and the important port in Bizerte. At the end of November, the German and the less numerous Italian troops were under considerable military pressure to prevent a possible strangulation of the Tunisian bridgehead by the Allies. Finally, in December 1942, the Axis powers succeeded in strengthening their position and expanding the bridgehead by gaining ground.

It was in this phase that the deployment of Jewish forced laborers began. In an order dated December 6, 1942, General der Panzertruppen Walther Nehring, commander of the XC Army Corps, called for the army position held thus far to be improved. Named as auxiliary workers for this improvement were the local population and the Jews. The order requiring the furnishing of workers included the following arrangements for the deployment of Jews:

1. The male Jewish civilian population is to be made available by the SD (Security Service, *Sicherheitsdienst*) for the performance of earthwork operations, in such a way that initially, as a first installment, 1,000 men are available as a workforce for each of the Bizerte, Tunis-North, and Tunis-South sector commanders.
2. The Jewish work squads are to be formed by the Jewish communities, and an administrative team is to be attached to them. The administrative teams are to be used for cooperative work with the headquarters of division-sized and larger units. They are responsible for the execution of the orders by the work gangs. Other wise they are to be treated by the field elements as hostages.
3. Supplies and equipment are guaranteed by the Jewish communities. The field elements provide accommodations and appropriate guard forces at the worksites.
4. The work gangs, each 1,000 strong, are to be brought (on foot or rail transport only, where possible) by the SD, after consultation with the sector commanders, to the following locations:

    Mateur for Bizerte Sector
    St. Cyprien for Tunis-North Sector

The sector commanders arrange the other details with the SD through corps headquarters.

5. Payment of the workforce must be made by the Jewish community.[2]

The order was preceded by a conversation between Nehring; SS-Obersturmbannführer Walter Rauff, who headed the Einsatzkommando Tunis of the Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo) and SD following his service in occupied Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union; and Rudolf Rahn, the plenipotentiary who, as the political representative to the commander of the German troops in Tunis between November 1942 and May 1943, represented the German Foreign Office in Tunisia. Thus all the significant German authorities—but none of the Italians—were represented in the essential decision making on the deployment of Jewish forced laborers. Rudolf Rahn claimed that Generaloberst Hans-Jürgen von Arnim—who had taken control of Axis forces on December 8, 1942, as commander of the Fifth Panzer Army in Tunisia—in his capacity as commander-in-chief assigned the Jewish labor companies to individual troop units and issued the order "that the people are to be treated exactly like voluntary workers."[3] This is a euphemistic assertion, because the order dated February 18, 1943, with reference to the improvement of the coastal defense positions, placed the Jewish work detachments on an equal footing with the teams of prisoners; that is, not exactly treated like free Arab workers.

For more information on the organization of forced labor by the German authorities in the country and the Jewish Council in Tunis, set up by German decree on December 6, 1942, and headed by Grand Rabbi Haïm Bellaïche, as well as on the conditions in the labor camps, see the introductory section on Tunisia in Volume 4. It is important to note here that one of the intermediaries between the SD and the Recruitment Committee of Jewish Labor (*Comité de Recrutement de la Main-d'Oeuvre Juive*), which bore the brunt of the organizational work, was SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Sävecke, deputy commander of the SD-Einsatzkommando Tunis, previously the SD's contact man for the

Police of Italian Africa (*Polizia dell'Africa Italiana*) in Libya and later head of the Sipo in Milan. This key position therefore was occupied by a man who had experience in working together with the Italian authorities in North Africa.

According to historian Jacques Sabille, there was a total of about 6,400 Jewish forced laborers in Tunisia. That is, more than one-third of the 17-to 50-year-old age group, which included around 15,000 persons, was rounded up for work. Yet many Jews escaped from the labor camps. While 3,659 Jews were doing work for the Wehrmacht or the Italian Army as long-term detainees or as "home-sleepers" (*Heimschläfer*; privately housed and confined to camp during working hours only) on December 20, 1942, only 2,430 remained on February 13, 1943, and by April 25, the number had dropped still further, to only 1,556. Finally, in May 1943, the Allies liberated the remaining Jewish forced laborers, around 1,500 in total.

Ultimately, all the labor camps for Jews were under Wehrmacht and SD control, which by mutual agreement regulated and kept tabs on labor deployment. Wehrmacht members served on guard details in the camps, but Italian and French soldiers, as well as Arabs, also worked as guards. Although there were some camps where all the guards were Italians, Germans had supremacy and control. Evidence of that is Rahn's clear message to Esteva, as early as November 1942, that the handling of the Jewish question in Tunisia was exclusively a German matter. The sole exceptions to this policy were Jews with Italian citizenship. They alone—and not, for example, Jews in the Italian zone—were to be excluded from German provisions, providing that was compatible with military needs.

French and Italian camps in Tunisia can be arranged according to the following typology: forced labor camps for Jews, which were Italian-run, and internment camps for Jews deported from Libya to Tunisia. A third category of "camp," which deserves mention, consists of "day camps," in which Jewish forced laborers were confined for a portion of each day. Such forced laborers were categorized as home-sleepers. The day-camp sites, such as the one at La Goulette, do not fit this encyclopedia's definition of a camp, but bear a striking resemblance to forced labor practices found in the same period in Romania and Slovakia.

The Italian-run forced labor camps for Jews included labor camps that were set up for a certain length of time, in which Jews were deployed as forced laborers over the long term. Therefore, numerous aspects of camp administration and structure in these camps were identical to those in other forced labor camps in occupied Europe or in European countries aligned with Nazi Germany. For example, as a rule the large camps had non-Jewish camp leaders, above the positions in the camp administration held by Jews, such as a group leader (approximately equivalent to the position of Kapo) and camp police. Armed guards watched the prisoners at all times.

The French-run internment camps for Jews served a different function from the forced labor camps. In the internment camps, Jews of all ages and of both sexes were held at a small number of sites under guard. These camps were not used for the purpose of labor deployment in segregated groups, but rather to house Jews deported from Libya. Therefore they resembled internment camps of the type found all over occupied Europe. Such camps were first established by the French administration in Tunisia, which was loyal to Vichy France. However, after the German landing in November 1942, the Germans assumed supervisory control over all camps in which Jews were interned, including those housing deportees from Libya.

The Italian sector in Tunisia was located southeast of Tunis in the area of Zaghouan and Enfidaville. The Germans transferred to the Italians a scant 1,000 Jewish forced laborers. The remoteness of this mountainous region and the difficult lines of communication to Tunis worsened the situation of the Jews deployed by the Italians. Of course, the treatment of the detainees by Italian guards was fundamentally better than by German guards, and the Jews were less heavily exposed to Allied bombing raids. Nevertheless, the camp inmates suffered from deplorable hygienic conditions in their wretched accommodations, as well as from a shortage of water. Basic hygienic facilities were lacking, and medical care in the Italian camps was inadequate. Historian Daniel Carpi points out that Italian guards also misappropriated for their own use the rations intended for the Jewish forced laborers. Such behavior increased the hunger of the camp inmates, whose diet generally was not adequate for the demands of hard physical

labor. Thus the living conditions in the Italian labor camps, too, were anything but humane. The precise number of Jews who died while doing forced labor or who were killed by the guards is unknown. Overall, it is estimated that around 100 Jews lost their lives in the course of forced labor or were murdered. Given a total of around 6,400 Jewish forced laborers, the general mortality rate therefore was almost 1.6 percent.

In 1941 and 1942 there was heavy fighting in Libya, and during that period the control of fairly large parts of the Italian colony changed hands repeatedly, shifting between the Wehrmacht and the Italian Army, on the one hand, and the British Eighth Army, on the other. Starting in late 1941, the German Afrika Korps pushed forward in an eastward direction and forced the British back toward Egypt. On February 7, 1942, Mussolini, as Italy's interior minister, issued an order to the Italian governor of Libya, Ettore Bastico, requiring that the Jews be interned. He issued this order in the belief that the Jews of Benghazi had welcomed the British as liberators. Meanwhile, as of January 1942, Jews with British citizenship were gradually brought by ship to Italy and interned there in various locations. In July 1942, Jews with French citizenship were deported to Algeria, and Jews with Tunisian citizenship to Tunisia.

For the Jews brought to Tunisia, Esteva's administration set up three camps in the summer of 1942 pursuant to Vichy anti-Jewish policy: in Gabès, Marcia Beach (Marcia Plage) near Tunis, and Tniet-Agarev near Sfax. In these internment camps, the conditions of detention were similar in principle to those in the enclosed labor camps. After German and Italian troops had conquered a relatively large area in Tunisia, the German authorities established the principle that they alone would make decisions concerning the handling of the "Jewish question." Thus the SD also assumed supervisory control over the internment camps for the Jews deported from Libya.

From this point on, the detainees' living conditions deteriorated. Leaving the camp was permitted only by exception and only under heavy guard. In addition, at least for Gabès, it has been verified that this camp was fenced-in and that leaving camp without permission was punishable by death.[4] The assistance provided to the inmates by the Jewish communities decreased. All the Jews

were very poorly housed from the beginning, but now they also suffered from hunger and thirst and were forced to live in poor hygienic conditions. As a result of these circumstances and the largely nonexistent medical care, many inmates fell ill.

As in France's other North African colonies, following liberation a military tribunal investigated the crimes not only of the Germans but also those of the Vichy authorities. In Tunisia, this tribunal was convened in Tunis. It gathered statements from survivors and documents relating to persecution. Esteva, evacuated to France by the Germans, was tried in absentia and sentenced to death as early as May 15, 1943, by a military court headed by Général d'armée Henri Giraud. His arrest in Paris on September 22, 1944, was followed by a new proceeding, which ended on March 15, 1945, with his sentencing to life imprisonment. For reasons of ill health, however, Esteva was released in August 1950. He died the following year in Reims.

SOURCES Secondary sources on French and Italian camps for Jews in Tunisia start with the landmark treatment by Jacques Sabille, *Les Juifs de Tunisie sous Vichy et l'occupation*, preface by Daniel Mayer (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1954). In numerous later works on Tunisia during the Vichy era, there are only short sections dealing with forced labor. In German, there is a short survey, Eberhard Jäckel, Peter Longerich, and Julius H. Schoeps, eds., "Tunesien," in *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (Munich, Zürich: Piper, 1995); in Hebrew, there is information on individual locations and the camps established there in 'Irit Avramski-Blai, ed., *Pinḳas ha-ḳehilot. Luv; Tunisyah: Entsiḳlopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hiṿasdam ṿe-'ad le-aḥar Shoʾat; Milḥemet ha-'Olam ha-Sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1997). A good overview in English and French is Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989). The French edition appears under the title *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord sous Vichy* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1983). In addition, there is Daniel Carpi, *Between Mussolini and Hitler: The Jews and the Italian Authorities in France and Tunisia* (Hanover, NH:

Brandeis University Press/University Press of New England, 1994). Carpi has closely examined Italian policy with regard to the Jews in Tunisia.

Primary sources on the French and Italian camps in Tunisia can be found in CDJC; for example, CXXIII-68, CXXIV-17, and CCCLXXXVII-4 (some of this documentation is available at USHMMA as RG-43.024M). Additional sources are located in BAMA (Bestand RH 21-5). In addition, there are documents concerning the situation of the Jews in Tunisia and the attitude of the Italian occupation authorities in the collection of documents compiled by URO, *Judenverfolgung in Italien, den italienisch besetzten Gebieten und in Nordafrika* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1962). On the three internment camps for Jews deported to Tunisia from Libya, information is available from legal proceedings concerning restitution in OLG Köln. Excerpts from the decision appear in "24. BEG-SchlussG Art. V Nr. 1 I," *RsWgr* 26 (1975): 28–31. The self-exculpatory remarks of Rudolf Rahn can be found in *Ruheloses Leben; Aufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen* (Stuttgart: Europäischer Buchklub, 1952). Early published memoirs of Jewish forced laborers in occupied Tunisia start with Paul Ghez, *Six mois sous la botte: Les Juifs de Tunis aux prises avec le SS* (Paris, Tunis: S.A.P.I., 1943); Robert Borgel, *Étoile jaune et croix gammée: Recit d'une servitude* (Tunis: Ed. Artypo, 1944); and Gaston Guez, ed., *Nos martyrs sous la botte Allemande: Où, les ex-travailleurs Juifs de Tunisie racontent leurs souffrances* (Tunis: Les presses Typo-Litho du journal "La Presse," 1946). In addition, Albert Memmi dealt with his experiences on the staff of the Comité de Recrutement and as a former forced laborer in the form of an autobiographical novel in *Die Salzsäule* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1963). The original French edition appeared under the title *La Statue de Sel* (Paris: Ed. Corrêa, 1953).

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Statut des juifs, USHMMA, RG-43.024M (CDJC), LXXXIII,

reel 38.

2. Nehring order, December 6, 1942, NG-2571, extracted in Sabille, *Les Juifs de Tunisie sous Vichy et l'occupation*, pp. 42–43 (plate).

3. Quotation from Rahn, *Ruheloses Leben*, p. 302.

4. "24. BEG-SchlussG Art. V Nr. 1 I," *RsWgr* 26 (1975): 29.

DJEBEL CHAMBI

The Italian Army in Tunisia established a forced labor camp for Jews at Djebel Chambi, located roughly 8 kilometers (5 miles) northwest of Kasserine (Al-Qasrayn). Kasserine is 219 kilometers (or 136 miles) southwest of Tunis. The camp was located at or near the largest mountain peak in Tunisia, Jebel ech Chambi, which is 1,544 meters or almost one mile high. Italian soldiers served as the guards. Little is known about this camp.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

DJEBIBINIA

In December 1942, the Italian Army established a forced labor camp for Jews at Djebibinia (today: Al Jubaybīnah), approximately 25 kilometers (almost 16 miles) west of Enfidaville and 71 kilometers (44 miles) southwest of Tunis. Forced laborers for this site were brought from the Zaghouan camp. One forced laborer, André Assuied, died of blood poisoning while in Djebibinia. His death led to rumors of an epidemic, but, according to historian Jacques Sabille, two Jewish physicians, Drs. Moatti and Maurice Uzan, ascertained during an inspection that there was not an epidemic in the camp.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

DJELLOULA

The Italian authorities in Tunisia established a forced labor camp for Jews at Djelloula (today: ‘Ayn Jalulah) on January 1, 1943. The neighboring village of ‘Ayn Jioula is located 117 kilometers (nearly 73 miles) south-southwest of Tunis. The Djelloula camp was used for the detention of Jewish forced laborers deployed primarily for airfield maintenance. Shortly after its opening, an additional group of Jews arrived from the Zaghouan work camp. In mid-February 1943, Henry Sfez, as the authorized regional representative of the Labor Recruitment Committee (*Comité de Recrutement*), managed to persuade the Italian camp administration to allow 47 men from the camp to go to Tunis. Italian soldiers served as the guards. Djelloula prisoner Elie Mettoudi died of injuries suffered during an Allied air attack. The camp was closed on March 30, 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

DJOUGAR

Located 64 kilometers (approximately 40 miles) southwest of Tunis, Djougar (today: Jougar) was a forced labor camp for Jews established on December 9, 1942. The prisoners assisted with airfield maintenance and repair. The exact number of camp inmates is not known. On January 12, 1943, however, all the Jews from the Saouaf labor camp were transferred to the Djougar camp, and as late as April 1943, a few forced laborers arrived from Sbikha.

The Italian soldiers guarding this camp were subordinate to Colonnello Impellizzeri of the 1st Mountain "Superga" Division. Impellizzeri gave permission to replace 50 Jews unfit for work with 25 new forced laborers from Bizerte. On April 21, 1943, 65 men were still held in Djougar, but it was closed only nine days later, on April 30, 1943. The camp capo, Raymond Raccah, managed to persuade the Italian camp leadership to let all the inmates return to Tunis, in view of the Allied advance toward that city. Thirty Jews rode by truck to Tunis, and the others made their way to Tunis on their own. Two forced laborers remained unaccounted for, however. They may have lost their lives during the last of the fighting in Tunisia or may have been murdered by soldiers of the Axis powers. The only prisoner killed during an Allied air raid at Djougar was Joseph Chemouny.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

ENFIDAVILLE

In December 1942, a camp for Jews was set up in Enfidaville (today: Enfidha), 76 kilometers (47 miles) southeast of Tunis and 41 kilometers (almost 25 miles) northwest of Sousse. Detained at Enfidaville were 256 Jews brought by train from the Djebel Dejelloud railway station to Enfidaville on December 20. They were not called up for forced labor for quite some time, but had to line up for roll call three times a day and remain in confinement. The Italian camp chief treated the inmates humanely. Fourteen Italian soldiers guarded the inmates. In 1943, all of the inmates were moved to Kondas.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

GABÈS

The Gabès internment camp in southern Tunisia was established in July 1942 by order of the Vichy French protectorate. Gabès (Arabic: Qābis) is located approximately 325 kilometers (around 202 miles) south of Tunis. It was used to intern Jews with Tunisian citizenship expelled from Libya by the Italian Fascist regime. French gendarmes guarded the camp until November 1942. The internees successfully persuaded the camp leadership to allow individual Jews to leave the camp on occasion, accompanied by an armed guard, and to shop in town, using the scanty financial means they had brought with them. These purchases, in turn, ensured their survival. The British Eighth Army liberated the Gabès internment camp at the end of March 1943, but the Jews were still housed there as late as the fall of that year, waiting to be able to return to Libya.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

KONDAS

In 1943, the Italian Army set up a tent camp in Kondas (today: Kondar) after all the Jewish forced laborers were transferred from Enfidaville, which lies 24 kilometers (approximately 15 miles) to the northeast. (Enfidaville is 76 kilometers or 47.5 miles southeast of Tunis.) The Kondas labor camp was presumably shut down in April 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

LE KEF

Le Kef (Kef, El Kef, today: Al Kaf) is a city almost 700 meters (2,297 feet) above sea level in northwest Tunisia and the capital of the Kef governorate, located 149 kilometers (nearly 93 miles) southwest of Tunis and nearly 551 kilometers (more than 343 miles) northwest of Tripoli, Libya. Le Kef was the temporary capital of Tunisia during World War II. The Le Kef camp was a confinement center (*centre de séjour surveillé*, CSS) established by the Vichy French military authorities initially to detain Austrian and German refugees who served in the French Foreign Legion (*Légion étrangère*, LE).

The first 28 Austrian refugees left Tunis for Le Kef on April 24, 1940. Le Kef also received French political suspects such as communists and syndicalists. They were later joined by members of the Tunisian nationalist party, the Neo-Destourians. The camp had a capacity to accommodate 300 internees and had a separate disciplinary section. In November 1940 the political detainees were separated by nationality, and the Tunisians were sent to El-Guettar nearly 206 kilometers (128 miles) southeast of Le Kef. There were 115 British officers and sailors from the sunken cargo ships *Empire Defender*, *Empire Pelican*, and *Parracombe* at Le Kef, while the remaining crew members were placed in Djelfa and Laghouat. There were also some British airmen and 15 Spanish Republicans.

The morale among the political internees at Le Kef was not good.[1] A notable internee at Le Kef was the syndicalist leader, Georges Poropane. After demobilization on July 22, 1940, he was interned at Le Kef on August 5, 1940. A few weeks after Poropane's arrival in the camp, the internees went on hunger strike in protest of the harsh conditions. In response there was some improvement in house hold and sleeping conditions; they were given a stove and firewood (with winter approaching) and were exempted from excessive work. Poropane and his fellow internees then renewed their strike to protest bullying by the authorities.

Poropane was released at the end of August 1942 and placed under house arrest in Algeria.

Following the Tunisia campaign and Allied victory on May 13, 1943, the detainees in Tunisian camps, including Le Kef, were progressively returned to civilian life.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Le Kef include Jacob Oliel, *Camps du Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1944* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1975); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); and André Moine, *La Deportation et la resistance en Afrique du Nord 1939–1944* (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972).

Primary source material for Le Kef can be found in the AN Police Générale collection, available on microfilm in USHMMA as RG-43.016M.

Cristina Bejan

NOTE

1. "Les internés britanniques," n.d., USHMMA RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 17, carton 15111, p. 17.

MARCIA BEACH

The Marcia Beach (*Plage*) internment camp, located about 20 kilometers (more than 12 miles) west-northwest of Tunis, was set up in July 1942 by order of the French protectorate administration. In November 1942, the Nazi Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) assumed supervisory control over camps previously organized by the French authorities. The Marcia Beach camp only contained Jews deported from Libya to Tunisia by the Italian colonial administration, quartered in disused horse stables. Because only Jews from Libya with Tunisian citizenship were interned here, there were no internal Jewish, national tensions.

Male internees fit for labor performed excavation work for the Wehrmacht from time to time. It is not known whether other employers who might have used Jews for forced labor did so.

A German-appointed Jewish camp leader, Rafael Romani, born in Benghazi in 1904, was responsible for camp discipline. The guards, initially French gendarmes, were replaced by armed Arabs under German command. At first the Jewish community of the small coastal town La Marsa (Arabic: Al Marsa) tried to support the inmates, because the food supplied by the French authorities was insufficient. Later the Jewish community of Tunis arranged for deliveries of foodstuffs, which were distributed fairly, but they too were inadequate for the number of internees. All the inmates suffered from hunger, however, there is no information available about any inmate deaths or killings.

Around May 7, 1943, this camp was liberated, but the inmates remained in the camp for another six months because they were still unable to return to Libya. Nothing is known about any post-liberation proceedings against the guards.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

MOHAMEDIA

The Italian-run forced labor camp for Jews at Mohamedia, located approximately 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) south of Tunis, was established on December 11, 1942. The Jewish male prisoners were deployed in various types of forced labor. In all, there were only 26 prisoners at Mohamedia. The exact date of the camp's dissolution is unknown, but the Allies liberated the area in early May 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

SAINTE MARIE DU ZIT

The Italian-run forced labor camp for Jews at Sainte Marie du Zit, located approximately 50 kilometers (more than 31 miles) south-southeast of Tunis, was established on December 11, 1942. The prisoners maintained and repaired roads, as well as the German-built Sainte Marie du Zit Airfield. In total, 250 forced laborers were detained at the camp. The Italian Army shut down the camp on December 31, 1942.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

SAOUAF

In December 1942, the Italian Army established a forced labor camp for Jews at Saouaf (today: Aş Şawwāf), located just over 63 kilometers (more than 35 miles) south of Tunis. Its inmates performed forced labor for the army. The Italian soldiers serving as guards in this camp, like those in the camps at Djougar, Sbikha, and Zaghouan, were subordinated to Colonnello Impellizzeri, who belonged to the 1st Mountain "Superga" Division. On January 12, 1943, this camp was closed by order of the Italian Army, and the forced laborers were moved to the work camp at Djougar.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

SBIKHA

The Italian Army established a forced labor camp for Jews at Sbikha (today: Aş Subaykhah) in December 1942. The camp was located 39 kilometers (24 miles) southwest of Enfidaville. In January 1943, a group of forced laborers arrived at Sbikha from the Zaghouan camp. In mid-February, the Italian camp leadership allowed 30 Jews to go to Tunis at the request of Henry Sfez of the Recruitment Committee of Jewish Labor (*Comité de Recrutement de la Main-d'Oeuvre Juive*). The Jews, who were taken to Tunis by a noncommissioned officer (NCO) named Galese, were supposed to be replaced by an equal number of forced laborers, but Galese returned alone. Afterward, an Italian military court sentenced him to go to the frontlines, with a reduction in service grade. The Italian soldiers who guarded the Sbikha camp were under the command of Colonnello Impellizzeri, who belonged to the 1st Mountain "Superga" Division. In April 1943, the Italians liquidated the Sbikha forced labor camp and took the remaining Jews to the camp at Djougar.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

TNIET-AGAREV

Located 21 kilometers (13 miles) west of Sfax, the internment camp at Tniet-Agarev (Arabic: El Agareb) was set up in July 1942 by a decision of the French protectorate, which controlled it until November 1942. After that date, the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) of the Nazi SS assumed overall supervision, without completely overriding the decisions of the French civil administration. Interned in Tniet-Agarev were exclusively Jews with Tunisian citizenship who had been deported from Libya to Tunisia by the Italian Fascist regime. After November 1942, male inmates of this internment camp were occasionally called on to perform forced labor for the Wehrmacht.

Deported families as well as individuals were interned in the camp, so that the age structure of the inmates roughly conformed to that of the overall Jewish population in Libya. No information is available about the number of deaths in this camp. The guarding of the camp was the responsibility of French gendarmes, several of whom stole various items from the modest possessions of the internees. After November 1942, the guards were placed under the oversight of the Germans, who conducted weekly inspections.

After the establishment of the internment camp in the summer of 1942, the prisoners successfully sought permission for the Jewish community of Sfax to send food and doctors for the medical care of the inmates. This support, however, ended when the Germans occupied the region. In addition, the inmates organized the cleaning of the camp and arranged to exchange various items—clothing, bed linens, and other things they had brought with them from Libya—for food. Until November 1942, it was possible for Jewish inmates to barter on a small scale with Arabs from the surrounding villages. As a result, the local Arab population, at least, had some rudimentary knowledge of the Jews' situation.

The camp was liberated on April 10, 1943, by the British Eighth Army, but the inmates' situation did not improve as a result,

because the French protectorate continued to run the camp. For the time being, the inmates were unable to return to Libya and had to keep living in the barracks camp, some until the summer of 1944. As far as is known, none of the camp staff was brought to trial after the liberation of the camp.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

ZAGHOUAN

In Zaghouan (or Zaghwan), almost 45 kilometers (nearly 28 miles) south of Tunis, a forced labor camp for Jews was set up in December 1942 in buildings that lacked roofs. The Jewish prisoners were used to maintain and repair roads and perform other types of forced labor for the Italian Army. In all, the camp held 345 Jews who were guarded by Italian soldiers. Like those in the Djougar and Sbikha camps, the Italian soldiers guarding this camp were answerable to Colonnello Impellizzeri, who belonged to the 1st Mountain "Superga" Division. The regional representative of the Labor Recruitment Committee (*Comité de Recrutement*) in Zaghouan, a teacher named Robert Bellaïche, successfully persuaded the Italian camp administration to make some improvements in the living conditions of the Jews. On December 30, 1942, numerous camp inmates were taken from Zaghouan to Djebibinia. On March 31, 1943, the Italians closed down the camp.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

2ème Bureau	Deuxième Bureau de l'État-major général (Second Bureau of the French General Staff, Intelligence)
A-HL	Archives des Hôpitaux de Lannemezan (Lannemezan, France)
A-ICRC	Archives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (Geneva, Switzerland)
A-IICG	Arhiv Istorijskog instituta Crne Gore (Archives of the Historical Institute, Crne Gore, Montenegro)
A-ISSAEC	Archivio dell'Istituto Sondriese per la storia della Resistenza e dell'età contemporanea (Archives of the Sondrian Institute for the History of the Resistance and Contemporary Age, Sondrio, Italy)
AAIU	Archives de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle (Archives of the Universal Jewish Alliance, Paris)
ABPO	*Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest*
AC	Archivio Comunale (Italian municipal archive)
AC-BSD	Archivio Comunale Borgo

	San Dalmazzo (Municipal Archive of Borgo San Dalmazzo, Italy)
AC-Se	Archivio Comunale Senigallia (Municipal Archive of Senigallia, Italy)
ACBdL	Archivio Comunale di Bagni di Lucca (Municipal Archive of Bagni di Lucca, Italy)
ACBP	Archivio Comunale Bagnolo in Piano (Municipal Archive of Bagnolo in Piano, Italy)
Acc. No.	Accession Number
ACCAP	Archivio Comunale di Capannori (Municipal Archive of Capannori, Italy)
ACDEC	Archivio della Fondazione Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea (Archives of the Central Foundation of Contemporary Jewish Documentation, Milano, Italy)
ACMEOR	Asociaţia Culturală Mondială a Evreilor Originari din România (World Cultural Association of Jews Originally from Romania)
ACP	Archivio Comunale di Piano (Municipal Archives of Piano, Italy)
ACS	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (Italian Central State Archives, Rome)
ACS-CRI	Archivio Centrale dello Stato-Croce Rossa Italiana (Central State Archives of the Italian

	Red Cross, Rome)
ACT	Archivio Comunale di Tonezza (Municipal Archives of Tonezza del Cimone, Italy)
ACV-G	Archivio della Curia Vescovile, Grossetto (Archives of the Grosseto Episcopal Court, Grosetto, Italy)
AD	Archives Départementales (Departmental Archives)
AD-A-M	Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes (Departmental Archives of Alpes-Maritimes, Nice, France)
AD-Ab	Archives Départementales de l'Aube (Departmental Archives of the Aube, Troyes, France)
AD-Ain	Archives Départementales de l'Ain (Departmental Archives of the Ain, Bourg-en-Bresse, France)
AD-Ard	Archives Départementales de l'Ardèche (Departmental Archives of the Ardèche, Privas, France)
AD-C	Archives Départementales de la Creuse (Departmental Archives of the Creuse, Guéret, France)
AD-Can	Archives Départementales du Cantal (Departmental Archives of the Cantal, Aurillac, France)
AD-Cor	Archives Départementales de

	Corrèze (Departmental Archives of Corrèze, Tulle, France)
AD-Do	Archives Départementales de la Dordogne (Departmental Archives of the Dordogne, Périgueux, France)
AD-E-L	Archives Départementales d'Eure-et-Loir (Departmental Archives of the Eure-et-Loir, Chartres, France)
AD-L	Archives Départementales du Lot (Departmental Archives of the Lot, Cahors, France)
AD-Lo	Archives Départementales de Lozère (Departmental Archives of Lozère, Mende, France)
AD-M	Archives Départementales de la Mayenne (Departmental Archives of the Mayenne, Laval, France)
AD-Me	Archives Départementales de la Marne (Departmental Archives of the Marne, Châlons-en-Champagne, France)
AD-Mor	Archives Départementales du Morbihan (Departmental Archives of the Morbihan, Vannes, France)
AD-P-A	Archives Departementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques (Departmental Archives of the Pyrénées-Atlantiques, Pau, France)
AD-P-D	Archives Départementales du

	Puy-de-Dôme (Departmental Archives of the Puy-de-Dôme, Clermont-Ferrand, France)
AD-P-O	Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales (Departmental Archives of the Pyrénées-Orientales, Perpignan, France)
AD-R	Archives Départementales du Rhône (Departmental Archives of the Rhône, Lyon, France)
AD-S	Archives Départementales de la Savoie (Departmental Archives of the Savoie, Chambéry, France)
AD-S-S-D	Archives Départementales de la Seine-Saint-Denis (Departmental Archives of the Seine-Saint-Denis, Paris)
AD-Ve	Archives Départementales de la Vendée (Departmental Archives of the Vendée, La-Roche-sur-Yon, France)
AD-Y	Archives Départementales de l'Yonne (Departmental Archives of the Yonne, Auxerre, France)
ADA	Archives Départementales de l'Ariège (Departmental Archives of the Ariège, Foix, France)
ADA-HP	Archives Départementales des Alpes de Haute Provence (Departmental Archives of the Alpes de Haute Provence, Digne-les-Bains, France)

ADAu	Archives Départementales d'Aude (Departmental Archives of Aude, Carcasonne, France)
ADB-R	Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône (Departmental Archives of the Bouches-du-Rhône, Marseille, France)
ADC	Archives Départementales de la Charente (Departmental Archives of the Charente, Angoulême, France)
ADC-O	Archives Départementales de la Côte-d'Or (Departmental Archives of the Côte-d'Or, Dijon, France)
ADD	Archives Départementales du Doubs (Departmental Archives of the Doubs, Besançon, France)
ADDr	Archives Départementales de la Drôme (Departmental Archives of the Drôme, Valence, France)
ADFin	Archives Départementales du Finistère (Departmental Archives of the Finistère, Quimper, France)
ADG	Archives Départementales de la Gironde (Departmental Archives of the Gironde, Bordeaux, France)
ADGe	Archives Départementales du Gers (Departmental Archives of the Gers, Auch, France)
ADH	Archives Départementales de

	l'Hérault (Departmental Archives of the Hérault, Montpellier, France)
ADH-A	Archives Départementales des Hautes-Alpes (Departmental Archives of the Hautes-Alpes, Gap, France)
ADH-G	Archives Départementales de Haute-Garonne (Departmental Archives of the Haute-Garonne, Toulouse, France)
ADH-L	Archives Départementales de la Haute-Loire (Departmental Archives of the Haute-Loire, Le Puy-en-Velay, France)
ADH-M	Archives Départementales de la Haute-Marne (Departmental Archives of the Haute-Marne, Chaumont, France)
ADH-P	Archives Départementales des Hautes-Pyrénées (Departmental Archives of the Hautes-Pyrénées, Tarbes, France)
ADH-S	Archives Départementales de la Haute-Savoie (Departmental Archives of the Haute-Savoie, Annecy, France)
ADH-V	Archives Départementales de la Haute-Vienne (Departmental Archives of the Haute-Vienne, Limoges, France)
ADI	Archives Départementales de l'Isère (Departmental Archives of the Isère,

	Grenoble, France)
ADI-L	Archives Départementales d'Indre-et-Loire (Departmental Archives of Indre-et-Loire, Châteauroux, France)
ADL	Archives Départementales du Loiret (Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orléans, France)
ADL-A	Archives Départementales de Loire-Atlantique (Departmental Archives of the Loire-Atlantique, Nantes, France)
ADL-C	Archives Départementales de Loir-et-Cher (Departmental Archives of the Loir-et-Cher, Blois, France)
ADL-G	Archives Départementales du Lot-et-Garonne (Departmental Archives of the Lot-et-Garonne, Agen, France)
ADM	Admiralty (The National Archives, Kew, United Kingdom, archival signature)
ADM-L	Archives Départementales du Maine-et-Loire (Departmental Archives of the Maine-et-Loire, Angers, France)
ADM-M	Archives Départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle (Departmental Archives of the Meurthe-et-Moselle, Nancy, France)
ADS	Archives Départementales de la Sarthe (Departmental Archives of the Sarthe, Le

	Mans, France)
ADS-L	Archives Départementales de Saône-et-Loire (Departmental Archives of the Saône-et-Loire, Mâcon, France)
ADT	Archives Départementales du Tarn (Departmental Archives of the Tarn, Albi, France)
ADT-G	Archives Départementales de Tarn-et-Garonne (Departmental Archives of Tarn-et-Garonne, Montaubon, France)
ADV	Archives Départementales du Var (Departmental Archives of the Var, Draguignan, France)
ADY	Archives Départementales des Yvelines (Departmental Archives of the Yvelines, Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, France)
a.e.	arkhivna edinitsa (Bulgarian archival unit)
AFHUMBN	*Acta Facultatis Humanisticae Universitatis Matthiae Belii Neosoliensis*
AFMD	Amis de la Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Déportation (Friends of the Foundation for the Memory of the Deportation)
Afr. J.	*Africana Journal*
AFSC	American Friends Service Committee
Ag	*Annales de géographie*
Ag-La	Agenzia LAORE Sardegna

	(Sardinian Agency for Agricultural and Rural Development)
AH-PCE	Archivo histórico-Partido Communista de España (Historical Archives, Communist Party of Spain, Madrid)
AISR	Archivio dell'Istituto per la storia della Resistenza e della società contemporanea (Archives of the Institute of the History of Resistance and Contemporary Society)
AISRA	Archivio dell'Istituto per la storia della Resistenza e della società contemporanea di Asti (Archives of the Institute of the History of Resistance and Contemporary Society of Asti, Italy)
AISRBVV	Archivio dell'Istituto per la storia della Resistenza e della società contemporanea nel Biellese, nel Vercellese e in Valsesia (Archives of the Institute of the History of Resistance and Contemporary Society in Biellese, Vercellese, and Valsesia, Varallo, Italy)
AISRVA	Archivio dell'Istituto storico della Resistenza e della società contemporanea in Valle d'Aosta (Archives of the Historical Institute of Resistance and Contemporary

	Society in Valle d'Aosta, Aosta, Italy)
AIU	Alliance israélite universelle (Universal Alliance of Jews)
AJ	Arhiv Jugoslovenske (Yugo slav Archive, Belgrade; succeeded by AS)
AJJDC	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (aka "the Joint")
Ajk	Arhiv Jugoslovenske kinoteke (Yugo slav Cinematic Archives, Belgrade, Serbia)
Aju	*Archives Juives*
L'Almanacco	*L'Almanacco: Rassegna di studi storici e di ricerche sulla società contemporanea*
Am	Archives municipales (French Municipal Archives)
Am-Br	Archives municipales Brest (Municipal Archives of Brest, France)
AMANR	Arhivele Ministerului Apărării Naţionale a României (Archives of the Romanian Ministry of National Defense Archives, Bucharest)
AME	Arhiva Ministerului de Externe (Archives of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bucharest)
AMI	Arhiva Ministerului de Interne (Archives of the Romanian Ministry of the Interior, Bucharest)
AML	Archives de la Mairie de Lacaune (Archives of the City

	Hall of Lacaune-les-Bains, France)
AMP-J	Archive Mairie de Plénée-Jugon (City Hall Archives of Plénée-Jugon, France)
AMR	Arhivele Militare Romane (Romanian Military Archives, Bucharest)
AMSGF	Archivio Museo Storico della Guardia di Finanza (Archives of the Historical Museum of the Customs Office, Rome)
AMSNP	Archív Múzea Slovenskèho Národnèho Povstania (Archives of the Museum of the Slovak National Uprising, Banská Bystrica, Slovakia)
AMV SR	Archív Ministerstva Vnútra (Archives of the Ministry of Interior, Slovak Republic)
AN	Archives Nationales (French National Archives, Paris)
ANED	Associazione Nazionale Ex Deportati (National Association of Former Deportees)
Anj	Arhiva neprijateljskih jedinica (Archives of Enemy Units, Archives of the Military History Institute, Belgrade, Serbia)
ANPPIA	Associazione Nazionale Perseguitati politici Italiani Antifascisti (National Association for Politically Persecuted Antifascist Italians)

ANR	Arhivele Naţionale ale României (National Archives of Romania, Bucharest)
ANR-Bi	Arhivele Naţionale ale României-Bihor (National Archives of Romania-Bihor Branch)
ANR-Că	Arhivele Naţionale ale României-Călăraşi (National Archives of Romania-Călăraşi Branch)
ANR-Cos	Arhivele Naţionale ale României-Constanţa (National Archives of Romania-Constanţa Branch)
ANR-G	Arhivele Naţionale ale României-Galaţi (National Archives of Romania-Galaţi Branch)
ANR-H	Arhivele Naţionale ale României-Hunedoara (National Archives of Romania-Hunedoara Branch)
ANR-Ialo	Arhivele Naţionale ale României-Ialomiţa (National Archives of Romania-Ialomiţa Branch)
ANR-Is	Arhivele Naţionale ale României-Iaşi (National Archives of Romania-Iaşi Branch)
ANR-Mu	Arhivele Naţionale ale României-Mureş (National Archives of Romania-Mures Branch)
ANR-Vs	Arhivele Naţionale ale României-Vaslui (National

	Archives of Romania-Vaslui Branch)
ANRM	Arhiva Naţională a Republicii Moldova (National Archives of the Republic of Moldova, Chişinău)
ANS	Archives Nationales du Sénégal (National Archives of Senegal, Dakar)
ANSC	Asociaţia Naţională a Studenţilor Creştini (Romanian Christian National Student Association)
ANSP	Associazione Nazionale “Sandro Pertini”— Firenze (“Sandro Pertini” National Association–Florence)
ANV	Arhio Nomarchias Voiōtias (Archive of the Prefecture of Viotia, Greece)
AOF	Afrique occidentale française (French West Africa)
AP&J	*Aberdeen Press & Journal*
APH	*Air Power History*
APN	Archives de la Police Nationale (Archives of the National Police, Paris)
APO	Army Post Office
AQSH	Arkivi Qëndror Shtetëror (Albanian State Archives, Tiranë)
APPP	Archives de la Préfecture de Police de Paris (Archives of the Prefecture of Police of Paris)
A-RS	Archiv Republika Slovenija (Archives of the Republic of

	Slovenia, Ljubljana)
ArchMol	*Archiva Moldaviae*
ARDIEP	Associations des résistants, déportés emprisonnés et internés en Afrique du Nord (Association of Resisters, Imprisoned Deportees, and Internees in North Africa)
Arkeia	*Arkeia: Revue d'histoire; Histoire, mémoire du Vingtième siècle en Sud-Ouest*
AS	Arhiv Srbije (Archives of Serbia, Belgrade)
ASA	Archivio di Stato di Asti (Asti State Archives, Italy)
ASC-C	Archivio Storico del Comune di Carpi (Historical Archives of the Commune of Carpi, Italy)
ASC-S	Archivio Storico del Comune di Sondrio (Historical Archives of the Commune of Sondrio, Italy)
ASF	Archivio di Stato di Forlì (Forlì State Archives, Italy)
ASFI	Archivio di Stato di Firenze (Florence State Archives, Italy)
ASG	Archivio di Stato de Genova (Genoa State Archives, Italy)
ASHM	Archives de la Société d'Histoire de la Montagne (Archives of the Society of the History of the Montagne, Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, France)
ASL	Azienda Sanitaria Locale (Italian: local health center)

ASLU	Archivio di Stato di Lucca (Lucca State Archives, Italy)
ASM	Archivio di Stato di Macerata (Macerata State Archives, Italy)
ASMAE	Archivio Storico-diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Archives of Diplomatic History of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome)
ASMo	Archivio di Stato di Modena (Modena State Archives, Italy)
ASP	Archivio di Stato di Parma (Parma State Archives, Italy)
ASV	Archivio di Stato di Vercelli (Vercelli State Archives, Italy)
ASVen	Archivio di Stato Venezia (Venice State Archives, Italy)
ASVR	Archivio di Stato di Verona (Verona State Archives, Italy)
AUCEI	Archivio dell' Unione delle Comunità Ebraische Italiane (Archives of the Union of the Italian Jewish Community, Rome)
AUO	*Analele Universităţii Ovidius*
AUSSME	Archivio dell'Ufficio storico dello Stato maggiore dell'Esercito (Archives of the General Staff of the Army, Historical Office, Rome)
AVI	Arhiv Vojnoistorijskog Instituta (Archives of the Military History Institute, Belgrade, Serbia)

AŽOO	Arhiv Židovske općine Osijek (Archives of the Jewish Community of Osijek, Croatia)
B	busta (Italian: envelope)
BA-B	Bundesarchiv Berlin (German Federal Archives, Berlin)
BA-L	Bundesarchiv Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg (German Federal Archives, External Branch Ludwigsburg)
BA-SAPMO	Bundesarchiv–Stiftung Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR (German Federal Archives, Foundation of Party and Mass Organizations of the German Demo cratic Republic, Berlin)
b.č.	bez čísla (Slovak: without number)
BdO	Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei (Commander of the Order Police)
BdS	Befehlshaber der Sipo und des SD (Commander of the Security Police and Security Service)
BEG	Bundesentschädigungsgesetz (German Federal Compensation Law)
BFL	Budapest Főváros Levéltár (Budapest Municipal Archives)
BGHI	*Bulletin of the German Historical Institute*
BGRAHS	*Bulletin du Groupe de*

	Recherches Archéologiques et Historiques de Sologne
BH	Beit Hatfutsot (Museum of the Jewish People, Tel Aviv)
BK	Bereichkommando (Area Detachment)
BK	*Budapesti Közlöny*
BL	Batalion de Lucru (Romanian Labor Battalion)
BLH	Beth Lohamei Hagettaot (Archives of the Ghetto Fighters' House, Israel)
BML	Békés Megyei Levéltár (Békés County Archives, Gyula, Hungary)
BN	*Basler Nachrichten*
BNR	Banca Naţională a României (National Bank of Romania)
BRCS	British Red Cross Society
BSÉSA	*Bulletin de la société d'études scientifiques de l'Aude*
BSHT-I	*Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire Tille-Ignon*
BuKö	*Budapesti Közlöny*
CAC	Centre des Archives Contemporaines (Center of Contemporary Archives, Fontainebleau, France)
CAHJP	Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
CamCom	Camera di Commercio di Roma (Chamber of Commerce, Rome)
CAMR	*Cercle d'archéologie de Montluçon et de la région*
CAOM	Centre des Archives d'Outre-

	Mer (Center of Overseas Archives, Aix-en-Provence, France)
CAR	Comité d'assistance aux Réfugiés (Committee of Assistance to Refugees)
CAS	Comité americain de Secours (American Committee of Assistance)
Čas	*Človek a spoločnosť: Internetový časopis pre pôvodné teoretické a výskumné štúdie z oblasti spoločenských vied*
CCI	Camps et Centres d'Internement (Camps and Internment Centers)
CdA	Corpo d'Armata (Italian Army Corps)
CDDP, C-M	Centre départmental de documentation pédagogique, Champagne-sur-Marne (Departmental Center of Pedagogical Documentation, Champagne-sur-Marne, France)
CDEC	Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea (Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation, Milano, Italy)
CDJ	Comité général de défense des Juifs (French Committee for the Protection of Jews)
CDJC	Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (Center of Contemporary Jewish

	Documentation, Paris)
CDLM	*Cahiers de la Méditerranée*
CEM	Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev (Jewish Council of Moghilev, Transnistria)
CER	Centrala Evreilor din România (Central Bureau of Romanian Jews)
CERCIL	Centre d'étude et la recherche sur les camps d'internement et la déportation juive dans le Loiret (Center for Study and Research on the Internment Camps and the Jewish Deportation in the Loiret, Orléans, France)
CFL	Corps Francs de la Libération (Frankish Corps of Liberation)
CFR C	ăile Ferate Române (Romanian Railways Company)
CFRT	Căile Ferate Române Transnistria (Romanian Railways in Transnistria)
CGE	Comandamentul General at Etapelor (Romanian Rear Area General Command)
CGQJ	Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives (General Commissariat on the Jewish Question)
CGT	Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor)
CGTU	Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire (General Confederation of United

	Labor)
ChGK	Chrezvychainaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissiia (Soviet Extraordinary State Commission)
ChrAll	*Chronique Allemandes*
CHSGM	Comité d'histoire de la Seconde Guerre mondiale (Committee of the History of the Second World War; defunct organization— now Institute of Contemporary History, Paris)
CIAF	Commission italienne d'armistice avec la France (Italian Commission of the Armistice with France)
CIC	Counterintelligence Corps (United States Army)
CICR	Comité Internationale de la Croix Rouge (International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva, Switzerland)
CIMADE	Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprés des Évacués (Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced)
CJF	Chantiers de la jeunesse française (Builders of French Youth; Vichy paramilitary organization)
Clio	*Clio: Rivista trimestrale di studi storici*
CM/1	Care and Maintenance 1 or Welfare and Support Form ("CM/1 Form"), International Tracing Service records

CMA	Christian Missionary Alliance
CML	Csongrád Megyei Levéltár (Csongrád County Archives, Hungary)
CMO	Chemin de Fer du Maroc Oriental (Railroads of Eastern Morocco)
CNI	Central Name Index of the International Tracing Service
CNRS	Centre national de la recherche scientifique (National Center of Scientific Research, Paris)
CNSAS	Consiliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității (National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives, Romania)
CNSE	*Combat de Nice et du sud-est*
COJASOR	Comité Juif d'Action Sociale et de Reconstruction (Jewish Committee for Community Care and Reconstruction)
conf. Ord. Nr.	confirmare Ordin Număr (Romanian: confirmation order number)
Cont.	Contrôle (Inspection; French archival abbreviation)
Cor	Corrèze Département, France
Corneşti Tg.	Corneşti Târg, Bessarabia (today: Cornești, Moldova)
CPLE	Compagnie de Passage de la Légion étrangère (Transit Company of the French Foreign Legion)
CRDE	Comitato ricerche deportati ebrei (Research Committee on

	Jewish Deportees, CDEC)
CRF	Croix-Rouge Française (French Red Cross)
CRI	Croce Rossa Italiana (Italian Red Cross)
CRm	*Cahiers de Rieumontagné*
CROWCASS	Central Register of War Criminals and Security Suspects
CRR	Crucea Roşie din România (Romanian Red Cross)
CRRL	Centre Régionale "Résistance et Liberté" (Regional Center, "Resistance and Liberty," Thouars, France)
CS	Comando Supremo (Italian Supreme Command)
C.S.	Controspionaggio (Italian: Counterespionage)
(č.s.)	číslo spisu (Slovak archival abbreviation: file number)
CSE	Contrôle Social des Étrangers (French Social Supervision of Foreigners)
Čsp	*Časopis za suvremenu povijest*
CSS	centre de séjour surveillé (French confinement center)
CTE	Companie de Travailleurs Étrangers (Company of Foreign Workers)
CTM	Companie de Transports au Maroc (Moroccan Transportation Company)
CuIs	*Curierul Israelit*
Cumidava	*Cumidava: Anuarul Muzeului Judeţean de Istorie Braşov*
CZA	Central Zionist Archives

	(Jerusalem)
D	Dosje (Albanian archival abbreviation: folder)
DACgO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Chernighivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Chernighiv Oblast', Ukraine)
DACkO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Chernivets'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Czernowitz Oblast', Ukraine)
Dagr	Divisione affari generali e riservati (Italian Division of General and Confidential Affairs; occasionally rendered in Italian holdings: AAGGRR)
DAMO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Mikolaivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Mykolaiv Oblast', Ukraine)
DAOO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Odeskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Odessa Oblast', Ukraine)
DAOO/YV	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Odeskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Odessa Oblast', Ukraine), collected by Yad Vashem
DASBU	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukraïny (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Kyiv)
DAVINO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Vinnyts'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Vinnytsia Oblast', Ukraine)
DBK	Deutscher Bevollmächtigter in

	Kroatien (German Commissioner in Croatia)
DCA	Défense contre avion (French Air Defense)
DdC	*La Dépêche du Centre*
DE	Detaşamentul de Evrei (Romanian: Brigade of Jews)
DEGOB	Magyarországi Zsidók Deportáltakat Gondozó Országos Bizottság (National Committee of Hungarian Jews Supporting Returning Deportees)
DE(L)	*Daily Express* (London)
DELASEM	Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei (Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants)
DEP	*Deportati, esuli, profughi*
DeS	*"Documenti e Studi": Rivista semestrale dell'Istituto storico della Resistenza e dell'Età contemporanea in Provincia di Lucca*
DG-IV	Durchgangsstrasse-IV (Highway IV)
Dgap	Divizione Generale Affari Politici (Italian General Division of Political Affairs)
DGPN	Direction générale de la Police Nationale (French General Directorate of the National Police)
Dgps	Direzione generale della pubblica sicurezza (Italian General Directorate of Public Security)

Dgsg	Direzione generale servizi di guerra (Italian General Directorate of War Services)
DGSN	Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale (French General Directorate of National Security)
DH	*Dachauer Hefte*
DIKI	Dimotiko Kentro Istorias ke Tekmiriossis Volou (Municipal Center for Historical Research and Documentation of Volos, Greece)
DK	Državne komisije za utvrdjivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača (Yugo slav State Commission to Investigate Crimes by the Occupiers and their Collaborators)
dkg	decagram
DM	*La Dépêche du Midi*
DO	*Les Dossiers de l'Obstétrique*
DOB	date of birth
Doc. No.	document number
Docs Ph	*Documents philatéliques*
dott. Cav.	Dottore Cavaliere (Italian honorific, loosely translated as university degree holder and commander)
DP	displaced person
DPODS	Direktsia na politsiata, otdel dŭrzhavna sigurnost (Bulgarian Security Police Directorate)
DQP	Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise

	(Albanian Central Directorate of the Police)
DR	Dunai Repülőgépgyár (Danube Aircraft Factory, Csepel Island, Hungary)
DRED	Documenti raccolti per la ricerca sugli Ebrei deportati dall'Italia (documents collected for research on the Jews deported from Italy)
Ds	diario storico-militario (Italian: war diary)
DTA	Dimosia Tileorasi Archeio (Public Television Archive of Greece)
DTOSGPN	*Délégué des les Territoires Occupés du Sécrétariat Général pour la Police Nationale*
E&F	Eaux-et-Forêts (Water and Forests Department)
E&L	Eure-et-Loir Département
EA	Ethnikē Allēleggyē (National Solidarity; Greek aid organization and partisan front)
EA	*Ethnikē Antistasē*
EAM	Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Métopo (Greek National Liberation Front)
Échos	*Échos Saléviens: Revue d'histoire locale*
ECOSMEG	Eu ro pean Cosmopolitanism and Sites of Memory
ÉCPAD	Établissement de Communication et de Production Audiovisuelle de

	la Défense (Communications and Audiovisual Establishment of the French Defense Ministry, Paris)
ÉD	*Études Drômoises*
EES	Ellinikós Erythrós Staurós (Hellenic Red Cross)
ÉÉUF	Éclaireuses et Éclaireurs unionistes de France (Unionist Girl and Boy Scouts of France)
EG-J	Einsatzgruppe (der Sipo und des SD) für Jugoslawien (Einsatzgruppe of the Security Police and the Security Service for Yugo slavia)
EI	*Écarts d'identité*
EIF	Eclaireurs Israélites de France (French Jewish Scouts)
EK	Etsivä keskuspoliisi (Finnish Security Police)
EK-Valpo	Etsivä keskuspoliisi-Valtiollinen poliisi (Finnish archival designation: Finnish Security Police collections)
ELAS	Ellinikós Laïkós Apeleftherotikós Stratós (Greek People's Liberation Army)
Ell	*Ellenzék*
Er.P	Erillinen Pataljoona (Finnish: detached battalion)
ESC	Ente Sardo di Colonizzazione (Sardinian Colonization Authority)
EsM	Espaces Marx (Paris)
EsUj	*Esti Ujság*

ÉT	*Études Tsiganes*
EVDG	Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre (French Foreign Legion Volunteers for the duration of the war)
F	fond (archival abbreviation)
F-18	"Registration of Liberated Former Persecutees at Various Locations" at the International Tracing Service
FAA	Fleet Air Arm (UK Royal Navy)
FAA	*Fegyvertelen álltak az aknamezökön: Dokumentumok a mundaszolgá lat történetéhez Magyarországon*
FAF-UC	Fondazione Alfred Lewin-Una Città (Alfred Lewin Foundation, One City, Forlì, Italy)
fasc.	fascicolo (Italian: file)
FCER	Federația Comunităților Evreiești din România (Federation of Jewish Communities of Romania)
FF.AA.	Forze Armate (Italian Armed forces)
FFI	Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur (French Forces of the Interior; resistance organization)
FHS	*French Historical Studies*
FJCY	Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugo slavia
FK	Feldkommandantur (German Army Field Command Office,

	designated by unit with an Arabic numeral and headquarters, e.g., FK 748, Saint-Brieuc)
FL	fletë/fleta (Albanian archival abbreviation: sheet)
FMD–BaPAR	Fondazione Memoria della Deportazione–Biblioteca archivio Pina e Aldo Ravelli (Deportation Records Foundation–Pina and Aldo Ravelli Library Archives, Milano, Italy)
FNDIRP	Fédération nationale des déportés, résistants, et patriotes (French Federation of Deportees, Resisters, and Patriots)
FO	Foreign Office (London)
FSB	Federal'naya sluzhba bezopasnosti Rossiyskoy Federatsii (Russian Federal Security Services)
FSJF	Fédération des Sociétés Juives de France (Federation of the Jewish Societies of France)
FTPF	Franc-Tireurs et Partisans Français (Irregulars and French Partisans)
FUCER	Federaţia Uniunii Comunităţilor Evreieşti din România (Federated Union of Jewish Communities of Romania)
Gab.	cabinetto (Italian archival abbreviation: cabinet)
GABAP	Gabinetto armistizio-pace,

	Ministero degli Esteri (Armistice-Peace Cabinet, Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
GAFTA	Groupe Autonome des Forces Terrestres Antiaériennes (Autonomous Group of Ground Anti-Aircraft Forces)
GAK	Geniko arhio kratus (General State Archives, Athens, Greece)
GARF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv rossiiskoi federatsii (State Archives of the Russian Federation, Moscow)
Gestapo	Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret State Police)
GFP	Geheime Feldpolizei (Secret Field Police)
GMCC	*Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains*
GMR	Groupe (-ments) Mobile(s) de Réserve (Mobile Reserve Group or Groups)
GN	Gendarmerie Nationale (French National Gendarmerie)
GNR	Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana (Spanish Republican National Guard)
Gnr	Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana (Italian National Republican Guard)
GPO	United States Government Printing Office (Washington, DC)
GPTE	Groupe Palestinien des

	Travailleurs Étrangers (Palestinian Foreign Workers Group)
GR:Sr	*Geschichte und Region: Storia e regione*
GSC	*Giornale di storia contemporanea*
Gt. Gnl.	Gouvernement Générale (General Government)
GTA	Groupement de Travailleurs Algériens (Algerian Workers Group)
GTC	Groupe de Travailleurs Civils (Civilian Workers Group)
GTCE	Groupe de Travailleurs Civils Etrangers (Civilian Foreign Workers Group)
GTD	Groupe de Travailleurs Démobilisés (Demobilized Workers Group)
GTE	Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers (Foreign Workers Group)
GTEA	Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Autonome (Autonomous Group of Foreign Workers)
GTED	Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Démobilisés (Demobilized Foreign Workers Group)
GTI	Groupes de Travailleurs Israélites (Jewish Workers Group)
GuG	*Geschichte und Gesellschaft*
GVA	Glavno upravlenie na arkhivite (Archives of the

	Bulgarian Interior Ministry, Sofia)
H-K	*Ha-kol: Glasilo Židovske zajednice u Hrvatskoj*
H. Res.	United States House of Representatives Resolution
HAHE	Historiko Archeio tou Hypourgeiou Exōterikōn (Historical Archive of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens)
Hč	*Historický časopis*
HC VII	Sofia People's Court Panel VII
HCK	Hrvatski Crveni križ (Croatian Red Cross)
HDA	Hrvatski državni arhiv (Croatian State Archives, Zagreb)
HDCM	Holocaust Documentation Center and Memorial (Budapest)
HelsSan	*Helsing Sanomat*
HG	Hlinková Garda (Slovak Hlinka Guard)
HGS	*Holocaust and Genocide Studies*
HI	Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California
HIAS	Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
HICEM	Hebrew Immigration Committee (alternatively: Hebrew Immigration/Jewish Colonization Association/ Emig-Direkt)

HistPén	*Histoire Pénitentiaire*
HJM	Hungarian Jewish Museum (Safed, Israel)
HM	*Holocaust and Modernity*
HMS	His (Her) Majesty's Ship
HPL	Hôpital Psychiatrique de Lannemezan (Lannemezan, France)
HQABS	Headquarters, Atlantic Base Section
HrNa	*Hrvatski narod*
HSC	*Holocaust: Studii şi Cercetări*
HSJCH	*Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History*
HSL'S	Hlinková Slovenská Ľudová Strana (Hlinka Slovak People's Party)
HSS	Hrvatska seljačka stranka (Croatian Peasant Party)
HSSPF	Hö here SS-und Polizeiführer (Higher SS-and Police Leader)
Ht	*Hespéris tamuda: Université Mohammed 5., Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, Rabat*
HVHG	Hlavnè Veľitelstvo Hlinkovej Gardy (Headquarters of the Slovak Hlinka Guard)
"I"	Informazione (Italian: Intelligence)
I-Kke	Itä-Karjalan keskitysleirien esikunta (Archives of the Staff of the Eastern Karelian Concentration Camps, Finnish National Archives, Helsinki)
I-Ks	Itä-Karjalan sotilashallinto

	(Archive of the Eastern Karelian Military Administration, Finnish National Archives, Helsinki)
I-L	Indre-Loire Département, France
IaB	Istorijski arhiv Beograda (Historical Archives of Belgrade, Serbia)
ICM	Inspectoratul Clerului Militar (Romanian Military Clergy Inspectorate)
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross (Geneva, Switzerland)
IEQJ	Institut d'Étude des Questions Juives (Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question)
IGC	Inspection Générale des Camps (French Inspector General of Camps)
IGJ	Inspectoratul General al Jandarmeriei (Romanian Inspector General of the Gendarmerie)
IHTP	Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent (Institute of Contemporary History, Paris)
IJ	*Information Juive*
IKL	Inspektion der Konzentrationslager (Nazi SS Inspectorate of Concentration Camps)
IlTer	*Il Territorio: Semestrale di storia, memoria, cultura, fotografia, ambiente*
IMI	Italienische Militärinternierte

	(Italian Military Internee)
IMT	International Military Tribunal
Ing.	Ingenieur (German honorific for engineer)
ins.	inserto (Italian archival abbreviation: insert)
Interbrigade	International Brigade (Spanish Civil War)
inv. č.	inventárne číslo (Slovak archival abbreviation: inventory number)
ISI	Institut za savremenu istoriju (Institute of Contemporary History, Belgrade, Serbia)
ISRECIM	Archivio dell'Istituto Storico della Resistenza e dell'età contemporanea di Imperia (Archives of the Historical Institute of the Resistance and the Contemporary Age of Imperia, Imperia, Italy)
ISRSCPC	Istituto storico della resistenza e della società contemporanea in Cuneo e provincia (Historical Institute of the Resistance and Contemporary Society in Cuneo and Province)
ISSREC	Istituto sondriese per la storia della resistenza e dell'età contemporanea (Sondrio Institute for the History of the Resistance and the Contemporary Era, Sondrio, Italy)
ISTRECO	Istituto per la storia della resistenza e della società

	contemporanea della Marca trevigiana (Institute for the History of the Resistance and Contemporary Society in the March of Treviso)
IT	Italien (Italian; German file designation used in captured Italian military records)
ITS	International Tracing Service (Bad Arolsen, Germany)
IWM	Imperial War Museum (London)
Izv	*Izvestiia*
JAF	Jednotný archivní fond (single archival collection: Czech archival signature)
Jav	*Jalkväen vuosikirja*
JCS	*Journal of Contemporary History*
JGKS	*Jahrbücher für Geschichte und Kultur Südosteuropa*
JGLS	*Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*
JIM-bg	Jevrejski istorisjki muzej, Beograd (Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade)
JMGS	*Journal of Modern Greek Studies*
JMIS	*Journal of Modern Italian Studies*
JNOF	Jedinstveni narodnooslobodilački front (Unitary National Liberation Front, Yugo slavia)
JO	*Journal Officiel de la République française*
“Joint”	American Jewish Joint

	Distribution Committee
Joint-ul	Romanian: "The Joint," American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
JSU	Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas (Unified Socialist Youth; Spanish Republican organization)
Jud.	judeţ (Romanian: district)
JuNS-V	*Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*
K	kutija (Serbian archival abbreviation: box)
K 149 PTI	MOL archival signature for Provincial Police Reports of the Hungarian Ministry of Internal Affairs
KA	Kansallisarkisto (National Archives of Finland, Helsinki)
KaKy	Katochiki Kyvernisi (Greek: Occupying Government)
KanArk	Kansan Arkisto (The Peoples' Archive, Helsinki)
Kč	Czechoslovak crown
KdS	Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes (Command Office of the Security Police and Security Service)
Ke	Kotijoukkojen esikunta (Staff of the Home Army of Finland)
KEOKH	Külföldieket Ellenőrző Országos Központi Hatóság (Hungarian National Central Alien Control Office)
KEV	Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi (Bulgarian

	Commissariat for Jewish Affairs)
KGB	Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security in the USSR)
KISOK	Középiskolai Sportkörök Országos Központja (National Center for Secondary Sports Clubs)
KKE	Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas (Communist Party of Greece)
KKSH	Kryqi i Kuq Shqiptar (Albanian Red Cross)
KL	Konzentrationslager (German: concentration camp)
Klim	milk spelled backward (brand of canned milk used during World War II)
KMOF	Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelöje (Hungarian Public Labor Service)
ko	kokoelma (Finnish archival term: collection)
KPK	Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë (Albanian: General Command of the Carabi nieri)
Ks	Slovak crown
KSS	Komunistická Strana Slovenska (Communist Party of Slovakia)
KuKau	Kuopion kaupunginkirjasto (City Library of Kuopio, Finland)
KUZOP	Komisija za utvrdivanje

	zlocina okupatro i nijhovih pomagaca (Slovenian Commission for the Investigation of Crimes by the Occupiers and their Collaborators)
KZ	Konzentrationslager (German slang abbreviation for concentration camp)
LAORE	Agenzia regionale per l'attuazione dei programmi regionali in campo agricolo per lo sviluppo rurale (Regional Agency for the Implementation of Regional Programs in the field of Agriculture for Rural Development)
LAT	*Los Angeles Times*
LCSDIU	*Lettera del Centro Studi e Documentazione Isola di Ustica*
LD	*Lacio Drom: Rivista bimestrale di studi zingari*
LDH	Ligue des droits de l'Homme (League of Human Rights, Paris)
LE	Légion étrangère (French Foreign Legion)
LFC	Légion française des combattants (French Legion of Veterans)
LFC-VRN	Légion française des combattants et des Volontaires de la Révolution Nationale (French Legion of Veterans and Volunteers of the National

	Revolution; Vichy veterans organization)
LG	Landgericht (German regional or district court)
LICA	Ligue internationale contre l'antisemitisme (International League against Antisemitism)
L'impegno	*L'impegno: Rivista di storia contemporanea del Vercellese, del Biellese e della Valsesia*
Lin.RP	Linnoitusrakennuspataljoona (Fortification Construction Battalion)
LP	Lagărul de Prizonieri (prisoner of war camp)
LPRA	Lagărul de prizonieri de război americani (camp of American prisoners of war)
LPRS	Lagărul de Prizonieri Sovietici (Romanian camp of Soviet prisoners of war)
LPN	*Le Petit Niçois*
ĽS	Ľudovỳ Súd (Slovak People's Court)
LSA	Landssvikarkivet (Norwegian Treason Archive, Norwegian National Archives, Oslo)
LuNo	*Lumea Noastră*
M-L	Maine-et-Loire Département (France)
MA	Moreshet Archive (Menashe, Israel)
MACE	Maison d'Accueil Chrétienne pour Enfants (Christian Reception Home for Children)
MACVG	Ministère des Anciens

	Combattants et Victimes de Guerre (Ministry of Veterans and Victims of War, Brussels)
MAE	Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
MAE-ASD	Ministero degli Affari Esteri-Archivio Storico-diplomatico (Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs–Diplomatic History Archives, Roma)
MAE-R	Ministerul Afecerilor Externe (Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
MagIs	*Magazin Istoric*
MAI	Ministerio dell' Africa Italiana (Ministry of Italian Africa)
MAN-MI	Mission des Archives nationales auprès du ministère de l'Intérieur de l'Outre-mer et des Collectivités territoriales (Mission of the French National Archives of the Ministry of the Interior of the Overseas and Territorial Communities, Paris)
MaP	*Music and Politics*
MATP	*Mémoire d'Ardèche et Temps présent*
MBF	Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich (German Military Commander-in-Chief in France)
MCG	Marele Cartier General (Romanian Army General Headquarters)
MDVP	Ministerstvo Dopravy a

	Verejných Prác (Slovak Ministry of Transportation and Public Works)
MÉ	*Magyar Élet*
Mer-Niger	Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger (Mediterranean-Niger Railway, or Mediterranean Niger Company)
MF	Ministerstvo Finacii (Slovak Ministry of Finance)
Mg	*Monde gitan*
MH	Ministerstvo Hospodárstva (Slovak Ministry of Economic Affairs)
Mi	Ministero Dell'Interno (Italian Ministry of the Interior)
MI 9	Military Intelligence 9 (Escape and Evasion)
MIOK	Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete (National Repre sen ta tion of Hungarian Jews)
MIPI	Magyar Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája (Welfare Bureau of Hungarian Jews)
MJ	*Revue d'histoire de la Shoah: Le Monde juif*
MmJa	Memorijalni muzej Jasenovac (Jasenovac Memorial Museum, Croatia)
MMVNV	*Montech, ma ville, notre ville: Journal municipal*
MN	Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger (Mediterranean-Niger Railway, or Medi-terranean Niger Company)

MNCR	Mouvement National contre le Racisme (National Movement against Racism)
MNO	Ministerstvo Národnej Obrany (Slovak National Defense Ministry)
MNZ-TF	Magyar Nemzeti Muzeum Torteneti Fenykeptar (Hungarian National Museum, Photographic Collection, Budapest)
MNZS	Muzej novejse zgodovine (National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljublana, Slovenia)
MOL	Magyar Országos Levéltár (National Archives of Hungary, Budapest)
MonOf	*Monitorul Oficial*
Moravod	Slovenské dolnomoravské vodné družstvo (Slovak Lower Moravian Water Cooperative)
MRDG	Ministère de la Réconstruction, Direction Générale (Belgian Ministry of Reconstruction, General Directorate, Belgium)
MRN	Musée de la Résistance Nationale (Museum of the National Resistance, Paris)
MRNJ	Muzej Revolucije Narodnosti Jugoslavije (People's Revolutionary Museum of Yugo slavia, Belgrade)
Msg.	Monsignor
MSP-L	Ministerstvo sociani pece,

	Londýn (Czechoslovak Ministry of Social Welfare, London)
MStM	Marele Stat Major (Romanian Army General Staff)
MT	*Le Magazine de la Touraine*
MTK	Magyar Testgyakorlók Köre (Circle of Hungarian Fitness Activists)
MUDr.	*Medicinae Universae Doctor* (Latin abbreviation for physician, commonly used in Slovakia)
MUP	Ministarstva unutarnjih poslova (Croatian Ministry of the Interior)
MV	Ministerstvo vnútra (Slovak Ministry of the Interior)
MV	Motor Vessel (Royal Navy designation, plus ship's name)
MVAC	Milizia volontaria anticomunista (Italian Anticommunist Voluntary Militia; Fascist organization)
MVR	Ministerstvo na vaeutreshnite raboti (Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior)
MVSN	Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale (Voluntary Militia for National Security, e.g., "Black Shirts")
MZ	Ministarstvo zdravstva (Croatian Ministry of Health)
MZSML	Magyar Zsidó Múzeum és Levéltár (Archives of the Jewish Museum of Hungary,

	Budapest)
MZV	Ministerstvo Zahraničnỳch Vecí (Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
NaP	Národní archiv v Praze (Czech National Archives, Prague)
NARA	United States National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD
NarNov	*Narodne novine*
NatPprs	*Nationalities Papers*
NbS	Narodna biblioteka Srbije (National Library of Serbia, Belgrade)
NBUV	Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine (Kyiv)
n.d.	no date
Nda	Nedićeva arhiva (Nedić Archives, VaB, Belgrade)
NDH	Nezavisna Država Hrvatska (In de pen dent State of Croatia)
NeS	*Nord e Sud* (Naples)
NG	Nuremberg Government (Nuremberg war crimes trials document prefix)
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NMT	Nuremberg Military Tribunal
NO	*Nouvel Observateur*
NOB	Narodnoosvobodilna borba (Slovenian War of National Liberation)
Nom	*Novi omanut*
NOP	Narodnooslohodilacky pokret (Yugo slav National Liberation Movement)

NOR	Narodnooslobodilački rat (Yugo slav War of National Liberation)
NOT	Népbíróságok Országos Tanácsa (Hungarian National Council of People's Courts)
N.P.	no publisher
n.p.	not paginated
NS	Nasjonal Samling (National Assembly; Norwegian Nazi Party)
Ob	*L'Oribus*
OBE	Order of the British Empire
OF	Otechestven Front (Bulgarian Fatherland Front)
OFM	Ordo Fratrum Minorum (Order of Friars Minor)
Ogg.:	Oggetto (Italian: regarding)
OGYK	Országgyűlési Könyvtár (Library of the Hungarian Parliament, Budapest)
OJB	Organization of Jews in Bulgaria
OKH	Oberkommando des Heeres (Supreme Command of the German Army)
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (Supreme Command of the German Armed Forces)
OLG	Oberlandesgericht (German Higher Regional Court)
OM	Oikeusministeriö (Archive of the Ministry of Justice, Finnish National Archives, Helsinki)
OMGUS	Office of the Military

	Government for Germany, United States
ONACVG	Office National des Anciens Combattants et Victimes de Guerre (National Office of Veterans and Victims of War, Ministry of Defense, Paris)
ONV	Okresný národný výbor (Slovak: District National Committee)
OOYV	Odessa Oblast' Archives records from the collections of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem
ORT	Obshchestvo remeslennogo i zemledel'cheskogo truda (Society for Handicraft and Agricultural Work, a Jewish aid organization)
OSE	Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants (French Children's Aid Society)
OSP	Odeljenje specijalne policije (Serbian Special Police)
OSPB	Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto (Bulgarian Ministry of Public Works)
OSPEA	Omada Symviōsēs Politikōn Exoristōn Anaphēs (Commune of Political Exiles of Anafi, Greece)
OSPEPh	Omada Symviōsēs Politikōn Exoristōn Pholegandrou (Commune of Political Exiles of Pholegandros, Greece)
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
OT	Organisation Todt (Nazi

	construction organization)
OÚ	Okresnỳ úrad (Slovak district office)
OV	Okresný Veliťeľ (Slovak district commander)
OVRA	Organizzazione vigilanza repressione antifascismo (Italian Organization for Vigilance and Repression of Antifascism)
OVTP	Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost (Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor)
P/	préfet (French prefect with departmental abbreviation)
PäA	Päämajan Arkisto (Archive of the Finnish General Headquarters, Finnish National Archives, Helsinki)
PAAA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (Political Archives of the German Foreign Office, Berlin)
PAI	Polizia dell'Africa Italiana (Police of Italian Africa)
PCd'I	Partito Comunista d'Italia (Communist Party of Italy, 1921–1926)
PCE	Partido Communista de España (Communist Party of Spain)
PCF	Parti communiste français (French Communist Party)
PCI	Partito Comunista Italiano (Italian Communist Party after 1926)
PCIRO	Preparatory Commission of

	the International Refugee Organization (International Tracing Service predecessor organization)
PCMCM	Președenția Consiliului de Ministri-Cabinetul Militar, România (Romanian Presidency of Council of Ministers-Military Cabinet)
PCR	Partidul Comunist Român (Romanian Communist Party)
PdS	*La Provincia di Sondrio*
PetC	*Petit Courier*
PFSh	Partia Fashiste Shqiptarë (Albanian Fascist Party)
PG	prigioniere (-ri) di guerra (Italian: prisoner or prisoners of war, POW)
Philobiblon	*Philobiblon: Transylvanian Journal of Multidisciplinary Research in Humanities*
PI	Photographic Interpretation (report)
PI	*Provincia di Imperia: Rivista bimestrale dell'Amministrazione provinciale di Imperia*
p.i.	par intérim (French: acting post)
PIA	Párttörténeti Intézet Archivuma (Archives of the Institute of Party History, Budapest)
PK	Point Kilométrique (Kilometric Post)
PKSh	Partia Komuniste e Shqipërisë (Communist Party of Albania)

PM	Polizia Militare (Italian Military Police)
Pm	Pedagoški muzej (Pedagogical Museum, Belgrade)
PNF	Partito Nazionale Fascista (Italian National Fascist Party)
Poliivan	Poliitiset vangitsemiset (Finnish: political detention)
POPF	Parti Ouvrier et Paysan Français (French Workers' and Peasants' Party)
Popr	*Povijesni prilozi*
PPA	Parti Populaire Algérien (Algerian People's Party)
Ppa	Puolustusvoimien pääesikunnan arkisto (Archive of the General Staff of the Defense Forces, Finnish National Archives, Helsinki)
PPF	Parti Populaire Français (French Popu lar Party)
PPSh	Partia e Punës e Shqipërisë (Party of Labor of Albania–Albanian Communist Party)
PR	Policajnè Riaďiteľstvo (Slovak Police Directorate)
Pr	préfet régional (French regional prefect)
PrMa	*La Province du Maine*
PS	Paris-Storey (Nuremberg war crimes trials document suffix)
PSUC	Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña (Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia)
PÚ	pracovny útvar (Slovak work center; euphemism for a forced labor camp)

PvPE	Puolustusvoimain pääesikunta (General Staff of the Finnish Defense Forces)
Pvtkk	Poliittisten vankien ja turvasäilöläisten korvauskomitea (Finnish: Political Prisoners and Political Detainees Compensation Committee)
PX	photographic collection designation for the Scott Macfie Gypsy Collections, University of Liverpool, United Kingdom
Q	*La Quinzaine: Revue de la juive en France et à l'étranger*
QSCV	*Quaderni di Storia e Cultura Viareggina*
RA	Riksarkivet (Norwegian National Archives, Oslo)
RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force
racc.	raccomandata (Italian archival term: registered)
RAD	Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service)
RAF	Royal Air Force
RAS	*Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato*
RASSFR	*Rivista Abruzzese di Studi Storici dal Fascismo alla Resistenza*
RAVSIGUR	Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost (Croatian Directorate for Public Order and Safety)
RB	*La Resistenza Bresciana: Rassegna di studi e documenti*

	dell'Istituto Storico della Resistenza di Brescia
RC	*Revue de Comminges*
RCAF	Royal Canadian Air Force
RCH	*Review of Croatian History*
Rd	*Rivista dalmatica*
reg. br.	registarski broj (Serbian archival abbreviation: number of registration)
RevTo	*Revista Tomis*
RFSS	Reichsführer-SS (Reich Leader of the SS)
RG	rec ord group
RGASPI	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii (Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (former Special [osobyi] Archive, see RGVA), Moscow
RGBl	*Reichsgesetzblatt*
RGVA	Rossijskij Gosudarstvennyj Voennyj Arkhiv (Russian State Military Archive)
RH	Republike Hrvatske (Republic of Croatia)
RICR	*Revue internationale de la Croix-rouge*
Riflessioni	*Riflessioni: Umanesimo della Pietra*
RJRS	Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost (Croatian Directorate of Public Order and Security)
RKKS	Reichskreditkassenschein (German-issued scrip)
RKU	Reichskommissariat Ukraine

	(Reich Commissariat Ukraine)
RLG	Regia Luogotenenza Generale (Royal General Lieutenancy; the Italian governing authority in Albania)
RMAI	Ministerul Afacerilor Interne (Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs)
RMH	*Review of Military History*
RMI	*La Rassegna Mensile di Israel*
RNR	Royal Naval Reserves
RomS	*Romani Studies*
RPSR	*Romanian Political Science Review*
RS	Republika Slovenija (Republic of Slovenia)
RS	*Ricerche Storia*
RSD	*Rivista Storia e Documenti*
RSI	Republicca sociale italiana (Italian Social Republic; sometimes rendered Rsi)
RsWgr	*Rechtsprechung zum Wiedergutmachungsrecht*
Rt.	részvénytársaság (Hungarian: company)
RTim	*Rivista Timocul*
RUR ŽO	Ravnateljstvo Ustaškog Redarstva–Židovski odsjek (Ustaša Police Directorate–Jewish Section)
s/c	sous couvert (de) (French bureaucratic abbreviation: under the cover of)
S-P	Sous-Préfet (French subprefect)
SA	Sturmabteilungen (Storm Detachment, aka Nazi Storm

	Troopers)
ŠAB	Štátny archív v Bratislave (State Archive in Bratislava)
ŠABY	Štátny Archív v Bytči (State Archive in Bytca, Slovakia)
ŠAN	Štátny archív v Nitre (State Archive in Nitra, Slovakia)
SANU	Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti (Serbian Acad emy of the Sciences and Arts, Belgrade)
SAO	Se nior Allied Officer or Se nior American Officer (prisoner of war officer spokesman)
SAP	Squadre di azione patriottica (Italian Squad of Patriotic Action)
ŠAPB	Štátny Archív v Považskej Bystrici (State Archive in Povazska Bystrica, Slovakia)
ŠAPO	Štátny archív v Prešov (State Archive in Prešov, Slovakia)
SBO	Se nior British Officer
SBU	Siemens-Bauunion (Siemens Construction Union)
SchlussG	Schlussgesetz (Federal German Terminal Law)
SCI	Serviciul Central de Informaţii (Romanian Central Intelligence Service)
SCM	Sottocapomanipolo (Italian National Republican Guard rank equivalent to a sottotenente)
ScSl	*Scrinia Slavonica*
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (Security

	Service of the Nazi SS)
SDK	Srpski dobrovoljački korpus (Serbian Volunteer Corps of Zbor)
SDP	Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue (Finnish Social Demo cratic Party)
SDS	Srpska državna straža (Serbian State Guard)
S.E.	Son Excellence (French: His Excellency)
Sect. Jand.	Sectorului Jandarmi (Romanian: Gendarmerie Sector)
SeM	*Storia e Memoria*
s.f.	sottofasciolo (Italian archival abbreviation: subfile)
s. fasc.	sottofascicolo (Italian archival abbreviation: dossier)
SfePo	*Sfera Politicii*
Sft.	Sfântu (Romanian: Saint)
SGPN	Sécrétariat Général pour la Police Nationale (General Secretariat of the French National Police)
SHD	Service Historique de la Défense (Historical Service of the Ministry of Defense, Paris)
SHD-DGN	Service Historique de la Défense, Direction de la Gendarmerie Nationale (Historical Service of the Ministry of Defense, National Gendarmerie Directorate, Paris)

SHGN	Service Historique de la Gendarmerie Nationale (Historical Service of the National Gendarmerie, Paris)
SHí	*Soproni Hírlap*
SHN	*Studia Historica Nitriensia*
SIA	Solidarité internationale antifasciste (International Solidarity of Antifascists)
SICELP	Società Italiana Costruzioni e Lavori Pubblici (Italian Society for Construction and Public Works)
Siguranţa	Serviciul Secret de Informaţii (Romanian Secret Intelligence Service)
SIM	Servizio Informazioni Militare (Italian Military Intelligence Service)
Sipo	Sicherheitspolizei (German Security Police)
SISRM	Serviciul de Informaţii şi Securitate al Republicii Moldova (Archives of the State Security and Intelligence Service of the Republic of Moldova, Chişinău)
SJA	*Soviet Jewish Affairs*
SkR	Sonderkommando Russland (Special Kommando Rus sia)
SlNo	*Službene novine*
SlSt	*Slovene Studies*
SM	Sosiaaliministeriön (Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs)
SMat	*La Sarthe du Matin*
SME	Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito (General Staff of the Royal

	Italian Army)
SMGC	Scott Macfie Gypsy Collections (University of Liverpool, United Kingdom)
SML	Somogy Megyei Levéltár (Somogy County Archives, Kaposvár, Hungary)
SMRE	Stato maggiore del Regio Esercito (General Staff of the Royal Italian Army)
SNA	Slovenský Národný Archív (Slovak National Archive, Bratislava)
SNCF	Société Nationale des Chemins de fer français (French National Railway Service)
SNCRR	Societatea Naţională de Cruce Roşie din România (National Society of the Red Cross of Romania)
SNP	Slovenskè Národnè Povstanie (Slovak National Uprising)
SNS 1	Suomen-Neuvostoliiton rauhan ja ystävyyden seuran (Finnish-Soviet Peace and Friendship Society)
ŠOA	Štátny oblastný archív (Slovak State Regional Archive, with district)
ŠOA-B	Štátny oblastný archive-Bratislava (Slovak State Regional Archive-Bratislava)
ŠOBA	Štátny oblastnỳ Úrad (Slovak State Regional Office)
ŠOKA	Štátny okresný archív (Slovak State District Archive, with

	district)
ŠOKA-Pr	Štátny okresný archív-Prievidza (Slovak State District Archive-Prievidza)
SOL	Service d'ordre Légionnaire (Service of the Legionary Order)
SOŠ	Stráž Obrany Štátu (Slovak National Defense Guard)
SoTu	Sotavankileirien tutkimuskeskus (Archive of the Prisoner of War Camp Research Center, Finnish National Archives, Helsinki)
SoUpj	*Sotilasaikakauslehti: Upseeriliiton julkaisu*
ŠP	Šiesti Rabotný Prápor (Slovak Sixth Labor Battalion)
SP IV	Specijalna policija IV (Serbian Special Police, 4th Section)
SPD	Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue (Finnish Social Demo cratic Party)
SPRSo	Suomen Punaisen Ristin sotavankitoimisto (Prisoner of War Office of the Finnish Red Cross)
ŠR	Štátna Rada (Slovak State Council)
SRI	Serviciul Român de Informaţii (Romanian Intelligence Service)
SS	Schutzstaffel (Nazi Protective Corps)
Ss	*Studi storici*

SS-HHB	SS-Hauptamt Haushalt und Bauten (SS-Main Office of Bud get and Buildings)
SS-RSHA	SS-Reichssicherheitshauptamt (SS-Reich Security Main Office)
SSAA	Sottosegretariato di Stato per gli Affari Albanesi (Sub-Secretary of State for Albanian Affairs)
SSCE	Service du Contrôle des Étrangers (French Service of the Supervision of Foreigners)
SSE	Service Social des Étrangers (French Social Service to Foreigners)
SSI	Serviciul Special de Informaţii (Romanian Special Intelligence Service)
SSO	SS-Offiziersakte (SS officer file)
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
Sss	Šinagan sak'met'a saministro (Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Georgia)
StA-Münc	Staatsarchiv München (State Archive of Munich)
Stalag	Stammlager or Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschafts-Stammlager (German prisoner of war camp)
Stapo	Statspolitiet (Norwegian State Police)
STO	Service du Travail Obligatoire (Obligatory Labor Service)
ŠÚA SR	Štátny Ústredný Archív

	Slovenskej Republiky (State Central Archive of the Slovak Republic)
SÚj	*Somogyi Újság*
Supersloda	Comando Superiore FF. AA. "Slovenia e Dalmazia" (Superior Command of the Italian Armed Forces, "Slovenia and Dalmatia")
SZSZBML	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Levéltár (Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg County Archives, Hungary)
T	tulo (Finnish archival abbreviation: entry)
TB	Tuberculosis
TDia	Tsentralen Durzhaven istoricheski arhiv (Bulgarian Central Historical Archive), Sofia
Tence	*Tence: Les Amis du Vieux Tence à la Découverte de notre Histoire*
TM	Tribunale Militaire (French Military Tribunal)
TMWC	International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals*, 42 vols. (Nuremberg, 1947–1949).
TNA	The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom; formerly Public Rec ord Office, PRO)
TR	termen redus (Romanian: reduced term of military service)
TsAFSB	Tsentral'nyi arkhiv FSB (Central Archives of the

	Federal Security Bureau, Moscow)
TsAMO	Tsentral'nyi arkhiv ministerstva oborony Rossiiskoy Federatsii (Central Archives of the Russian Ministry of Defense, Podolsk)
TsDA	Tsentralen dŭrzhaven archiv (Bulgarian National Archives, Sofia)
Tva	Tsentralen voenen arhiv (Central Military Archives, Veliko Turnovo, Bulgaria)
UA	Ulkoasiainministeriön arkisto (Archive of the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Helsinki)
UAC	Ufficio Affari civili (Italian Army Civilian Affairs Office)
UCEI	Unione delle Comunità Ebraische Italiane (Union of the Italian Jewish Community; successor of UCII)
UCII	Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane (Union of the Italian Jewish Community; predecessor of UCEI)
UD-CGT	L'Union departementale-Confédération Générale du Travail (French Departmental Union-General Confederation of Labor)
UdSSR	Union der Sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken (German: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; USSR)
Ufa	Universum Film AG

uff.	ufficio (Italian archival abbreviation: office)
UGB	Uprava grada Beograda (Administration of Belgrade)
UGIF	Union Générale des Israélites de France (General Union of French Jews)
UHRO	Ustaša–Hrvatska revolucionarna organizacija (Ustaša–Croatian Revolutionary Organization)
ÚHU	Ústredny hospodarsky urad (Slovak Central Economic Office)
UJRE	Union des Juifs pour la Résistance et l'entr'aide (Jewish Union for Resistance and Mutual Aid)
ÚjS	*Új Somogy*
UL	University of Liverpool (United Kingdom)
UMAS	L'Union metallurgique d'Arc-et-Senans (Metallurgical Union of Arc-et-Senans, France)
ÚMKL	Új Magyar Központi Levéltar (New Hungarian Central Archives, Budapest)
UNES	Unione Esercizi Elettrici (Italian Union of Electrical Concerns)
UNS	Ustaška Nadzorna Služba (Ustaša Security Police)
UNWCC	United Nations War Crimes Commission
UPV	Uradnovňa precedňíctva vlády (Slovak prime minister's

	office)
URO	United Restitution Organization
USAAF	United States Army Air Forces
ÚŠB	Ústredna Štátnej Bezpečnosti (Slovak State Security Center)
USC	Unitarian Service Committee
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC
USHMMA	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, Washington, DC
USHMMPA	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photo Archives, Washington, DC
USIKS	Ustaški stegovni i kazneni sud (Ustaša Disciplinary and Criminal Court, Zagreb)
USSME	Ufficio storico dello Stato maggiore dell'Esercito (General Staff of the Italian Army, Historical Office, Rome)
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (also Soviet Union and UdSSR)
ÚŽ	*Ústredna Židov* (lit.: "Jewish Center"; Slovak Jewish organization)
v	vit (Albanian archival abbreviation: year)
Vaada	Va'adat ha-'ezrah veha-hatsalah be-Budapesht (Zionist Aid and Rescue Committee, Budapest)

VaB	Vojni arhiv, Beograd (Military Archives, Belgrade)
Valpo	Valtiollinen poliisi (Finnish Security Police)
VCC	various concentration camps (International Tracing Service term)
VDAR	*Vjesnik Državnog Arhiva u Rijeci*
V.E.	Vittorio Emanuele III (King Victor Emanuel III)
VeHí	*Veszprémi Hírlap*
VeVá	*Veszprém Vármegye*
VFM	Vestfold fylkesmuseum (Vestfold County Museum, Tønsberg, Norway)
VfZ	*Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*
VH	*Vojenská Historiá*
VHA	Visual History Archive of the Shoah Foundation (Los Angeles, CA)
VHAB	Vojenskỳ Historickỳ Archív, Bratislava (Military Historical Archive, Bratislava)
VHAT	Vojenskỳ Historickỳ Archív, Trenčin (Military Historical Archive, Trenčin, Slovakia)
VIA	*Voenno-istoricheskii arkhiv*
VIZ	*Voenno-istoricheskii zhurnal*
VMS	*La Vie Mancelle et Sarthoise: Revue culturelle et d'actualités de la Sarthe*
VNV	Vlaamsch Nationaal Verbond (Flemish National Union)
VoB-Serbien	*Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers in*

	Serbien/List uredaba Vojnog zapovednika u Srbiji
VoMi	Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle (SS-Office for Ethnic German Affairs)
VRID	Vienne Résistance Internement Déportation (Resistance, Internment, and Deportation Association, Department of Vienne, France)
WAPIC	West African Political Intelligence Centre (London)
WJC	World Jewish Congress
WJC-R	World Jewish Congress of Romania
WL	Wiener Library (London)
WS #	worksheet number (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photo Archives designation)
XH	xhaketa (Albanian archival abbreviation: microfilm)
Y-IU	Yahad–In Unum (Together–in One, Paris)
YIVO	Yidisher visnshaftlekher institut (Yiddish Scientific Institute, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York)
YM	*Yalkut Moreshet: Holocaust Documentation and Research*
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YV	Yad Vashem (National Institute for the Memory of the Victims of Nazism and Heroes of the Resistance,

	Jerusalem)
YVA	Archive of the National Institute for the Memory of the Victims of Nazism and Heroes of the Resistance, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem
YVS	*Yad Vashem Studies*
Z	Zigeuner (German for "Gypsy")
ZALfJ	Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden (forced labor camp for Jews)
ZAML	Zala Megyei Levéltár (Zala County Archives, Hungary)
ZBOR	Združena Borbena Organizacija Rada (United Combative Organization of Labor; lit.: "Assembly"; Serbian fascist party)
z.b.V.	zur besonderen Verwendung (special or temporary duty)
ZdL or ZStL	Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen (Central Office for State Justice Administrations), Ludwigsburg, Germany (now BA-L)
ZIZ	*Zürcher Illustrierte Zeitung*
ŽK	Židovskỳ Kódex (Slovak: Jewish Code)
ZKRZ	Zemaljska komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača Hrvatske (People's Republic of Croatia State Commission for the Investigation of the Occupiers and their Collaborators)
ZNO	Zone non occupée

	(unoccupied or Southern Zone in France)
ZO	Zone occupée (German-occupied zone in France)
ŽOZ	*Židovska općina Zagreb*
ŽPS	Židovskè pracovnè stredisko (Slovak forced labor center for Jews)
ŽPT	Židovskỳ pracovnỳ tábor (Slovak forced labor camp for Jews)
ŽR	Židovská rada (Slovak: Jewish Council)
Zs	Zsidó (Hungarian: Jew)
ZTI	Zaisťovací Tábor v Ilave (penal camp in Ilava, Slovakia)
ŽÚ	Župnỳ úrad (Slovak county office)
ŽÚÚ	Židovská ústredná úradovňa (Slovak Jewish Central Office)
z.V.	zur Verfügung (German: to be at one's disposal; e.g., temporary assignment)
ZZB	Zveza združenj borcev (Slovenian Association of Combatants)

TABLE OF APPROXIMATE RANK EQUIVALENTS

Armies

German Army	U.S. Army (World War II)	Bulgarian Army	Croatian Army	Finnish Army	French Army
Generalfeldmarschall	General of the Army	n/a	Vojskovođa	Marsalkka	Maréchal
Generaloberst	General	General	General Pješastva	Kenraali	Général d'armée
General (der Infanterie etc.)	Lieutenant General	General-Leytenant	Podmaršal	Kenraaliluutnantti	Général de corps d'armé Altábornagy
Generalleutnant	Major General	General-Major	General	Kenraalimajuri	Général de division
Generalmajor	Brigadier General	Polkovnik	Pukovnik	Eversti	Général de brigade
Oberst	Colonel	Podpolkovnik	Pukovnik	Eversti	Colonel
Oberstleutnant	Lieutenant Colonel	Major	Bojnik	Majuri	Lieutenant-colonel
Major	Major	n/a	Nadsatnik	n/a	Commandant
Hauptmann	Captain	Kapitan	Satnik	Kapteeni	n/a
Oberleutnant	First Lieutenant	Poporuchik	Natporučnik	Luutnantti	Capitaine
Leutnant	Second Lieutenant	Podporuchik	Poručnik	Vänrikki	Lieutenant

Stabsfeldwebel	n/a	n/a	Zastavnik	Sotilasmestari	n/a
Oberfeldwebel	Master Sergeant	Feldfebel	Časnički Namjesnik	Vääpeli	Sous-lieutenant
Feldwebel	Technical Sergeant	Podofitser	Stožerni Narednik	Ylikersantti	Adjudant-chef
Unterfeldwebel	Staff Sergeant	Kandidat Podofitser	Narednik	Kersantti	Adjudant
Unteroffizier	Sergeant	n/a	Vodnik	n/a	Sergent-chef (Maréchal des logis-chef)
Obergefreiter	Corporal	Efreitor	Razvodnik	Alikersantti	Sergent (Maréchal des logis de carrière)
Gefreiter	n/a	n/a	Desetnik	Korpraali	n/a
Oberschütze	Private 1st Class	Rednik	Domobran	Sotamies	Caporal-chef
Schütze	Private				Caporal Soldat

Hungarian Army	**Italian Army**	**Romanian Army**	**Serbian State Guard**	**Slovak Army**
Tábornagy	Maresciallo d'Italia	Mareşal al României		n/a
Vezérezredes	Generale d'Armata	General de armată		n/a
Generale Designato d'Armata	Generale di Corpo d'Armata	General de corp de armată		Generál I Triedy
Vezérőrnagy	Generale di Divisione	General de divizie	Diviziski Đeneral	Generál II Triedy
Dandártábornok	Generale di Brigata	General de brigadă	Brigadni Đeneral	n/a

Ezredes	Colonnello	Colonel	Pukovnik	Plukovník
Alezredes	Tenente Colonnello	Locotenent-colonel	Potpukovnik	Podplukovník
Örnagy	Maggiore	Maior	Major	Major
n/a	Primo Capitano	Căpitan	Kapetan	Stotník
Százados	Capitano	Locotenent	Poručnik	Nadporučík
Főhadnagy	Primo Tenente	Sublocotenent	Potporučnik	Poručík
n/a	Tenente	Plutonier adjutant		Dôstojnícky zástupca Ašpirant
Hadnagy	Sottotenente	Plutonier maior		Dôstojnícky zástupca Rotmajster
Főtörzsőrmester	Aiutante di Battaglia	Plutonier		n/a
Törzsőrmester	Maresciallo Maggiore	n/a		Zástavník
Őrmester	Maresciallo Capo	Sergent major	Narednik vodnik	Rotník
Szakaszvezető	Maresciallo Ordinario	n/a	Naredník	Čatnik
n/a	Sergente Maggiore	Sergent	Podnarednik	Čatár
Tizedes	Caporale Maggiore	Caporal	Kaplar	Desiatnik
Örvezető	Caporale	Fruntaş		Slobodník
Honvéd	Soldato	Soldat	Stražar	Strelník

Paramilitaries				
Nazi SS	**Black Shirts (MVSN)**	**Hirden**	**Hlinka Guard**	**Ustaša**
Reichsführer-SS	Comandante Generale	Stabssjef	Armádnik	Krilnik
Oberstgruppenführer	Luogotenente Generale	n/a	Divíznik	Pukovnik

Obergruppenführer	Tenente Generale		Brigádnik	Dopukovnik
Gruppenführer	Luogotenente Generale	n/a	Štábnik	Bojnik
Brigadeführer	n/a	n/a	Dozorník	Nadsatnik
Oberführer	Console Generale	n/a	Kapitán	Satnik
Standartenführer	Console Comandante	Regimentfører	Nadzbrojník	Nadporučnik
Obersturmbannführer	Primo Seniore	Nestregimentfører	Zbornik	Poručnik
Sturmbannführer	Seniore	n/a	n/a	n/a
Hauptsturmführer	Centurione	Sveitfører	n/a	n/a
Obersturmführer	Capomanipolo	Nestsveitfører	n/a	Zastavnik
Untersturmführer	Sottocapomanipolo	n/a	n/a	Častnički Namjestnik
Sturmscharführer	Primo Aiutante	n/a	n/a	Stožerni Vodnik
Hauptscharführer	Aiutante Capo	n/a	Skupiník	Vodnik
Oberscharführer	Aiutante	n/a	n/a	Dovodnik
Scharführer	Primo Capo Squadra	Kommandersersjant	Desiatnik	Rojnik
Unterscharführer	Capo Squadra	Lagfører	Rojník	Dorojnik
Rottenführer	Vicecapo Squadra	Nestlagfører	Gardista	n/a
SS-Sturmmann	Camicia Nera Scelta	Speider		Čarkar/ Vojničar
SS-Oberschütze	n/a	Nestspeider		
SS-Schütze or SS-Mann	Camicia Nera	Hirdmann		

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Krŭstopole, Lovech, Nedelino, Parzardzhik, Plovdiv, Ribaritsa, Shumen, Skopie, Smedovo, Sofia, Somovit, Struma Valley, Svishtov, Trŭnska Klisura, Vratsa, Zhelŭzartsi, Zvŭnichevo

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Mirza Velagic: *Croatia*: Jasenovac I and II, Jasenovac III, Jasenovac IV, Jasenovac V

Lars Westerlund: *Finland*: Introduction, Äänislinna,

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Joseph Robert White: *Croatia*: Sisak I and II, Slavonska Požega; *France/Vichy*: Aincourt, Arc-et-Senans, Brens, Castres, Cauterets, Coudrecieux, Égletons, Évaux-les-Bains, Fort-de-Vancia, Fort du Portalet, Gaillac, La Morellerie, Le Mont-Dore, Les Milles, Le Vernet d'Ariège, Montreuil-Bellay, Poitiers, Rabès, Récébédou, Rivesaltes, Rouillé, Ruffieux, Saint-Cyprien, Saint-Georges d'Aurac, Saint-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes, Savigny par Valleiry, Voves; *Vichy Africa*: Ksabi, Laghouat, Ram Ram, Talzaza Menabba, Tombouctou; *Italy*: Agnone, Antivari, Borgo San Dalmazzo, Casoli, Chieti, Citta Sant'Angelo, Elba Island, Lauria, Montechiarugolo, Senegallia; *Italy/Occupied Southeast France*: Embrun, Lynwood Villa, Megève, Mentone, Modane, Sospello, Vence; *Italy/Occupied Yugo slavia*: Cighino; *Slovakia*: Lipníky

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Joseph Robert White, Applied Research Scholar with the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Georgia State University and his Ph.D. in Modern European History from the University of Nebraska, Lincoln. He was a fellow at the Mandel Center in 2001 and returned to work on the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos* in 2004. Among his many other tasks, he contributed more than 90 essays to Volume I, including the introduction to the section that covered the early Nazi camps, before he took over as editor of this volume. Dr. White published two articles in the journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, taught 31 online and blended courses at the University of Mary land University College, and gave lectures around the country. He was also one of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's authorities on the archives of the International Tracing Service. To our sorrow, Dr. White died unexpectedly in May 2016.

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This index lists all names alphabetically by family name. Names and spellings of names sometimes vary, because of marriage, use of a pseudonym, or alternate spellings in the source documents. Although efforts have been expended to make the listings as consistent as possible, a person may appear more than once in the index. Where known, we have used cross-references to link these names together. Page numbers in italics refer to illustrations and their captions.

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